



ROBERTVS STAPLETONVS
EQVES AURATUS, IUVEN-
ACEX MVSÆVM, SORADAM,
Æ PEREGRINVS ANGLVS SV-
OSq, PLUSQVAM INTERPRES
REDDIDIT.

RR. W. Marshall fecit.



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DE
BELLO BELGICO.
THE
HISTORY
OF THE
Low-Country
WARRES.

Written in *Latine* by
FAMIANVS STRADA;
In *English* by
St. ROB. STAPYLTON Kt.

Illustrated with diuers Figures.



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23

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TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
MY VERY GOOD LORD,
HENRY,

Lord Marquesse of Dorchester, Earl of Kingston,
Viscount Newark, Lord Pierrepont,
&c.

MY LORD,

Your Lordship, the best judg of Writers, will not I hope condemn me, for inscribing your name to the History of Famianus Strada. He is indeed a Modern Roman, but in happiness and freedom of expression, so like the Ancients, Livy, Sallust, and Tacitus : that 'tis no injury to the past, or present World, to say, their Age produced not his Superiour, nor ours his Equal ; since those that have not arrived to his perfection may be good Historians ; those that have, eminent. The Fame of so great an Antour, made me ambitious to interpret him to my Countrey : not considering (for I as willingly acknowledge my Error as his Merit) that I was to Copie a Principal, comprehending new and various Narrations, Princes Letters, Speeches, Debates and Results of Cabinets and Councel-tables, Battells, Descriptions of places, Characters

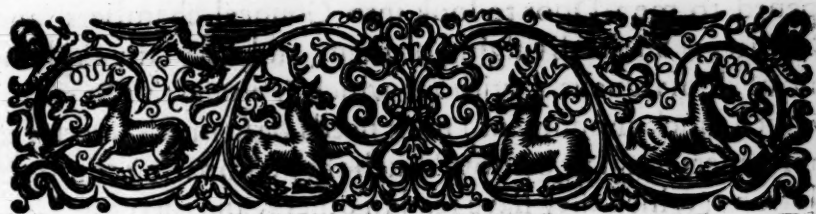
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eters of Persons, and very prudent Observations, summed up in brief sentences. Besides, I found all these apparelled in the most captivating Figures of the Latine tongue: not like the French, Spanish, or other Languages of Commerce, easily reducible to those now spoken; but hard to be rendred in any; especially in English. Yet after I had ingaged, that I might play my game to the fairest, I borrowed the invention of Alexander Farneze, when he dissected Don John of Austria in the Low-countries: and had him shewed in Spain, new-joynted skinned and almost spirited, to Philip the second. In imitation whereof, I took to pieces the actions of Don John, Alexander Farneze, and the rest of their famous friends and enemies, as they were described in Italy: and present them here to your Lordship, like the parts of Don John's body, intire, although not breathing. For which I can make no Apologie, but that 'tis the fortune of this History to be dedicated to Princes. And when the first Dedication was made to the Duke of Parma; it concerned me to address the second to a person of like honour: and my Genius directed me to such a one, in whom Eminence of Dignity is joyned with Eminence of knowledg, that affording me Patronage; this, reputation. For what Ammianus Marcellinus reports of Physitians, that they were held learned, if they had once been at Alexandria; we know to be true of Books if they come but to have your Lordships Approbation: which is the highest aime of

Your Lordships

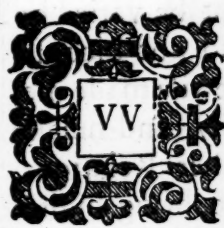
humble servant,

ROBERT STAPYLTON.



FAMIANUS STRADA

to the Reader.



Ho ever thou art, that shalt vouchsafe to take my Book in thy hands, before thou peruse it, give me leave to preface a few things. Thou hast here a History of mine, which I cannot expect should be either praised or pardoned for expedition, being nine years old, before I sent it to the Presse : yet for that very procrastination, I may hope another as great a favour from my Reader : because it was out of my respect to him, that I spun out time in polishing my work. For albeit, many years ago divers persons (to whose Abilities no lesse then to their Honours, none in *Rome* but yields) having read the first part of my Annals, gave them farre more then common approbation; yet they could not perswade me (that know how great the difference is betwixt Humanity and Judgement) to hasten the publishing of them : or, now they are published, not to be an earnest Suiter to my Reader for some favourable Regard, due to my Modesty, reverencing others judgements. This Civilitie I the rather hope, for that my fortune is somewhat better, then ordinary Historians : For I give thee Princes Letters, most of them writ with their own hands. I give thee Embassadours private instructions, secret Councils of Warre, Causes of Designes, Notes brought in by Spies, clandestine conspiracies of Towns, and many other Particularities, which either by Pieces, or collected into Diaries, have been discovered to me by the very men employed. And were it not to trespasse upon the Readers Patience, I could (which many times I do) to most of my Relations, annex the copies of the Letters, produce the credit of the Originals themselves, to prove matter of Fact; as evidently, as Deeds signed, sealed, and witnessed. But all these, as they have in a manner

To the Reader.

Polybius lib. 3.

opened to me a Door to look into Councel-chambers, and Cabinets : So the divulging of them, and especially explaining of Individualls (without which *Polybius* thinks History but a mock-monument) must needs be so much sweeter to the Readers longing, by how much they comparing common Notions (which they have read in others, and therefore I forbear to mention) out of them and me together will frame a more copious History. This likewise is the cause, that makes me sometimes give an Account of particular Accidents; that the *Low-countrie* warre, no lesse known from the mouth of Fame, then penne of numerous Writers, might be varied by such Additionals, pleasing for newnesse, and not inconsistent with a particular History. This hath likewise made me, that as I have passed over some things cursorily, and unlesse some peculiar passage were to be added to others Relations, almost quite omitted them : so many times to bring higher deductions, I thought would be more acceptable, and not done without many great examples. For among the Writers of the *Romane Annals* (to say nothing of the *Grecians*) *Tacitus*, and *Sallust*, how often do they piece out the smal threads of their work, and cover them as it were with an embroidery. *Tacitus* in his Histories (the five books omitting his Annals you may soon run over) refutes those Authours, that say the chief Officers of *Otho's* and *Vitellius* his Army deliberated, Whether it were not better, that they, refusing to fight for wicked Princes, should choose a good one; and taking his hint from thence, speaks at large, Of mens old and inbred Ambition to compasse the Sovereigne power, Of its Originall in the Citie of *Rome*, Of the contentions between the Senatours and Plebeians, Of *Marius*, *Sylla*, *Pompey* : at length, But (sayes he) the repetition of our ancient and present manners, hath very farre transported me. now I return to the course of my History, Proceed. Where he describes the burning of the *Capitol* by the Souldiers, and subjoyns his own complaints upon it, accurately setting down, Who it was that vowed it, who built it, who dedicated it, and who, when it was destroyed, repaired it; though they were passages familiar to the people. What of *Serapis*? whose pedigree he draws, and with a prolix Digression commemorates what opinions the *Egyptian* Priests held of her, not thinking it a wrong to History. But he never conceived an Historian might

Tacitus.

Lib. 3.

Lib. 4.

To the Reader.

might be freer, then in his description of the siege of *Hierusalem*. From whence he takes occasion to speak of the Originall and Manners of the *Jews*, so profusely, and so far, deriving them even from *Saturn*; heaping so many several things together; Of *Moses*, Of that Peoples Religion, Of their Meats, Of the Sabbath, Of Circumcision, Of the Eternity of the soul, Of Balsom, Of Brimstone, and other specialties; as if he wrote the History of that Nation. And yet *Tacitus* keeps within compasse, if you compare him with *Sallust*, that is so frequent in Excursions. Nay, he himself doth not dissemble it: For having taken a large, and indeed unnecessitated scope, at last sounding a retreat, he sayes, '*But I have gone too carelessly, and too farre, being nettled and vexed at the Manners of the Town. Now I come to the matter.*' Nor did he keep to it for all this; but in the division of the Kingdome between *Fugurth* and *Adherbal*, he amply discourses of *Africa*, and its Inhabitants from their very beginning. Again, licentiously inveighing against the Manners of *Rome*, he copiously relates the causes of Faction between the Senate and the People, and with a check for his own flying out, he brings himself again into the way. Yet what he adds to this Digression upon the By, concerning the *Leptitans*, exceeds the other by many degrees. For having mentioned the citie of *Leptis*, when he had spoken of its Founders, of its situation, and Language, he wheels about, and for a Corollary brings in an old History, not at all appertaining to the *Leptitans*. For (sayes he) *because following the businesse of the Leptitans, I am come into this Region, I think it not amiss to set down a noble and memorable action of two Carthaginians.* Which told, neither sparingly, nor timorously, he goes on again. But why do I quote so many Presidents, when that one of *Catilines* Conspiracy evidently shews, what liberty a Historian may assume? the Writer whereof so freely digresses, and hath so many Out-lets, and Parergons, that the additionall Matter is much more then the fourth part of the Historie. Which being granted, ours likewise, in case it be any where redundant, will (I hope) be fairly interpreted by the Readers. As likewise that, which I have not forbore, whilst I compare the ancient with the modern times; that is, like to like: Which, as I am not ignorant the *Latines* seldome do, so I know it is familiar with the *Greeks*. Indeed *Polybius*, not more properly

Lib. 5.

Sallust.

To the Reader.

ly the Writer then Master of History, whilst he at large compares the Form and Situation of *Sicily* with *Peloponnesus*; the Fleets of *Carthage* and *Rome*, with those of *Antigonus*, *Ptolomey*, *Demetrius*, and others of former Ages; whilst he resembles the Republicks of *Rome* and *Carthage*, to generous birds fighting even to their last breath (to omit the rest of the same kind, which, if you read but his first Book will presently occurre) truly, he needs not fear that goes in the steps of so authentick an Example. Thus having rightly premonished and prepared Thee, I will no longer stay Thee at the Threshold of my Work.

The



The Historie of the LOW-COUNTRY WARRES.

The first Book.



Enter upon the Historie of a Warre, doubtfull whether to call it, The Warre of the *Low-Country-men* and the *Spaniards*, or almost of all *Europe*: For to this hour we see it manag'd by the Arms and Purfes, at least, by the Designes and Counsels of so many Nations; as if in the *Low-Countries* onely, the Empire of *Europe* was to be disputed. Wherein many, I presume, will be concerned, to read what their Countrey-men, what their Kinsmen have acted in the field. The rest, though unconcerned, may yet desire to know, from whence a few *Belgick Provinces* have had the confidence and strength, to fight for threescore years together, with a most Potent King, on equall terms. from whence, upon the coast of *Holland*, out of a few fisher-boats, there hath sprung up a new State, which growing daily stronger in Arms, will now brook no Superiour by Land, and can haue none by Sea: That in mighty fleets have sent Plantations to the remotest parts of the Earth: That by their Ambassadors, making Leagues with Princes, carrying themselves as not inferiour to Kings, have got a Principality more then ever *Europe* knew. From whence the *Belgick* soil, among the continuall tempests and storms of Warre (such as in far shorter troubles, have laid other Regions waste and barren) affords so great plentie of all things, as if the place were as violently bent to maintain a War, as the People; so that directly you would think, *Mars* onely travels other Countreys, and carries about a running Warre, but here seats himself. Some indeed have fancied; the King of *Spain* out of Policy to spin out the *Low-Country War*: for as a Prince (the great body of whose Empire must be spirited with a great soul) they conceiv'd he trains his *Militia* in these *Provinces*, afterwards to dispatch them (as the Turk doth his *Fanizaries*) into severall Climates. As if his enemies should not be taught in the same school; and sure it were more to his advantage, their arms should rust with idleness, then shine with exercise.

Now the resemblance of our *Age* with the *time past*, will give the silent

B

com-

*The Proposition
of the work.*

*How satisfacto-
ry it will be to
many.
How rare to all.*

*A great State
out of small
beginnings.*

*The strange fer-
tility of the soyl,
even in the time
of warre.*

*The King of
Spain fights in
jeast, as some
think.*

But falsely.

Cor. Tac. lib. 1.
 & 2. Ann. &
 lib. 4. Hist.
 The similitude
 of accidents be-
 tween the anti-
 ent and these
 times.

But our natures
 are the worse.

Witness the
 Low-countrys
 at this day.
 Hom. Iliad. 21.
 Of the Duell
 between Achil-
 lis and the Ri-
 ver Scamander

Virg. 1. Æn.
 Gallant men
 lost in the Low-
 countrys then
 either by the
 Greeks or Ro-
 mans.

The Authors
 character of
 himself.
 Objection.
 It misbecomes a
 religious man to
 know things
 profane, and a
 Priest to write
 of arms.

Answer.
 There are exam-
 ples to the con-
 trary Tit. Liv.
 Cor. Tac.
 Dion. Halicar.
 and other Au-
 thours.
 Moyſes. Bero-
 ſus, Joſephus,
 Euseb. Cæſar.
 Oroſ. Vill. Tit.
 Jov. Bemb.
 Mariana Mal-
 ſeus, &c.
 and reason it
 ſelf.
 Besides, Strada
 ſaith his Argu-
 ment is joyned
 with Religion.

comparers no little pleasure. The Readers of our Annals must needs remember, now *Arminius*, now *Civilis*, those two Whirlwinds of the Low-Countrys, the *Oranges* of their times. The like principles of Rebellion will present themselves: pretending, and withall shaking off obedience to *Tiberius* and *Vespasian*: courting the People with hope of liberty: the Provinces suddenly conspiring against the *Romane* Garrisons: arms first taken up in *Holland*: aided by the *Germans*, *French*, and *Brittons*: the *Romane* Legions tired out with dubious fortune: most things set a foot again by arts so like, so much the same, that unless you knew the difference by particular names, you would think your self present in the old *Belgick* tumults. For in humane things, how- ever times and persons die, still the same Causes and Events revive. Albeit as we have exceeded the Ancients in the quarrel of Nations and Religions; so we edge our spleen more sharply upon this Whetstone, and execute our hatred with greater animosity. What have our Low-Country Armies left unattempted? Beyond Poetick miracles, we have not onely fought with mighty Rivers, but breaking the Cloyster of the Sea, we have challenged *Neptune* himself? Our Foot invade the Ocean, as if it were firm ground; we let in the Sea to make the Land navigable, fighting in all the elements at once. And truly, (unless mine deceive me, as every ones judgement sometimes fails him) never was warre continued with higher courages or attempts: nor have stronger sieges baffled the forces of great Cities: or with dayly slaughter was ever more blood drawn and spent on both sides. Though the bodies of gallant men have floated on the rivers of *Simois* and *Scamander*, celebrated in Poets fables, and others famed for too true slaughter of the *Romans*; yet more and more daring men have been cast up by the *Mose*, the *Rhine*, and *Skelde*, and the rest of the Low-country Rivers, so often discoloured with humane blood, and strewed with mangled limbs of souldiers, swelling with the ruines of great souls. How many forreign armies have miscarried here? how often was the *Belgick* Sea covered with ships, the Land with horse and foot? and, all these armies lost, greater forces have been raised again among our neighbours, and furiously overspread the field? Yet after the expence of so many nations, the wealth of Kings exhausted, the force of *Europe* joyned against it, this *Troy* hath held out many a ten years Warre, and yet not taken. But the more earnest I am in designing so great a work, the more perhaps I shall expose the Historians confidence to censure: who being a stranger to publick business, a man of the old learning, not conversant with his own times, will be argued by many as disproportioned to the greatness of this Warre; and being a Clergie-man, they will affirm it misbecomes him to treat of arms. I should give easie ear unto them, if all the writers of History had fought with their wit, lead up Companies or commanded Armies; or that we had not divers, in the account of every age and nation, that being Church-men have handled these military arguments. And indeed, since there is such weight in the truth of History, from which nothing takes off more then affection in the writer; whence should we rather fear the faith of a relation, from one that is a party and hardly dispenses with love and hatred? or from one that centred in the middle, and professing holiness of life, either untouched with any factious desires, or above them; and either keeps at distance the occasions of a lie, or beats it from him? That I may speak something for my self, I hold not the subject of this Warre inconsistent with my course of life, Religion being the cause of both; nor do I conceive my self unfit either to report the matter of fact, or to find out the causes. For though an exact knowledge of Councils, and inspection into Cabinets, could not be



The Emperour Charles the 5th
Prince of y^e Low = Countreys.

Ro. Vaughan scul.

expected from one of a sequestred life, or from the genius of a man that loves to dwell with himself, at least never comes in Princes Courts and listens to their whispers; my intelligence hath been abundantly supplied, out of the memorials and originall letters of men that either have themselves done the business, or commanded such as did: So that I believe few have come better furnished at any time for the compiling of an History; and though I am a stranger to the Court and Camp, a man (as you may term me) of the shade, yet I dare promise to produce more Cabinet counsels, then all the Civill and military news-men. But it were superfluous to make a passionate Preface of what faith, what freedom I shall use, since all men equally pretend the love of truth, and oftentimes none do engage their faith with more formality, then such as will be sure to break it. For our age hath almost lost the liberty of speaking, by the common fault of Writers, whose ambition having an eye upon the frowns of Princes, laying the fault on times and manners, bring flattery into fashion. I build upon my own conscience, which I often examine, yet find it not enslaved to the commands of Princes, or mercenary to their bounty. And I entreat them that vouchsafe to peruse my work, that such a mind as they justly require of me in writing, neutrall and free, such a one they themselves will have in reading, uningaged to faction. Least the meate be rashly-blamed for curdling on a fowl and sickly stomack.

And his intelligence out of Originall notes and Expresses.

The Authours integrity.

And freedom not byassed towards any faction.

The same affection he desires in his Reader.

Onely thou, O God of Peace and Warre, (for aswell the writers of, as the actors in, business ought to begin with Prayer) do thou guide my mind and pen, that not trusting in Prudence that searches humane secrets, but in Wisdome that assists thy throne, I may perfect a History worthy the purity of life which I profess, equal to the greatness of the work I have designed, nor lesse then the expectation that hath long since called me forth.

This prefaced, he begins with imploring Divine assistance. See Planes Pa- negrick pag. 1.



He bloody Warre that grievously distempered Europe, still continued between the *Emperour Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the second, King of *France*, to whom their fathers with their Crowns had left their enmities and animosities; But *Mary Queen of England*, immediatley upon her marriage with *Philip Prince of Spain*, began seriously to mediate a Peace; and followed it so well, as this year 1555. the Emperours and Kings Commissioners met at *Callice*; and though the expected Peace was not then concluded, yet there was laid a foundation for Peace, in a five years truce. Then the *Emperour*, calling his son *Philip* out of *England*, resolved to execute what he had long determined, the resignation of his Crowns, and be Authour of a Prodigie unknown in Princes Courts, When he might reign to give it off. This secret divulged through the Low-countries, brought men from all parts to *Bruxels*, and on the twenty fifth of *October*, the day appointed for meeting of the three Estates, the Knights of the order of the Golden fleece, and the Magistrates, The Emperour in the great Hall of his Pallace, commanding *Philip King of England*, *Maximilian King of Bohemia*, and *Emanuel Philibert Duke of Savoy* to sit on the one hand; and on the other, *Elianor and Mary Queen Dowagers of France and Hungary*, with another *Mary Queen of Bohemia*, and *Christiern daughter to the King of Denmark Duchesse of Lorrain*. First he created his sonne *Philip*, master of the order of the *Golden-fleece*; then he commanded *Philibert Bruxellius*, one of the Lords of his great Council, to signifie his pleasure to the

1555.

The Emperours resolution to resign his Kingdoms.

A full presence of Princes. Elianor and Mary sisters to Charles the fifth. King Philip made master of the Order of the Golden fleece.

The Low-coun-
treys and Bur-
gundy resigned
to him in
Bruxellius his
speech.

Interrupted by
Charles the
fifth who repeats
all his own
actions.
The Prince of
Orange in his
Apologie of the
year 1571.

The end of all
Cesars designs.

Why he resignes
his Kingdoms.

What he re-
quires of the
Low-coun-
treys.

What he promi-
seth to them.

The Emperours
speech to his Son
before he gave
him possession.

Estates of Flanders. The summe of his speech was this, *That the Emperour being admonished, by his dayly decay of health, which had much broke and brought him low, to settle his affairs in this world: resolved to transerre that weight, which he could no longer support as became his own and the Empires digni'y, upon his sonne, both in vigour and wisdom able to bear so great a burthen. Therefore Cesar, wishing it may be for the happines of himself and the Provinces, resigned his Dominion of the Low-coun-
treys and Burgundy, released the People of their oath of Allegiance, and voluntarily gave the right and possession of the Low-coun-
treys and Burgundy to his sonne Philip King of England. Whilest Philibert was grave-
ly speaking this, The Emperour rises on the sudden, and leaning on the shoul-
ders of William Prince of Orange, interrupted his speech, and out of a paper he brought to help his memory, as the Register of the Empire, he himself be-
gan to read in French, What he had done from the seventeenth year of his age to that day, nine expeditions into Germany, fix into Spain, seven into Italy, four into France, ten into the Low-coun-
treys, two into England, as many into Africa, eleven Sea-voyages, Warres, Peace, Leagues, Victories: and set forth the particulars rather magnificently, then proudly. Moreover, That he had
proposed to himself no other end of all these labours, but the preservation of Religion
& the Empire. Which hitherto whilest his health permitted, he had by Gods assistance
so performed, that Charles the Emperours life and Reign could offend none but his
enemies. Now, since his strength and almost life was spent, he would not prefer the
love of Empire before the safety of his People. In stead of an o'd Bed-rid man, the
greatest part of him already in the grave, he would substitute a Prince in the spring of
his youth, of active strength and courage. To him he desired the Provinces to pay
their obedience, likewise to keep Peace among themselves, and be constant to the Or-
thodox Religion; Last'y, That they would favourably pardon him, if he had tres-
passed in his Government. For his own part he would alwayes remember their fide-
lity and services in his prayers to God, to whom alone he resolved to live for the
short remainder of his dayes. Then turning to his sonne, he said, If these Pro-
vinces had descended upon thee by my death, I had yet deserved something at my
sonnes hands, for leaving him so rich and improved a patrimony. Now, since thine
Inheritance is not a necessitated but a voluntary act, and that thy Father hath chosen
to die before his time, that he may antedate the benefit of his death; all the interest
thou owest me for it, I assign it to thy Subjects, and require thee to pay it in thy love
and care to them. Other Princes rejoyce they have given life to their sonnes, and
shall give Kingdoms. I am resolved to prevent fate of this gasping and posthumous
favour: esteeming it a double joy, if I may see thee not onely living, but live to see
thee reigning by my gift. This example of mine, few Princes will imitate, for I
myself in all antiquity could hardly find one to follow. But sure they will commend
my resolution, when they see thee worthy to be made the first president. Which thou
wilt be, if thou firmly retain the wisdom thou wert bred to, the fear of the Almighty,
and (which are the pillars of a Kingdome) the patronage of Religion and the
Laws. One thing remains which thy Father makes his last wish, That thou maist have
a sonne grow up worthy to have thy Government transferred upon him, but yet have
no necessity to do it.*

Having spoken this, he embraced his sonne, that was upon his knees, striving to kifs his hand, and piously and fatherly praying God to bleis him, his tears broke off his words, and drew tears abundantly from the eyes of the beholders. King Philip humbly kissing his Fathers hand, then rising to the Estates, excused his ignorance in the French tongue commanding Anthony Perenott Granvell, Bishop of Arras, to speak for him, who in a most learned Oration interpreted the Kings mind, as gratefull to his father, so like-
wife

Bishop Gran-
vell answers for
K. Philip.

wife affectionate to the Low-coutrey-men, by his fathers precept and example. *James Masius* an eloquent Civill Lawyer answered in the name of the three Estates. Lastly, *Mary Queen of Hungary* resigned the Government of the Low-countries, which she had managed five and twenty years for the Emperour her Brother. So for that day the Session was adjourned. Two moneths after in a farre greater Assembly (for fame had further spread it self) the Emperour gave to his sonne *Philip* at once, the possession of all his Kingdomes, Provinces, and Islands, aswell in our World, as beyond the Line. Finally, not long after, he sent the Crown and Scepter of the Empire (all he had then left) to his Brother *Ferdinand* (created many years before King of the *Romans*) by the hands of *William Prince of Orange*, who they say, at first declining the Ambassage, told the Emperour, in King *Philips* presence, that he hoped better things from heaven, then to see his Master take the Imperiall Crown from his own head, and send it by him to another, whether it was love to the Emperour (of whose grace and bounty he had many proofs) or flattery to King *Philip*, whom he knew designed for the Empire by his father, who often to that purpose had treated with his Brother *Ferdinand*. For *Cesar* to confirm the Spanish power of the House of *Austria* by accession of the Empire, had many times by *Mary Queen of Hungary*, sounded his Brother *Ferdinand* if he would surrender the Kingdom of the *Romanes* to *Philip*, among other proposalls promising to share the Empire with his Brother, that ever after there should be two *Cesars* of equall authority. But all this moved not *Ferdinand*.

Charles the fifth, from so great an Emperour now no body, leaving the Court to the new Prince, staid a while in a private house, till the fleet was ready: then losing from *Zeland*, with his sisters Queen *Elianor*, and Queen *Mary*, he sailed with a prosperous wind into the port of *Lareda* in *Biscany*. To follow him out of the Low-Countries, will not be (I suppose) to wander from the History, since by continuing a relation of the last passages of a Prince of the Low-Countries, and the last Prince born a Low-Country-man, I may appear to be in the Low-Countries still. However, I presume the Reader will approve the bringing to light of this great retirement, and secret of State, wherein I shall insert many things (that would have been ill lost) into the Low-Country Annals, taking off somewhat from the following sad discourse, by the present commemoration of this soster storie.

The Emperour was scarce landed, when a tempest rising in the Harbour, scattered his whole fleet, and swallowed up the Admiral herself that carried him: as if she had farwell to *Cesar* and his fortunes. It is reported, that when he came ashore, falling upon his knees, he kiss'd the earth, and said, he did his duty to the Common Parent, and that as he came naked out of his mothers wombe, so he willingly returned to this mother naked. But when he came into *Biscany*, and from thence went to *Burgos*, being met upon the way by very few of the Spanish Nobility (not to be attracted by *Charles* alone, untended with his Titles) then he first found his nakedness. Where to was added, that his Pension of a hundred thousand Duckets (reserved out of his vast revenues, for part whereof he had present use, to reward his servants, and dismiss them) was not paid him, but he forced to wait for it at *Burgos*, not without some indignation, till at last the mighty summe was tendered. Which affront as he could hardly dissemble, so it gave many men colour to report, that the Act was scarce passed, when *Charles* repented him of the resignation of his Kingdoms. Though others say, he changed his mind upon the very day of his resignation; because many years after, when Cardinal *Granwell* re-

Masius for the Estates replies to the Emperour and King.

Qu. *Mary* surrenders her government of the Low-countries. Shortly after the Emp. gives up all his Dominions to his son.

Jan. 17.
1556.

And sends his brother the Imperial Crown by the Prince of Orange, who would have excused himself from being the messenger. *Mary* sister to *Charles* the V. and *Ferdinand*

1556.

The Emperour sails out of the Low-Countries,

August
1556.

Septemb.

He arrives in Spain, the storm sparing him, but not his ship.

His words when he landed.

His admired constancy put to the Test by the Spanish Lords. But especially by his son.

which a little moved him. Whereupon some thought he wavered in his resolution.

But those Cen-
surers were mi-
staken.

The Monastery
of S. Justus.

See. Ann. Viñ.
in Caius Cæf.

The Emperours
new habitation.

Febr.

1557.

His family, and
how accommo-
dated.

His contempt of
the world.

How he dispo-
sed his time.

His riding to
take the air.

His gardening.
His making of
clocks or watch-
es.

Jannell. Tur-
rianus, whose
Mathematicall
inventions he
much delighted
in.

membred King *Philip* of the anniversary day of his Fathers resignation, the King presently replied, And this is likewise the anniversary day of his repentance for resigning. Which spread by uncertain rumour, went for currant news, perswading the world the Emperour was not constant, so much as for a day, to his unexampled resolution: Unless perhaps King *Philip* thought not that commendable in his Father, which he himself meant not to imitate. For my part, in all my search into the books and diaries of his retirement in the two years time of his private life, I find no mark of this kind of repentance; nor would it have shewed handsome, if the lively image of such magnanimity, should be presented to succeeding ages, dressed up in the rags of penitence. But now, carried in his close chair to *Validolid*, he staid there a while with his Grand-child, *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, whose nature did not please him very well. Thence he retired to *S. Justus*, a Monastery of *Hieronomites*, the seat he had long since chosen. It stands upon the confines of *Portugal* and *Castile*, not far from the Citie of *Placentia*, in a healthfull air, made so by the sweetness of the Vale, and circling Hills; but especially by the temperate Winters. Into this place (it is reported) *Sertorius* that most valiant General retreated, when he fled the *Romane* Army, and that here he was treacherously slain. Here, at the last, the Emperour *Charles* set bounds to his sea of cares, and erecting his true *Hercules* Pillars, built himself a house joyning to the Monastery; the model whereof was upon his command, sent him a year before into the Low-Countreys, and approved of. It contained but six, at most seven Cells (for it pleases, as one saith, to know every thing that Princes do) of twenty foot in breadth and length, right Convent lodgings, from whence was a prospect, and stairs landing in a little garden, watered with a spring, planted with Citron and Lemon trees, that shot up their flowers and fruits to the very vvindowvs. And this vvas the *Mausoleum*, vvherein that mighty Emperour, not contented vvith one World, enclosed and buried himself alive; and to this narrow compass vvas that Gyant lessened, that boasted to stretch his hand further then *Hercules*. So easily vvill Nature shrink into her ovvn stature and condition, if pride that puffs up and distracts her, do but once evaporate.

Coming to this Monastery, of threescore servants, chosen out of his vast Retinue, he sent the greatest part to *Serandilla*, the next Tovvn, intending to use them, if there should be occasion; keeping onely twelve men about him, and one horse. Nor was his furniture better then his attendance, but all measured by the strict rule of necessity. And truly it was a miracle to see *Charles* the Emperour enamoured with solitude, to forget his cares, to be constant to his resolution, and so much estranged from his old customes and almost nature; that neither gold, which then in abundance the *Spanish* fleet brought him from the *Indies*; nor the noise of War, which had wont to be carried through *Europe* by his Armies and Generals, by Sea and Land; could any way unfix his mind, for so many years past used to the sound of War; or disturb his quiet, though upon the hearing of various events.

This Imperial Hermit so spent his time, that he daily bestowed part of it upon his sick and languishing body, part upon God and his Soul. For sometimes he rode up and down the grounds, with one footman; sometimes he quartered his garden into little beds, set flowers, and planted trees with his triumphant hands, as once *Dioclesian* did at *Salon*, when he likewise had resigned his Empire. He often practised to make Watches (whose wheels he governed with more ease, then Fortunes wheel) learning the art of *Fannellus Turrianus*, the *Archimedes* of his time: making many experiments of his water-

Water-works. Nay, 'tis said, the *Aquaduct* of *Toledo*, which *Jannellus* had then modelled, was much advantaged by the Emperours ingenious phanfic. And such a form as they together had conceived in that two years retirement, such was *Turrianus* his water-work, which after the Emperours decease, by a new miracle of Art, drew up the river *Tagus* to the top of the mountain of *Toledo*. This was the man that, in the Emperours solitary life, daily recreated his spirits, (much taken with such novelties) by shewing unheard of Engines and Inventions: For often, when the Cloth was taken away after dinner, he brought upon the board little armed figures of Horse and Foot, some beating Drums, others sounding Trumpets, and divers of them charging one another with their Pikes.. Sometimes he sent wooden sparrows out of his chamber into the Emperours Dining-room, that would flie round, and back again; the Superiour of the Monastery, who came in by accident, suspecting him for a Conjurer. He likewise framed a Mill of iron that turned it self, of such a subtile work and smalnes, that a Monk could easily hide it in his sleeve, yet daily it ground as much wheat, as would abundantly serve eight persons for their dayes allowance. But these sports were more frequent at the Emperours first coming. Afterward, warned by his disease, that still rung the larium of death, he more sparingly gave them admittance, onely at such houres as his pain left him: for now he made it his first care, often to come to Church at times appointed for the Monks to sing Prayers: He often read Saints lives, and discoursed of holy things more frequently, then he accustomed: he washed out the stains of his Conscience, by Confession of his sinns, and ate the bread of Angels, though sometimes not fasting, for which he had a dispensation (by reason of the weaknes of his stomach) granted by the Pope. Nay, with a discipline of platted cords (so much prevailed the example of others, and a mind once conquerour over it self) he put himself to constant sharp penance for his former life. Which Discipline King *Philip* ever had in great veneration, and a little before his death commanded it to be brought to him, and as it was stained in the blood of *Charles* his father, he sent it to his sonn *Philip* the third: and they say, it is still preserved among the pious monuments of the House of *Austria*. Lastly, upon occasion of those funerall Obsequies, which he celebrated for his Mother, on the Anniverfary of her decease, a new desire set him a longing (if it were lawfull) to celebrate his own funeralls: advising hereupon with *John Regula*, a Father of the Convent, and his Confessour: when he told him, it was (though without president, yet) a pious and meritorious act; he commanded immediately, that all funerall preparations should be made. A Herse was therefore set up in the Church, torches lighted, and his servants in black hood about it, the Service for the dead being mournfully sung by the Religious men. He himself surviving his own funeralls, beheld in that imaginary last office, the true tears of his attendance: He heard the Hymn, wishing him happy rest among the Saints; and he himself singing with them, prayed for his own soul: till coming near him that officiated, and delivering him the torch he held lighted in his hand, with eyes lifted up to heaven, he said, *Thou great Judge of life and death, I humbly beseech thee, as the Priest takes from me this wax-light I offer; so thou at last in thine own good time, wilt graciously please to receive my Spirit, which I commend into thy hands, arms, and bosome.* Then, as he was, in a loose mourning garment, he lay down upon the floor, all the Church beginning to weep a fresh, and as he had been laid forth to take their last farwell. It seems, the Emperour by these feigned Rites, plaid with approaching death: for two dayes after his personated Obsequies, he fell into a fever, which by little and little

His extraordinary care of his soul.
Joseph Seguenza in the History of his Order, l. 1.

By the Bull of Julius 111.
1554. Marc. 19

He disciplined himself.
His whip revered by his son.

Aug. 30.
1558.

Immediately he falls sick.

confu-

Barthol. Miranda.

Soon after he died.

Sept. 21.

1558.

His funerals ushered with Prodigies in heaven.

Observed by Jan. Turrius present at the Emperours death.

And in earth.

How long he reigned.

Diverse reasons commonly given for his resignation.

His fear of fortunes mutability

Peter Mexius in the life of Charles the V. Thuanus, l. 26.

1552.

Hipp. Chizzal. in his book intitled, The letters of Princes.

consuming him, the Archbishop of *Toledo* gave him all the supplies by the Christian Church appointed for the struggling soul, and the Monks that came frequently out of their Cels into his Bed-chamber, prayed God to send their Guest a happy convey to the mansion of the Blessed; and on the Eve of the Evangelist *S. Matthew*, in the eight and fiftieth year of his age (whereof he onely lived two years, with a great sence of Piety and Religion) he departed this life. His death was attended with conspicuous signes in Heaven and Earth: For a while after he sickned, there was seen a blazing star in *Spain*, at first somewhat dimm, but as his disease increased, so it grew in brightness, and at last shooting its fiery hair point blank against the Monastery of *S. Justus*, in the very hour the Emperour died, the Comet vanished. Nor happened this without admiration; in the Emperours garden sprung a Lilly, which at the same time put forth two buds: The one, as it is usuall, blowing in the Moneth of *May*: The other (though as well watered) gave no signe of laying its great belly all the Spring and Summer: but that night wherein the Emperours soul put off the garment of his body, the Lilly suddenly breaking her Challice, with an unseasonable and unexpected Spring, began to blow. It was likewise observed by all, that this Lilly laid upon the high Altar for men to view, was received as a happy and white omen.

Thus *Charles* the fifth, when he had enjoyed his Fathers kingdomes fourty yeares, the Empire six and thirty, and himself two, after the resignment of all these, left it doubtful, whether he merited more honour in so long governing the Empire, and many Kingdoms, or in relinquishing them all together. Yet, I am not ignorant, this Act was then diversly censured; and at this day, the Emperours resignment is an argument for Rhetoricians to declaim upon in the Schools, and Politicians at Court. But omitting the conceptions of these men, and such builders of Castles in the air, I will give you the common and most probable opinions.

Many had one reason before their eyes, to wit, his infirmity of the gout, which from his fiftieth yeare gave him no intervals, but continually tormented and forced him (as he professed at his solemn resignation) by a safe prevention, both for his own and his kingdomes good, to transfer the weight of that Government, which he knew himself no longer able to sustain, upon a man in the full strength of youth and courage. The subtiler people, that dive into the secrets of business, and sleight all that is visible, suspected that the Emperour, terrified with the fortune of *Henry* the second of *France*, held it safer to encounter him with the youth of his sonne, ambitious and capable of government, then with his own declining years and victories. They likewise observed, that from the time he tried in vain to recover the Town of *Metz*, from the *French*, and fate down before it with an army of one hundred thousand men, whereof he lost no fewer then fourty thousand; he contracted such inward grief: especially having been forced a while before, by *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, to save himself by an unhandsome, at least unaccustomed retreat: That for some dayes he kept his chamber, and ever after his disease grew sharper. Nay, it was commonly believed, that *Cesars* fortune glutted and grown coy, began to retire, and that the happy genius of this so long unconquered Emperour was fled to *Henry* the French King: *Cesar* himself not able to dissemble it, being heard to say: *It seems, Fortune is the young mans mistress*. And therefore for his Device of *Hercules* pillars and the motto, *More beyond*, there was painted a Crab-fish, the word, *More on this side*, a jeer agreeable with the times. Some said, The Emperour did like a wary Gamster at Dice, who having drawn a great summe of monie in many houres play,

play, held his hand betimes: and suffered not himself to be stript of all his victorious heap at one throw. Contrary to this was the sense of others, That imputed *Cesars* act to his immense ambition. For being of a spirit, as covetous of fame as ever any since the first *Cesars* times, when he conceived it arrived at the highest point of Glory, by so many victories over all kinds of enemies, and these carried with so strange a fortune, that hardly any one took the field against him, whom he saw not vanquished, nay (which we seldom read) bound and Captive: at last he laid down and spurned away the greatest Crowns and Scepters of *Europe* and *America*; by this unusuall Conquest, aiming at new Titles of Honour, not easie to be equalled by Posterity. An obscure report was likewise spread abroad, That the *Emperour* was moved with the Complaints of his sonne *Philip*, dayly wounded with the scorn and riming Libells of the English, That brooked not in their Island a Spanish Lord: the Common People therefore called him not the King, but the Queens Husband: upon this occasion, he more passionately represented to his Father his fortune and condition, to work him the sooner to resign the Low-countreys, having had some intimation of the *Emperours* intent: and like Children born of young Parents that come old to their inheritance, impatiently expected the good houre. But there are that make another construction, and affirm, the *Emperour* pitched upon this Resolve, touched onely with Religion, and pricked in Conscience about many things, for which he thought it best to make his peace betimes with the Divine Majestie, before he was summoned to give in his accounts: for the *Emperours* spirit, not altogether deaf to Piety, was struck with a sad remembrance of divers actions, That he had made a League with *Henry King of England*, excommunicated for his sake by the Bishop of *Rome*. Wherein, the injury he received by *King Henries* divorce from the *Emperours* great Aunt, *Queen Katharine*: and his constant promise never to hold amity with any heretical Prince, unless reconciled to the Church of *Rome*: were both weakly undervalued to advance his inexpressible hatred to the *French*. Besides to have medled in the cause of Religion, taking upon him the *Popes* office, and commanding a book to be published in *Germany*, which contained a confession of Faith: to the observance whereof all should be obliged, till the Council of *Trent* were ended. Which book, though in many places it was agreeable to the Catholick Church, yet some were contrary, as the marriage of Priests, and receiving the Communion under both kinds: for being penned by a Juncto of Catholicks and Hereticks, as it often happens, it pleased neither side. Lastly, at the storming and sack of *Rome*, he consented to the *Popes* imprisonment, and would have had him carried into *Spain*, but that publick infamy forced him to decline it. Yet would he not own the wofull plundering of the sacred City: nay when the news was brought him into *Spain*, he prohibited by Proclamation, the publick joy for his sonne *Philips* birth, and putting on mournings, commanded an adjournment of the Courts of Justice. But what it was in him, not onely not to do justice upon those that robbed the Town and Churches, but also to use their service for seven moneths together, to keep the *Vicar of Christ* Prisoner in the in the Castle of *S. Angelo*, yea close prisoner, and in so wretched a condition, that an old herb-woman because pitying his cries she hid some Lettice in the Castle-ditch which a boy was to give him up by a cord: The Captain of the Guard meeting her, furiously with his own hands hanged her upon the Castle gates, crucifying the eyes of the poor Bishop with that horrid spectacle. Finally the *Emperour* having no sense of his so great calamitie, compelled the *Pope*, as if he had been a profane enemy, to purchase his liberty with a huge

His immoderate desire of glory.

Francis King of France. Henry King of Navarre. Clem. 7. Bishop of Rome P. M. Guliel. Duke of Cleve-land.

J. Fred. the Electour of Saxony.

Ernest Duke of Brunswick.

Phil. Landgrave of Hellen.

His Sonnes complaints.

Adrian. l. 13. of his History Thua. l. 16.

Gabrera upon Phil. 2. l. 1. c. 5. & 8.

His necessity to make his peace with God.

1543.

For entering into a league with Hen. 8. of Eng. contrary to his engagement to the Pope.

Jov. l. 43, 44, 45

For determining matters of religion.

For imprisoning the Pope.

6. May

1527.

Guic. l. 18.

21. May

1527.

Jov. l. 26.

To do penance
for these crimes
he left the
world.

It is probable
there was a
concurrence of
many causes.
But no rash ones
or unworthy the
greatness of his
Imperiall ma-
jesty.

1541.

1542.

1553.

June.

July 1553.

1554.

1555.

The fear of
death was the
chief motive
of putting his
Resolve in exe-
cution.

1555.

Andreas Ve-
salius.

He was quick-
ned by a noble
saying of one
of his Com-
manders.

It is concluded
the Emperours
resolution came
from heaven.

ransome. No doubt but such wicked deeds, as they were prejudged by a common execration, so *Charles* the fifth acknowledged and condemned them in himself, and their sting, left in his soul, caused that Prince (otherwise religious) to do this last act for pacifying the offended *Deity*. Yet some there are that excuse the *Emperour* in point of crime, and lay much of the fault upon the Age, the Warre and an armed multitude, whose fury, once awaked, is not ever to be governed by one mans hand. This I find, was most of the discourse of these times touching the Resignment of *Charles* the fifth: and at this day it is credited or slighted with like faction and ignorance of truth. For my own part though I know great designs are driven on by many causes, as great ships, by many oars, yet I cannot perswade my self, the fear of mutable fortune, or any lighter cause, contributed to *Cesars* determination. Forasmuch as almost ten years before his death, about the very harvest time of his Victories, in his last Will and Testament made at *Auspurg*, he mentioned the Resigning of his Kingdomes, and long before that time, I am well assured the *Emperour* was minded to divest himself of all the cares and baggage of the world, the better to make his speedy retreat to heaven. This was onely imparted to *Francis Borgia* Duke of *Gandia*, who afterward entered into the Society of *Jesus*, with a severe injunction, that he should not reveal that intention to any living, which the *Emperour* resolved to execute, as soon as the Warre gave him any time to breathe. Nor when he had surrendered the Empire were things in such a condition, to make him repent his fortune: for a while after, the siege of *Metz* was raised, *Terwin* a strong Fort in the Low-countries, and *Hedin* where anciently the Princes of *Artois* kept their Courts, were taken, and upon both places many of the *French* Gentry slain. Nay in *Italy*, part of the Isle of *Corsica* was in despite of the enemy preserved for the *Genoveses*, and (which was yet happier) the Citie *Sienna* was taken, the *French* beat out of it, and almost out of all the Dutchy of *Florence*. But I believe what he had often designed was then resolved, when his disease came to that height, that he often fainted away: especially, when he heard of his mothers death, he began to make sure account his own fate drew nigh: so that he was many times perswaded he heard his mothers voice, calling her sonne to her. Which opinion took the deeper impression, because *Vesalins* phyitian to the *Emperour*, struck not to tell him (with strange freedom in a man of his profession) that his life could not continue. So as the *Emperour* made haste to do, what he had so often determined, lest death that followed close, should prevent him. And at that time was often heard to repeat the words of one of his Commanders (whose worth I better know, then his name) that being an old Officer of Horse, and resolving to leave the world, when he petitioned the *Emperour* for a discharge from service, who urged him to give a reason for his new resolution, they say his answer was, *That between the business of life, and day of death, a space ought to be interposed*. Which ingenious sentence printed it self in the *Emperours* heart, that had been long upon the like meditation. But then, when the end of his life was visible, he held it his best course to lay hold upon that space, beyond which there is nothing. Wherein, neglecting the affairs of others, he might onely regard his own concernment: rescue himself from external cares, representing and confining himself onely to himself, before the hand of necessity should arrest and carry him to Gods Tribunall, guilty, in so high a degree, of mortall happiness. To that purpose he retired into this sanctuary, where solitude gave him leasure: and the sanctity of the place, encouragement and assistance. Indeed, he that observes either his magnanimity in resigning his vast Empire by sea and land, not leaving a span of ground subject





*Philip the Second King of Spaine,
Prince of the Low-countries.*

Ro. Vaughan sculp.

subject to his power: or his constancy to the cloystered and private life he had undertaken, in that two years time; wherein he extended his victory over himself; or his holy end, which did not surprize him, but came when he was prepared (which is the hardest task) for death in life: He, I say, must needs acknowledge it to be no trifling cause, or unworthy of so great a soul; but an excellently pious and indeed a heavenly motive that brought the Emperour to this Resolve.

But whatsoever it was, King *Philip*, after his Fathers decease, disposing of his new Dominions, instead of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, substituted in the government of the *Low-Countries* and *Burgundy*, *Emmanuel Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, who, besides his nearness of blood to *Charles* the fifth, had given him many proofs of his experience in the Warrs, especially in those Provinces, against the *French*. Nor were his great abilities less usefull to King *Philip*, in the War that welcomed him to his new Principality. For though the Kings, *Henry* and *Philip*, in the beginning of this year, by the mediation of *Mary* Queen of *England*, had made a five years truce at *Cambrey*; yet by reason of the Warre, flaming between the *Pope* and King *Philip*, the Truce within the year was broken: the *Spaniard* laying the fault upon the *French*, and the *French* upon the *Spaniard*. King *Henry* called into *Italy* by the *Caraffi*, embraced the specious pretence of protecting the *Pope*; but per-adventure he looked not so much upon the cause, as upon the issue of the War, easily believing he should conquer this new and unexperienced Prince, having at more then one Battel overthrown so old a Souldier, and so great a Conquerour as his Father. And now the *French* having past the *Alps* under the Duke of *Guise's* Command, fought for the *Pope* in *Italy*, and at the same time, entring the *Low-Countries* under the Conduct of *Colligni*, plundered the Province of *Artois*. Whilest King *Philip* (the Duke of *Alva* strongly prosecuting his affairs in *Italy*) on the one part prevailed with his Wife; to denounce War against King *Henry*: on the other part, he commanded *Philibert* Duke of *Savoy*, to make an inrode into *France*; by whose valour and conduct, he won that memorable Victory at *S. Quintins*, which put all *France* into a shaking fit, inso much as the greatest part of their Gentry being prisoners to the *Spaniard*, the rest marched into *Italy*; it was the common fear, if the Conquerour came on, he would easily possess himself of *Paris*; most of the Townsmen being fled to the neighbouring cities, as if the *Spaniard* were at their gates. But King *Henry* commanding the Duke of *Guise* out of *Italy*, and raising a great Army, (which is ordinary in *France*, where the children are bred souldiers) he soon interrupted the *Spanish* triumph: for immediately he took *Calice*, (which Port the Kings of *England* used to call, *The Portall of France*, and so long as they enjoyed it, they said, They wore the keyes of *France* at their girdle) being all the remainder of their two hundred years conquest, that was kept by the *Englishmen* upon the continent of *France*, which Kingdome in a few dayes they were forced to restore to its ancient bounds, retiring to their own within the Sea. But shortly after the Die of War ran on the *Spanish* side: For King *Philip* perceiving the *French* Army to be divided, proud of their number and success, having in hope devoured all the *Low-Countries*, he himself divided his own forces, part he sent against *Paulus Termus* (burning and spoyling the Sea-coast of *Flanders*) under the Command of *Lamorall* Count *Egmont*, the gallantest of all the *Low-country-men*, who was Generall of his Horse at the battel of *S. Quintin*, and a great cause of the victory. The other part of his Army he sent into *Savoy*, to attend the motion of the Duke of *Guise*. Count *Egmont*

The new Kings
first care.

The Duke of Sa-
voy made go-
vernour of the
Low-countries.

The Truce be-
tween France
and Spain bro-
ken.

Febr.
On what occas-
on.
Thuan. l. 22.

Decemb.

The French in-
vade the Low-
Countries.
Ferdinand of
Tolledo Duke
of Alva.

June 1557.
Aug. 1550.
The Spaniard
first was con-
querour at S.
Quintins.

Presently after
the French re-
covered Calice.
Jan. 1558.

The Spaniard
bath another vi-
storie at Grave-
ling.

Fortune seconds
valour.

July
1558.

The women
cruellie to the
French.

A Treatie of
peace between
the Kings.

Concluded by
mediation of the
Duchesse of
Lorain.

At Cambray,
the Peace-ma-
king city.

April
1556.

To the generall
contentment.
Charles the V.
& Francis the I.

Aug.
1529.

Alice the Kings
mother, and
Margaret the
Emperours aunt
The Peace con-
firmed by mar-
riage.
Of the King of
Spain to the
French Kings
daughter.

mont fighting a battel before *Graveling*, a port of *Flanders*, with great va-
lour and fortune won the day: For whilst the old souldiers of both Armies
fought doubtfully for sometimes, on a sudden the *French* gave ground, and
lost the battel: for ten *English* ships, as they sailed by, seeing the fight, struck
into the mouth of the river of *Hay*, and with their Cannon so galled the
French on that side, where they held themselves to be impregnable, com-
ing upon them with such an unexpected and therefore a more dreadfull
storm from sea, that the Foot being disordered, their fear was infused into
the Horse, so as their Army being routed, there scarce remained one of the
whole number to carry home news of the overthrow. For part were slain
in the fight, the Duke and his great Officers taken prisoners, the rest were
either knocked down as they swam, by the *English* (besides two hundred
taken alive, and presented to the *Queen*, for witnesses of their service at the
battel) or by the Boors, in revenge of the plundering and firing of their
houses, killed without mercy. To their misfortune was added, that the
reliques of the Army, scattered in places they knew not about *Flanders*, had
their brains beaten out by the women, that came upon them with clubs and
spits, and (which is a more dangerous weapon) armed with the furie of their
sex, some almost railing them to death, others pricking their bodkins into
them, with exquisite barbarity pulled them to pieces with their nayls, as the
Bacchanals tore *Orpheus*. Thus *Henry* of *France*, loosing two battels in one
year, seeing his old souldiers slain, and (which is of sadder consequence)
the noblest of his subjects taken prisoners, which are the strength of the
French Militia, He willingly embraced that peace, which so long as for-
tune smiled upon him, he had sleighted: And King *Philip* moved by the
accession of *Calice* to the Kingdome of *France*, and his experience of the
War, had the like inclination to Peace. Just as we see, after the clouds
have fought, and are broken, the Sun breaks forth: nor ever shines a greater
hope of Peace, then when a War is seriously prosecuted, fury being as it
were glutted and weary with the slaughter. The honour of this Peace
was attributed to *Christiern*, Dutchess of *Lorain*, mediating between the
two Kings, as cosen-germane to King *Philip*, and by late affinity gracious
with King *Henry*. Nor is it unusuall to employ that Sex in such transac-
tions, for it is held a point of Civility to yield to their solicitation. The news
of this Peace (which after long dispute opened it self with the Spring) in the
city of *Cambray*, was received with so great a joy of the Christian world,
weary of the tedious War, that higher expression of contented minds are
scarce recorded in the memory of man. They that compared this peace,
with that concluded between the fathers of these Kings, above thirty years
before, mediated likewise by Princeesses, and concluded (where this was) in
the Town of *Cambray*, a place destinated (as it seems) for peacemaking;
shall find then no common joy, because divers Princes were not parties
to the League, and the warr in *Italy* still continued. Whereas all the Prin-
ces of *Europe* being equally comprehended in this Peace, an equall joy
spread it self through all nations, filling every mind with great hope of long
friendship between the Kings: which afterward fell out accordingly. A
Marriage was likewise made, the better to confirm the Peace; which not-
withstanding continues among Princes, no longer then ambition suffers it,
to which for the most part Kings are more truly married.

King *Philip* (*Mary* Queen of *England* being dead the year before) was of-
fered a wife that had been promised to his son *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*; *Isa-
bella* King *Henries* daughter, eleven years of age, who because she was born
when

when the peace was begun with *England*, and married to make a peace with *Spain*, they called her Princess *Peace*. In like manner *Emmanuel Philibert* married King *Henries* sister *Margaret*, and had in portion with her all those towns beyond and on this side the Alps, which *Francis* the first, and *Henry* himself had taken from him. But never did *France* celebrate so joyfull a Wedding with so sad a close. Among other preparations there a *Tournament*, that is a fearful pleasure and an honourable danger: wherein one cannot think them to be in jest, that fight: nor to fight, when they see all intended but for sport. It is an exercise the *French* exceedingly affect, and they account it noble, as being a bold and warlike nation. The Lists now set up, and scaffolded like a stage, were filled with the best Tilers in *Christendome*; (for *France* challenged *Europe* at the breaking of a spear.) The two first dayes the King himself ran and had the Victory, but when he came the third time in all his glory into the Lists, against the advice of the Lords, encountering the Captain of his Guard, before his Bever was down, a splinter of his Lance flying in his face, struck out his right eye, and shooting into his brain (the Queen and Queen-mother with the Kings children beholding those unfortunate Revells) he presently fell in a swoone, and being caught in mens arms the whole stage running bloud, which but now rung with joyfull acclamations and applauses, suddenly turned into mournings and lamentations. The fifth day after, this Prince no less valiant then religious, and every way worthy a better fate, departed his life. And before the eyes of an infinite multitude, which it seems he had proudly invited to his own funerals, he acted to the life, without scene or fable, the Tragedy of mortall happiness. They say, one that cast his nativity (as these kind of Predictions are commonly produced, after the event) foretold this very accident. For Queen *Katharine of Medives*, desirous to know the fate of her children of the Astrologer *Gauricus*, he answered her, the Kings head would be endangered by a Duell. Others say, the very night before his misfortune, the Queen had the manner of his death presented in her dream. But some who wisely observed, not without admiration of Divine justice, that the King, who in the beginning of his Reign, gave way to a serious Duell, between two young Gentlemen of great families, and with the Lords of his Court sate to behold it: should in an unfortunate mock Duell lose both his life and Kingdom. Howbeit he was then penitent for the fact, and had made a vow never after to allow of any more such fighting: And if in this last *Tournament* he sinned in the vain ostentation of his strength, no doubt but he abundantly redeemed it, in that admirable and Christian constancie of his soul in her extreamest agony. Sure he had contributed much to the religious meekness of the *French*, if he had buried this barbarous Recreation in his tomb.

This year (that I may enlarge my History a little) was fatal (if we may so call it) to many and great Princes, that dyed one after another: especially since no contagion reigned among the People, very few vulgar corpses being then buried: yet, in the compas of one year, most of the Lords of *Europe* were entombed. There dyed the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the second of *France*, *Christian* King of *Denmark*, and *Christiern* also King of *Denmark*, the last onely surviving four and twenty dayes. Queen *Eliano*r sister to *Charles* the fifth, married first to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugall*, then to *Francis* the first of *France*, *Mary* who followed her brother *Charles* the fifth within less then a moneth, and a Queen of *England* of that name, and *Bona Sforza* mother to *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*, the

I
The King of
France his sister
married at the
same time to the
Duke of Savoy
A Tourna-
ment at the
wedding.

Where the King
is wounded.

Gabriel Count
de Montgom-
ry, but soon
after wounded.

Dies July 2.
1549.

His death fore-
told.

Luc. Gaur.
Thuf. 4. 22.
Lod. Guicci-
ard. 2. 3.
The history of
the Nether-
lands.

1559.
Anonym. in
that Hist.
Thuf. 4. 3. &
22. Viduf. Ca-
vocius &
Francis Vi-
vonus.
The judgement
of prudent men
upon the Kings
fate.
A strange con-
junctione this
year of Princes
funerals.

1559.

King of Rome.

Of Belgium,
or the Low-
countreys.
Its Name.

Greatness.

Wealth.
Guicciardine
in his description
of the Low-
countreys.
Cities, Towns,
Villages.
Forts.

Militia.

Navigation.

Trade of cloth-
ing.Inclination.
Adv. Jien. in
his Tract of
Holland, attri-
butes it to the
air they live in.The Character
of a Low-coun-
treys man.

other two were wives to Kings, one to *Lodowick of Hungary*, the other to *Philip the second of Spain*. There died *Pope Paul the fourth*, attended by the funerals of ten *Cardinals*, two *Princes Electors*, the *Archbishop of Culen*, and the *Prince Palatine, Laurentius Priulus Duke of Venice*, and *Hercules Este Duke of Ferrara*: not to name inferiour Princes, whose continued Obsequies filled the Annual Register, so as that season seemed to be Deaths greater Harvest, when he croppt the heads of Nations, as *Tarquin* struk off the Poppy-heads. King *Philip* therefore, having now concluded a Peace, departed with his *Queen* from *Savoy* into *Italy*, (for King *Henries* death had altered no part of the agreement) and before his going into *Spain* to take possession of his Kingdomes, he thought it best to settle not onely the Civil and Military, but likewise the Ecclesiasticall State of the Low-Countreys.

Belgica, by Forreiners called *Flanders*, from the noblest part of it, and the *Low-Countreys* from the low situation, or (as the *Germans* will have it) from affinity with their language and manners, is known by the name of the lower *Germany*: it is indeed a little parcel of *Europe*, as not much exceeding the fifth part of *Italy*, nor above a thousand miles in compasse: yet I hardly know any Countrey more rich, or populous: The *Prince* making as much of *Flanders* as the *Kings of England* (set by the revenues of the Church) used to do of that large Island. It containeth Cities, or Towns equall to Cities, above three hundred and fiftie: great Villages (to omit the lesser) above six thousand three hundred: besides Forts, that stand so thick, as if the ground were sown with them: Yet the ingeniousness of the People, and their contrivance is such, as their variety and plenty of manufactures are more then can be used, in the narrow bounds of this one Nation. The world hath not a more industrious, richer, or constanter *Militia*, so as *Mars* seems here to set up school, and teach the Art of War, to people that come hither from all climates. Then what unknown sea-coasts and Regions beyond the Line, hath not the *Hollander* discovered? as much as Nature by Land contracts their limits, so much by Sea have they opened to themselves larger Countreys, which they have subdued and peopled, extending as it were the *Suburbs* of the seventeen *Provinces*. The Cloth and Stuff they make, not onely fill (as great as it is) all *Europe*, but far and wide, through every Nation of *Africa* and *Asia*, they daily bear about the Low-Countreys: Nay, the *West-Indians*, trucking for their Linnen and Woollen, have learned the names of the Low-Countrey cities. To conclude, we seldome at this day admire the workmanship of any Engines, which the Low-Countrey men have not either invented, or brought unto perfection. Heretofore their wits were indeed kept under and depressed, when their fortune was as low as their Countrey: Now there is an other age, and other manners. Their love to learning, their skill in Sea-fights, their gainfull trade of Navigation, the well-ordering of the Common-wealth by themselves created, their stupendious Fire and Water-works (proofs of no dejected natures) are scarce any where to be matched, I am sure so many together are not to be seen in all the rest of *Europe*, as in this little plot of the Low-Countreys. It is likewise proper to this Nation (if left to themselves) to hate fraud, and by that credit which they know they themselves deserve, to measure others. They are not greatly taken with presents, at least not long, using benefits like flowers, that please while they are fresh: their sense of injuries is the same, which they presently forget, and easily pass over, unless they conceive themselves sleighted, then their fury is implacable. They have likewise a shrewd guess of their own strength, seldome undertaking any thing they do not

not compass. Yet no people under heaven drive on a subtiler traffick, either by Sea or Land, inhabiting both the Elements, and not obliged by the Laws of either. In this they exceed, that how great soever their gains or losses are (a Common case with Merchants) they passe it over with so little and dull a sense of joy or grief, as you would think them *factours* for others, & not *owners* of the goods, I suppose out of the native temper of their minds, and the air of their Countrey that quickens them with colder spirits. But in maintaining their liberty, they are very fierce, for they hold it an honour to undervalue all things in respect of that: wherein they sometimes come nearer to licentiousness, then liberty. The whole Region of *Belgica* is divided, according to their own calculation, into seventeen *Provinces*, which not long ago were either by affinity, or traffick, or arms, associated under the Government of one Prince. *Philip* was the first of all the Dukes of *Burgundy*, under whose protection many more *Belgick* Provinces put themselves, then ever submitted to any other. For *Burgundy*, *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Limburgh*, *Lucemburgh*, *Artois*, *Hainolt*, *Namurs*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Frizeland*, the *Marquisate* of the sacred *Empire*, were solely in his possession. To these his sonne *Charles* joyned *Gelderland* and *Zutsen*, both which he first bought of Duke *Arnold*, who disinherited his sonne *Adolph*, that kept him six years a Prisoner: then after the death of *Arnold* and *Adolph*, he fought for them with the sonne to *Adolph*, and wonne them in the field. But Duke *Charles* being slain at the battel of *Nantes*, and the French King *Lewis* the Eleventh prosecuting the Warre against *Mary* Daughter and heir to *Charles*, this Principality was lessened by the loss of *Artois* to the French, and many other little Towns in *Burgundy*. And though *Maximilian* by his victory at *Guinigate*, a little after his marriage with *Mary*, restored divers of them to the Low-countreys: yet when a peace was made between him and the French, and *Margaret* Daughter to *Maximilian*, and *Mary* espoused to *Charles* the Dolphin: the Counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy* were, in the name of her Dowre, cut off again from the Low-Countreys. But *Margaret*, being refused by *Charles* when he came to the Crown, after that refusall had revived the Warre, *Charles* posting into *Italy* to the Conquest of *Naples*, made a Peace with *Maximilian* and his sonne *Philip*, returning *Margaret* and the Provinces he had with her to the Low-Countreys; onely he kept the Forts in his hands which his successour *Lewis* the twelfth, wholly bent upon the design of *Millain*, rendered of his own accord. But those of *Gelderland* and *Zutsen*, submitting to their Lords, and troubling the Low-countreys with incursions, especially the parts about *Utrecht*: *Charles* the fifth having overthrown *Charles* Duke of *Gelderland*, entered upon them again, by the right of Conquest. But in regard the Warres, often renewed upon this occasion, had been exceeding chargeable: the *Emperour* annexed the Provinces of *Utrecht* and *Overyssel* to the Low-Countreys: (*Henry* Baviere Bishop and Lord *Utrecht* willingly resigning them) and defending *Groin* against those of *Gelderland*: adding *Cambray* and *Cambresy* to the Province of *Artois*, enlarged the *Belgick* Dominion. At length, after his victory at *Pavia* (by an agreement made between the *Emperour* and the King) the Low-Countreys were freed from the jurisdiction of the French King, who formerly was their Lord Paramount: so that *Charles* the fifth of all the *Belgick* Princes had the greatest and most absolute command. Now most of these Provinces, as once they had severall Lords, so after they were subjected to one, almost each of them had their severall and respective Laws and a peculiar form of government. Which they say was the Principall cause that *Charles* the fifth, when he

Belgium divided into 17 Provinces.

which came to one Prince three wayes.

Philip the Good had them by affinity. *Meyer* l. 17. *Charles* the Souldier by Purchase and the Sword. *Pont. Heut.* l. 1. But he lost some of them.

Paulus Emil. l. 10. and *Pont. Heut.* l. 2.

Part *Maximilian* recovered by arms. The same Authour in the same book and lib. 5.

Part by Treaty. *Guic.* lib. 1. 4. 8. *Belcar.* l. 8.

Charles the fifth possessed himself of all together. *Pont. Heut.* lib. 11. and 9.

The same l. 11. and *Meyer.*

Guic. lib. 16. and *Pont. Heut.* lib. 11.

And thought to have made a Kingdom of them, *Guic.* *Meyer.*

why he did not.

The distribution
of the Provinces

1546.

1556.

The government
whereof King
Philip gave to
the Lords.

Lucemburgh
to Count Mans-
field.

1559.

Namure to
Count Barla-
mont.

Lymburgh to
the Count of
East-Frizeland
Haynolt to
John Lanoi
Lord of Mo-
lembase.

But he shortly
after dying, it
was bestowed
on the Marquess
of Berghen.

Flanders and
Artois to Count
Egmont.

French-Flan-
ders to John
Momorancy.

Tournay to his
Brother Flo-
rence.

Holland and
Zeland to the
Prince of O-
range.

1559.

Frizeland and
Overysell to
Count Arem-
bergh.

Gelderland
and Zutfen be-
as then assigned
to no one.

he was exceedingly desirous to mould these Provinces into a Kingdome, which had been attempted by his great Grand-father) gave off the designe, because they were so different in manners, language, customes, and emulation incident to neighbours, that he thought it hardly possible to reduce them to one kind of government, whereof a Kingdome must consist, none of the Provinces consenting to yield precedence to any of the rest, or to submit to the Laws of others as their superiours. From hence was derived the custome for the Low-countrey *Princes*, besides Governours of towns, to place a Governour in every Province that should minister justice according to their Laws and Customes. And King *Philip* was well pleased to have in his power the disposall of the Provinces, in most of which the Governours places were void: That he might remunerate the valour and service of the Lords so often tried in the late Warres. He therefore pickt out the flower of the *Belgick* Nobility: choosing none, but such as either *Charles* his Father or he himself had made companions of the order of the *Golden-fleece*. *Lucemburgh*, a Province bordering upon *France* and *Lorrain*, and therefore more famed for slaughter then riches, he gave to *Ernest* Count *Mansfield*, who had formerly been Governour thereof. He was born in *Saxony*: for his military experience and fidelity to *Charles* the fifth and King *Philip*, equally beloved of both. *Namures* and *Lymburgh* neighbours on either hand to *Lucemburgh* (very small Countreys, but fruitfull) he bestowed, the one upon *Charles* Count *Barlamont*, that, with his four sonnes spirited like their father, had been alwayes passionately for the King: the other he gave to *John* Count of *East-Frizeland*. But *Haynolt*, the seminary of the *Belgick* Nobility, was not at this time given to the Marquesse of *Berghen* op *Zoom*, what ever others write, but to *John Lanoi* Lord of *Molembase*, who the next year dying, *Margaret* of *Austria* Dutches of *Parma*, supreme Governess of the *Netherlands*, by her special letters to the King, obtained that Province for *John Glimed* son in law to *Molembase* and Marquess of *Berghen*, more gracious with *Charles* the fifth then with his son. In *Flanders* (which they say is one of the Noblest and most potent Provinces of *Christendome*) and *Artois* bordering upon *Flanders*, he constituted *Lamoral* Prince of *Gauze* Count *Egmont* a great Commander. That part of *Flanders*, which because they speak *Walloon*, or broken *French*, is called *French-Flanders*: and the City of *Tournay* thereunto appendent, had for their Governours the *Momorancies*, *John* and *Florentius*, this Lord of *Mountain*, that of *Courir*. But over *Holland* and *Zeland* and the parts adjacent that is the *District* of *Utrecht*: Provinces of great strength by Sea and Land, the King placed *William* of *Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, of great authority in the Low-Countreys, yet no Low-Countreyman. To the government of *West-Frizeland* and *Overysell* the King advanced *John Lignius* Count *Arembergh*, conspicuous for his loyalty to his Master and his experience in Warre. *Gelderland* and *Zutfen* formerly annexed to *Gelderland*, were at this time distributed like the other Provinces among the Low-Countrey Lords, as all Writers affirm. Yet, by their leave, the truth was otherwise: for the King at his departure thence disposed of neither of these Governments. I suppose it was, because *Philip* *Memorancie* Count of *Horn*, stood in competition for them, who had once been Governour of both: to whose pretension it was conceived *Anthony Granvell* Bishop of *Arras* was an adversary: the King, who confided in this mans judgement, but yet would not be present when the other should receive offence, went into *Spain*, leaving these Provinces without a Governour: that so he might spin out the expectation of Count *Horn*, and weary him with a tedious suit. And now tired

red indeed and hopeles to get it for himself, he altered the name, and petitioned in behalf of his Brother the Lord *Montin*, intreating the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, the *Governeſs*, that ſhe would pleaſe to write to the King in favour of his Brother. She did ſo, putting in his name among divers others, by her commended to his Maieſtie: but at the ſame time in cypher, ſhe wiſhed the King to approve of none for that Command, but onely *Charles Brimed* Count of *Megen*, who was immediately choſen. In no leſs an error are they that affirm the King in this diſtribution, to have aſſigned to the Prince of *Orange*, the Dutchy of *Burgundy*, appertaining to the *Belgick* Princes: when his Maieſtie approved and confirmed the preſent Governour thereof, *Claudius Vergius* Lord of *Champlitt*: and it was the year following, when *Claudius* died, that her Excellence of *Parma*, by her letters to the King, obtained *Burgundy* for the Prince of *Orange*.

The Provinces thus diſpoſed (for *Brabant* is never commanded by any but the Prince and his Vicegerent, the ſupream Governour of the Low-Countryes) the King began to order the *Militia*, and leaving *Spaniſh* Garrisons upon the Borders, he thought of diſpoſing the Horſe, the proper *Militia* of the Low-countryes. They ſay it is very ancient, and was far more numerous. *Charles* the fifth leſſened it to three thouſand; but then he encreaſed it in the choiſe of Noble and valiant perſons: he armed them with half pikes and carabines, which ſo well they handled, as the Low-country Troops were famous over *Europe*. *Philip*, by his fathers example, dividing the Horſe into fourteen Troops, appointed over them ſo many Commanders of the greateſt of his Lords, (*viſz.*) all the ſaid Governours of Provinces, (*Courir*, and the Count of *East-Frizland* excepted) *Philip Croi* Duke of *Areſco*, *Maximilian* Henrin Count of *Bolduke*, *Anthony* Ladin Count *Hochſtrat*, *John Croi* Count *Reux*, *Henry Brederod* Earl of *Holland*, all but the laſt being Knights of the Golden Fleece. Theſe ordinary Troops the King uſed to draw out of their Quarters, according to the emergencies of Warr. And King *Philip* by experience found theſe to be his greateſt ſtrength and beſt Bulwark againſt the valour of the *French*. But the command of the Sea, and the Royall Fleet, he left ſtill in the hands of the old Admiral, *Philip Momorancy* Count *Horn*; *Philip Staveley* Lord of *Glaion*, he made Maſter of the Train of Artillery, both highly meriting in Peace and War, and therefore at the ſame time admitted by his Maieſtie into the order of the Fleece.

There yet remained a part of the Republick, by how much the more noble and ſacred, by ſo much the more tenderly to be handled. To the ſeventeen Provinces full of People; becauſe foure Biſhops (they had then no more) were not thought enough, the King reſolved to increaſe the number. I find it was endeavoured by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy*, Prince of the Low-Countryes, he that inſtituted the Order of the Golden Fleece, and dying bequeathed the eſtabliſhment thereof to his Son *Charles*, ſurnamed the *Fighter* [or *Souldier*] from his continuall being in arms, which altogether transported, and took up the mind of this warlike Prince. Nor had *Philip* (grandchild to *Charles* the *Fighter*, Son to his onely daughter and *Maximilian* King of the *Romanes*) more leaſure to purſue it, by reaſon of the new troubles of the Kingdoms, which he had in right of his wife *Joan*, daughter and heir to *Ferdinand* the Catholick King. And though *Charles* the fifth ſonne to *Philip*, made it his buſineſs, and put ſome threds into the loom, yet the great diſtractions and war of the Empire intervening, the work was often at a ſtand: and war upon war riſing in *Europe* and *Africa*, rather deprived him of

D

the

But afterwards he ſent from Spain a Patient to Count Megen to be Governour of both.

Marc. 25. 1560. And another to the Prince of Orange, after the death of Vergius, Jan. 16. 1559. to govern Burgundy.

Brabant reserved for the Supream Governour of the Low-countryes. The ordering of the Militia. Eſpecially of the Horſe. whoſe troops were famous throughout Europe. Their Commanders.

The Admiral.

Generall of the Ordinance.

The diſpoſition of Biſhopricks, whereof there were onely four in all the 17 Provinces.

Many therefore had wiſhed their number might be encreaſed.

which Charles the fifth went about to do.

The reaſon why he diſſiſted.

the means then affection to accomplish it. Unless, perhaps, the Emperour grew slack, lest the erection of new Bishopricks, should straiten the jurisdiction of his uncle *George of Austria*, Archbishop of *Leige*. Yet among his last commands, he particularly left this in charge to his sonne *Philip*. I myself have read a letter written in King *Philip*s own hand to his sister of *Parma*; wherein he sayes, *He is induced, at that time especially, to increase the number of Bishops, because the Cities and Towns of the Netherlands daily grew more populous, and Heretic from their next Neighbours crowded in, and got ground of them: and that his Fathers Counsel and Command, had made deep impression in his mind, who taught him this, as the onely way to preserve Religion in the Low-Countreys*. The King therefore, as soon as he was respited by the War, sent to *Rome* *Francis Sonnius*, a Divine of *Lovain*, a great learned man, (who not long before had disputed at *Wormes* with *Melanchthon*, *Illyricus*, and others (by command from the Emperour *Ferdinand*) giving him in Commission, together with *Francisco Varga*, the Kings Ambassadour, to acquaint *Paul* the fourth with his desires. After some moneths, when the business had been debated by a Court of seven Cardinals, it was accordingly granted: The Pope inclining of himself to destroy heretic, and neglecting no occasion of gratifying King *Philip*, to whom he was lately reconciled. So that he appointed fourteen Cities in the *Low-Countreys* (besides the four former) for Bishopricks, whereof three were honoured with the Prerogative of Archbishopricks, that is, *Cambray*, *Utrecht* upon the *Rhine*, and *Maclin* preferred before the others at the Kings request: which seated in the heart of *Brabant*, near the Princes Court at *Bruxels*, he had designed for *Anthony Peremont Granwell*, purposely translated from the Church of *Arras* thither, because that mans being near the Court, seemed to concern the publick. In this manner the Popes Bul was penned, and sent by his Nuntio, *Salvator* Bishop of *Clusino*, and *Francis Sonnius* going for the *Low-Countreys*, who was enjoined to see the Decree executed; but in other things belonging to the revenues and limits of Jurisdiction, they were to do what to themselves in their discretions seemed meet. King *Philip* having received authority, made an excellent choice of men for the new Myters, all famous for the learned books they had written, as likewise for their virtues and deportments in the Council of *Trent*. Such Bishops the Pope joyed to approve of, and the people were ashamed not to admit. And because the King would no longer defer his voyage into *Spain*, he left the care of limiting and endowing the new Churches to *Granwell* and *Sonnus*: for the Popes Nuntio was to follow his Majestic.

Before his departure, the King summoned the Estates of the *Low-countreys* to *Gant*: many were of opinion, he would there declare a Governour for the *Low-Countreys*, which he had till then declined: though others imputed the cause of that delay to the Kings nature, perplexed and doubtfull whom to trust with the Government. Which procrastination daily added to the number of Competitours, and to the discourses of lookers on. Many of which, according to their severall dependencies, made sure accompt their friends and Patrons should carry it: and together with this belief cherished their own hopes. Divers that aimed at no private advantage, did not so much name a *Person*, as a *Governour*: being ambitious to be Statesmen, though it were but in giving imaginary votes: as if they should have their part in the Government, if they could but think of disposing the Provinces, and fill a vacant place, by predefining him that should be chosen. But Count *Egmont* was the man, on whom the *Low-Countreys* fixt their eyes and wishes

His son Philip attempts it. Treats about it with the Pope.

Concludes with him.

Fourteen Bishopricks were to be added to the four former. Whereof three Archbishopricks.

The men chosen for those Dioceses.

Of the Governour of the Low-countreys.

Various conjectures (as is usual with the people) who should be the man.

The major part conceive, Count *Egmont* will be elected, a man of much fame and merit.

wishes, a Prince conspicuous for his experience in the Warrs, and very active either in the field against the Enemies, or at home in private Tiltings; and for shooting in a piece at marks (an art of great account with that People) second to none. Besides, he had a naturall affability, and (which is rare) a Popularity consistent with Nobility. But he was particularly famous for the late victory at *S. Quintins*, a great part whereof the King acknowledged himself engaged for, to Count *Egmont*: and for a later day at *Gravelin*, since when the Low-Countrey-men had not wiped the enemies blood off their swords. In which expedition as much as he transcended the other Lords that had command in the Army, especially the *Spaniards*, so much (with all forreiners but them) he gained glory to his Nation, and to himself the favour of others, by his own to them. So that if a Governour for the Low-Countreys might have been vored by the souldiers love, and the peoples consent, no man should have been preferred before Count *Egmont*. But on a deeper sea, and with a more popular wind sailed the Prince of *Orange*. The greatness of the House of *Nassau*, equall fortunes; the principality of *Orange*, subject to none: besides his other large possessions both in *Germany* and the *Low-countreys*; and his powerfull alliance to most of the great families of the North, his mother *Juliana* being a woman of a miraculous fecundity: for of her children, whereof the greatest part were daughters, she lived to see one hundred and fifty that asked her blessing. Add to this his own merit: his dexterity of wit, and staiedness of judgement, far ripper then his years: and his abilities both as an Ambassadour and a General. Then the great opinion the Emperour *Charles* the fifth had of him, who employed him in his weightiest affairs. Upon these and such like considerations, how could the Prince of *Orange* go less in his hopes, then to be Governour of the *Low-countreys*, a place which his cousen *Engelbert* Count of *Nassau* enjoyed about an hundred years before: Yet doubting the Kings inclination, he had divided his suit: that if he himself should meet a repulse, yet *Christiern* Dutchess of *Lorain* might prevail, whose daughter he hoped to marry, intending (for that was his drift) that his mother in law should have the Title, but he himself the Power. And indeed the Dutchess of *Lorain* was every way capable of the place, as being daughter to *Isabella*, sister to *Charles* the fifth, and having merited the favour of her cousen-german the King, by the Peace which she lately had concluded with the *French*, upon conditions more advantagious to the *Spaniard*: for which she was much honoured by the Low-countrey-men. But whilest on such kind of considerations, mens hopes and discourses were protracted and suspended; behold upon the sudden came news, That *Margaret* of *Austria*, Dutchess of *Parma*, was sent for out of *Italy* to govern the *Low-countreys*. Which though it happened unexpectedly, yet could be no wonder to such as rightly judged. For on the one part, it was in reason to be thought, the King at that time would not easily trust the government of the *Low-countreys*, in the hand of a Low-countrey-man. Such as looked into it, might see cause sufficient. Particularly, Count *Egmont* had a bar, by the unhappy memory of *Charles Egmont* Duke of *Gelder*, who being of the *French* faction, and a professed enemy to the House of *Austria*, *Charles* the fifth confiscated his Estate, and forced his heir to render *Gelderland* and *Zutphen*. And divers reports going of the Prince of *Orange*'s Religion (in which kind a suspicion onely was enough to quash his sute) the King would be sure never to commit the *Low-countreys* to the faith of one gracious and powerfull with the *Germane* Hereticks, both as a neighbour and a kinsman, which might open them a pass into

Many think the Prince of Orange will carry it, a man of greater power and wealth.

Not undeserving

But he doubts a repulse.

Christierna of Lorain is also designed for the place. With general approbation.

But Margaret of Parma is preferred before them all.

What hindered Count Egmont.

What the Prince of Orange.

What Christi-
ern of Lorain.

Cic. l. 2. de O-
ratore.

Of Margaret
of Parma.

Her Mother.
Her mothers
Parents.
Education.

Professions.

The Emperour
falls in love
with her.

Delivered
of Margaret
Anno 1522.
whom Cesar
conceals for her
mothers credit
and his own.
But at last it
was discovered.

the seventeen Provinces. Nay, even to the Dutchess of *Lorain* the rumour of a Treaty of marriage betwixt her Daughter and the Prince of *Orange*, was very disadvantageous, in her pretension to the government: though it made more against her, that she had married her sonne *Charles Duke of Lorain*, to the daughter of *Henry King of France*. For they say, Bishop *Granvel* advised the King to look to it, lest if she were Governesse, the *French* coming in mixt with the *Lorainers*, might pester the *Low-countreys*. Perhaps he himself being a *Burgundian*, gave his Majestie this counsel, for fear the *Burgundians* should be subject to the *Lorainers*, their ancient enemies. Or rather, finding the King inclined to the Dutchess of *Parma*, he endeavoured to express his zeal in preferring her, and so to predeserve her favour. But to choose her, there was a concurrence of many reasons. Before I particularize them, let me speak a little of the Dutchess her self, and give you an account of her birth and education, together with her deportment before she came to govern the *Low-countreys*: Since the best Historians use, not onely to describe the *Actions*, but likewise the *Fame* of Persons: and are tied by the rules of History, not to omit the Characters of their *Lives* and *Manners*.

Margaret eldest child to *Charles* the fifth; born four years before he was married, had a mother of the same name, *Margaret Vangeft* (as long after it came to light) daughter to *John Vangeft* and *Mary Cocquamb* of *Aldenard*, persons of good quality in *Flanders*: Both which dying of the sickness, left *Margaret* then but five years old, to her fathers dear friend, *Anthony Lalin Count Hochstras*: who with his wife, *Elizabeth Culemborg*, bred her as their onely child. When she was grown a woman, not onely as a great Beauty, but as one that consecrated her beauty with modestie, she was pretended to by many noble Suiters. But she dashed all their hopes with the rub of chastity, intending within a few dayes to be a Nun. In the mean time, being invited to a Wedding, and dancing there among other young Ladies of her qualitie, she found by too late experience, that such as expose their beautie, set to sale their chastity, especially if a great Chapman be at hand. For the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, in his passage by *Aldenard*, honouring this wedding with his presence, *Margaret* that came along with the Countesse of *Hochstras*, surpassing all the other Ladies in his eye, was highly commended by his Imperial Majestie, who while he commended, seemed to long for her: Insomuch as one of his followers (of that ging of Courtiers, that have no way to merit their Princes favour, but by slavish arts) caught her up in the dark, and brought her to the Bed-chamber. By her the Emperour had this *Margaret* we write of. The Business was many years concealed by *Cesars* command, especially because the same Courtier accidentally had told him, that he took a great deal of pains to perswade the Virgin, but could not get her for his Imperial Majesty, without force and threatning: At which the Emperour was so moved, that giving the man a sound check for it, he vowed, if he had known as much before, he would never have touched the maid; and therefore commanded her delivery should be kept private; as well to preserve the Mothers honour, as his own. For the Emperour was not prodigall of his fame in this kind, nor with pomp and ceremony brought his by-blows on the stage. But the secret lay not long in the Embers, being gossiped out by a woman, employed as a necessary instrument in such cases: She imparted it to her husband, he, with the same secrecie told it to a friend of his (for every one hath some he trusts, as much as others can trust him) just like the rain on the house top, which falling from one tile to another, and so from gutter to gutter, at last

is

is spouted into the high way. For when many are of counsel in a business, what was every ones secret, becomes a rumour to the people. Nor did the Mother think it amiss, after she was known to have a child, that the father of it should be likewise known, as if her fault should be lessened by the greatness of his name. And shortly the child appeared to be of the House of *Austria*, by her Princely education.

The Low-Countries were then governed for *Charles* the fifth by his Aunt *Margaret*, Daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian* the first and *Mary* Dutchess of *Burgundy*. The Emperour bred the Infant in the Court of his Aunt, under whom he himself in his infancy had been educated. Till she was eight years old, the child was fostered in the bosome of that Princess. After whose decease, she was sent to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary* sister to *Charles* the fifth, who being left a widow by King *Lewis*, had the government given to her. And her neece *Margaret* grew so like her, not onely in her private and publick virtues: but by observant imitation, the child had the happiness to get her very sense and propensions, her gravity and meen. The Governesse was much delighted in the sport of Hunting, whereupon they commonly called her the Forrestress: as the true Neece to *Mary* Dutchess of *Burgundy*, that constantly followed the Chase, till by a fall from her horse she got her death. This Fate appears not onely to be her own, but to relate to *Maximilian*: whose other wife *Blanca Sforza*, while she was hunting, was likewise thrown from her horse and killed. The Dutchess of *Parma* was so taken with this sport, and had so hardened her body with exercise, that she fearless galloped after her Aunt over the lawns and through the woods, before she was ten years of age. As she grew in years, she grew to exceed her Mistress in horsemanship, she was then betroathed the second time, to *Alexander Medices* of *Florence*, she and her first husband *Hercules* Prince of *Ferrara* having never bedded. For the Emperour, that he might win *Alphonso* father to *Hercules* from the *French*, from whom he was offered great conditions by Pope *Clement* the seventh: Courted him upon the self same terms, confirming him in the Principality of *Mutina* and *Regio*, and espousing his Daughter *Margaret*, then hardly four years old, to *Alphonso's* eldest sonne, *Hercules*. By these espousals the Emperour gained *Alphonso*, as the necessity of his affairs required. But a while after, he being drawn again to side with the *French*: and his Sonne *Hercules* married to *Renata* Daughter to *Lewis* King of *France*. The Pope, upon his reconciliation with the Emperour, among other articles of Peace, agreed that *Alexander Medices* (son to that *Laurence* whom *Leo* the tenth, deposing *Feltrio*, had created Duke of *Florence*) should be settled by the Imperiall Army in the Florentine Principality: and that to confirm him therein the Emperour should bestow upon him his Daughter *Margaret* in marriage. Which conditions *Cesar* willingly signed; partly out of respect to his Holynesse, whose injury he seemed to cancell by this benefit: partly in hatred to the *Florentines*, that entering into the *Lotrechian* association against the Emperour had put their City under the *French* Kings protection. *Alexander* was forthwith possessed of *Florence*, and the *Florentines* dispossessed of their liberty. But the marriage was not compleated till seven years after, Pope *Clement* being then deceased. Nay the match, by occasion of the Popes death, came into a possibility of breaking, upon the solicitation of some great men in *Florence*, who by that seven years protraction imagining the Emperour wavered in his resolution, treated with him, on great hopes and promises, not to admit of *Alexander* for his son in law, but to restore the City to its freedome, which

The Infant is sent to be educated by the Emperours Aunt.

And afterwards by his sister.

1530.
Her disposition.

Her delight in hunting.

1496.

Cesar promises her in marriage to the Duke of *Florence*.
Breaking the match intended with the Prince of *Ferrara*.

1516.

1529.
Francisc, *Maria* *Feltrio*.

The Florentines labour to break the match.

But in vain.

The Nuptials,
celebrated at
Naples.

Soon after at
Florence.
With a strange
Omen.

1536.

Her husband
slain the same
year.

1537.

His successor
sues to Cesar
for Margaret.

But he casts his
eye on the house
of Farneze.

And marries
his daughter to
Octavio Far-
neze.
Francisco Ma-
ria Feltrio.

they would onely hold of the Emperour. But *Cesar* having past his promise to the *Pope* in his life time, thought himself bound in point of honour to make it good after the *Popes* decease. Especially because he suspected, that the *Florentines* leaned towards the *French*. Nor was he ignorant, that a benefit more easily obliges particulars, then a multitude: and that favours scattered in publick, are received by all, returned by none. The Emperour therefore sending for *Alexander* from *Florence*, to attend him at *Naples*: and to the Low-Countreys for *Margaret*, who longed to see her Father returned from the Warre of *Tunis*; at a Convention of the *Estates* and a great concourse of strangers, the marriage was celebrated with military Revells: wherein the Emperour himself ran a Tilt, habited like a Tauny-moor. But *Margaret* being received at *Florence* as their Dutcheß, and the Nuptiall solemnities iterated there: a great part of the body of the sunne was darkened at the Feast, and terrified the Guests. Many held it to be ominous: who, looking with discontented eyes upon the present state, and making the heavens speak according to their wishes; compared the Dukes fortune, to the sunnes splendour suddenly eclipsed. Nor did their conjecture fail them, for *Alexander* by the Emperours affinity grown proud, and therefore careless, fell intemperately to love women, and so impolitickly, that being secure from forrein force, he was, with the bait that pleased him, easily intrapped by his kinsman *Lorenzo Medices*, of, Counsell with him in his pleasures; and in hope or under pretence of restoring *Florence* to her liberty, in the seventh year of his Principality, before he had been a full year married, he was slain. His successor *Cosmo* (for the Duke died, but not the Dukedome) in the first place, humbly addressed himself to the Emperour for his consent that he might marry his daughter, Princess *Margaret*: thinking it would be a great support to his new and shaking power. But *Cesar*, resolved to make his best advantage of his daughters marriage, having already obliged the house of *Medices*, by establishing that family in the Dukedome of *Florence*: and having likewise laid an obligation upon *Cosmo* himself, by confirming (though many opposed it) the Principality upon him: sought a son in law among the *Farnezes*, then Princes, and gave his daughter *Margaret* in marriage to *Octavio*, nephew to *Pope Paul* the third, and at that time created *Prefect* of *Rome* (in place of the Duke of *Urbino* deceased) and presently after made Duke of *Camertio*. To this end, the Emperour *Charles* the fifth and King *Francis* had an interview at *Nice*, endeavoured by *Pope Paul*, who came thither in person, hoping by some means or other to compose the difference. For as both these Princes studied to make the *Pope*, who being powerfull in long hoorded wealth and wisdom, no doubt but his inclining to either side would turn the scales; so the *Pope*, vigilant for his own advantage, took this opportunity to treat with the Emperour of a marriage for his Nephew: especially since the news of *Solimans* fleet growing dayly more terrible, it concerned them both to confirm the Peace made between them and the state of *Venice*, by an intermarriage in their families. The Emperour was so willing to comply with the *Pope*, That he not onely preferred his Nephew before the Duke of *Florence*, (who then by his *Ambassadour* renewed his former suit) and before other Princes, which had the like ambition: but instantly making up the match between his Daughter and *Octavio*, he put them together, though the Bride had little joy of the wedding, despising her husbands unripe years. Therefore jestingly she called it her Fate, to be married, but not matched; for when she was a Gyril of twelve, she must then have a man of seven and twenty; and now she was a woman, a

Boy

Boy of thirteen. For some years after this marriage, she had an averſion from her husband, not ſo much in contempt of his years, as by reaſon of ill offices done by a Courtier, who having been her old ſervant bare a great ſway with her; and hating the *Farneſes* with more then his own ſpleen, ſometimes commending her firſt husband *Alexander*, ſometimes aggravating the *Popes* injuries to her father, nourished domeſtick diſcord: till at length, he being removed, and *Oſtavio* attending the Emperour in his Warres, the mind of the Dutcheſs began to change. For when the Emperour was to go for *Africa* from *Lucca*, whither the *Pope* came to conferre with his Imperiall Majeſty, and had brought along *Oſtavio* and *Margaret*, though *Paul* the third utterly diſliked the voyage to *Argeirs*, yet he ventured his Nephew *Oſtavio*, commending him to *Ceſars* fortune: and deſigning in that one act to give Hoſtage to the Emperour, and bring his daughter into a longing for her abſent husband. And indeed after the miſfortune of the Warre, wherein the Emperour was rather worſted by the *Sea*, then by the *Moors*, the news of *Ceſars* overthrow was divulged in all places. And becauſe no man could tell what was become of him, and the Reliques of his ſcattered fleet, it was conſtantly believed at *Rome* that the Emperour was caſt away: ſome reported they ſaw the ſhip, wherein *Oſtavio* was aboard, eaten up by the *Sea*: which was the rather believed, becauſe when the Emperours eſcape was known, *Oſtavio* was not mentioned. This firſt moved the Dutcheſs, her love growing out of pity; as if the youth flying from his wives frowns had run upon his Fate, in the prime of his years and fortunes. But when the news came that he was living, and with his Father in law, onely that he lay deſperately ſick; hope and fear joyned to bring her love and pitie to perfection: till two years after (in all which time he ſtill kept the field and was never out of the Emperours eye) at his return to *Rome*, aſwell his long ſtay from her, as his long ſervice to her Father ſpeaking in his behalf, it is hardly credible with what longing and affection his wife received and honoured him. Not long after ſhe having the rare happineſs to be brought a bed of two ſonnes at a birth; by how much it joyed her, (eſpecially they comming at the ſame time to the Principality of *Parma* and *Placentia*) by ſo much her love to her husband increaſed. Onely, as ſhe was violently ambitious to command in chief, and therefore hardly brooked a power divided with her husband; ſo when diſcords ſprang between them, ſhe would not eaſily be reconciled. The truth is her ſpirit was not onely great beyond her ſex: but ſhe went ſo habited, and had ſuch a garb, as if ſhe were not a woman with a maſculine ſpirit, but a man in womans clothes. Her ſtrength was ſuch, as ſhe uſed to hunt the ſtagg, and change horſes upon the field, which is more then many able bodied men can do. Nay upon her chin and upper lip ſhe had a little kind of beard, which gave her not more of the reſemblance then authority of a man. And, which ſeldome happens in her ſex, and never but to very ſtrong women, ſhe was troubled with the Gout. She had a preſent wit, and in action could ſteer to all ſides with wonderfull dexterity: as having been of a child bred up in the *Belgick* Court, and inſtructed in her youth by the adverſe fortune of the *Medices*; in her riper years accompliſhed and made abſolute by the diſcipline of *Farneſes* Palace, and the old learning of *Pope Paul* the third. Then for piety, ſhe had a great maſter indeed, *Ignatius Loyola* Founder of the Society of *Jeſus*: to whom ſhe confeſſed her finnes, and that oftner then was the cuſtome of thoſe times. By this man ſhe was taught a ſingular reverence and devotion towards the Eucharift, proper to the Houſe of *Auſtria*. Whereupon one every year, in

With whom at
firſt ſhe cor-
reſponded not.

1541.
But afterwards
He was in-
deared to her.

By means of his
Abſence and
Hazards.

1545.
Her love to him
increaſed.
See the math
Book.

Not without
ſome interven-
ing jares.
Her maſculine
ſpirit.
And manly ex-
erciſes.

She was of a
ready wit.

Wonderfull
diſcreet.

And religious.

Eſpecially at
the Eucharift.

Her yearly Charity to the poor.

Which juncture of excellencies principally moved the King to make her Governesse of the Low-countries. A second Cause thereof. A third.

A fourth, more secret, perhaps more true.

Margaret comes into the Low-countries.

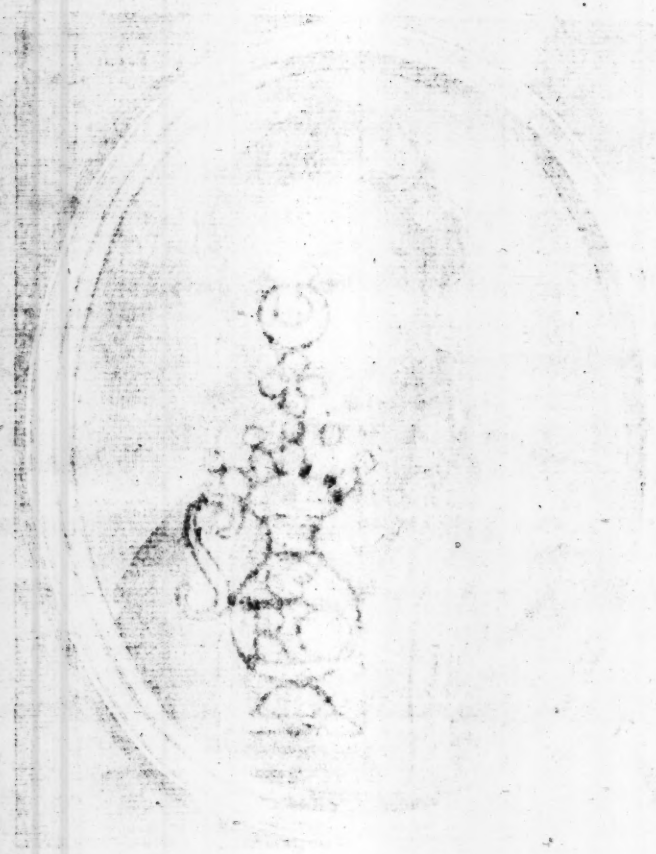
Is saluted Governesse.

in Passion week, she washed the feet of twelve poor maids (which she commanded should not be washed before she came): Then feasting them, waited herself at table, and sent them away new clothed, and full of gold. Upon the other more chearfull solemnitie of *Corpus Christi* day, she gave very noble portions to poor Virgins, and married them to good Husbands. Both these feasts she kept during her life. With this breeding and these parts, the Dutchesse so won upon the King her Brother, that he committed the Low-countries to her, knowing her to be a woman of great courage, and excellently versed in the art of Government. Besides, his Fathers commands were yet fresh in his memory, who loved her dearly, and on his death-bed earnestly recommended her to the King. It seems, he thought this honour would answer the Fathers wishes, and the Daughters merit: Withall, he hoped the Low-countrimen for the reverence they bare to the name of *Charles* the fifth, would chearfully obey his Daughter, born among them, and bred up to their fashions; and that her Countrey-men would therefore the better digest her Government, because subjected people think themselves partly free, if governed by a Native. Perhaps the King was content, in favour of the Low-countrimen, to let them be governed by a Woman, hoping the Innovations he had designed, would please, coming from a Lady, like an incision, that pains the less when made by a soft hand. But besides these reasons given out in publick, there was other private cause. *Octavio Farnese* Duke of *Parma* and *Piacenza* had long since been in the Low-countries, and there served a Volunteer against the *French*; at his return for *Italy*, he was an earnest suiter to King *Philip* (to whom he delivered his son *Alexander*) that he would please to restore him the Castle of *Piacenza*, kept as yet with a *Spanish* Garrison. The King, though he resolved not to grant his suit; yet lest the Prince should return discontented (whom by long experience he had found faithfull and serviceable to the Crown of *Spain*, in his command against *Hercules* the *French* Generall, in the War of *Italy*: and the obedience of whose *Cisalpine* Countreys, would greatly advantage *Spain*) conferred the Government of the Low-countries and *Burgundy* upon his wife, acquainting the Duke with it, as if he did it for his sake, assuring himself whilst those Provinces which he looked upon with so much love and care, were in his absence committed to the *Farneses*, they would rest well contented with so high an argument of confidence and affection. Nor did *Octavio* sleight the favour: nay, as it often happens, that a present bounty is the step to a future rise; he hoped, by the tie of this Government, every day more to endear his Majestie to his Sister, and to the House of the *Farneses*. The King lessened not that hope, which he knew would serve to make the *Farneses* intensitive to the Government of the Low-countries: for by how much the Governesse might advance his interest in the Low-countries, as well because of her Religion as her Prudence, so much the gladder he was, to have such Pledges from them. The King therefore not onely kept his son *Alexander*, to awe the mother; but he thought it concerned him to give the father hope of the Castle of *Piacenza*; well knowing some mens natures are more obliged by receiving one, then many benefits.

The Governesse being designed, and new come into the Low-countries, his Majestie met her on the way, attended by *Octavio* Duke of *Parma*, her son *Alexander*, the Ambassadors of Princes, the Deputies of the Provinces, and the rest of his Nobility, then met at the Convention of Estates. After he had saluted his sister, as Governesse for him of the Low-countries and



*Margaret Dutchesse of Parma and Piacenza
Daughter to Charles the 5th
Gouvernesse of the Lowcountreys*



and *Burgundy*, he brought her in great state to *Gant*, appointing her *Councels* of *State*, of *Justice*, and of the *Finances* or *Exchequer*; giving her these precepts how to use them. That she was to make it a rule at the Board, whatsoever opinion carried it in Council, should be maintained for the better out of Council, even by such as had voted against it. For which he gave his reasons, Left upon dispute there should grow contestation, and the authors (when the Council was up) be engaged in perpetuall quarrels. Likewise, that strangers might not know who to thank or complain of; whence this benefit would ensue, That envie which uses to be levelled at particular persons, would not be conceived, at least not practised against a multitude. There would be less heart-burning among the Lords of the Council, and every one more freely vote according to justice and equity, because less enforced to decline it by hope or fear. Another reason was, That if the *Governers* observed them to be divided into faction, or packed together in a Conspiracy, she should then, breaking up the Council, call to her a cabinet Council, which the King named, viz. *Granvel* Bishop of *Arras*, *Charles* Count *Barlamont*, and *Viglius* President of the *Privie-Council*. This private meeting was called the *Consuls*. Nay, upon any sudden accident, when it would take up too much time, and be too dangerous, to have it heard and determined at the Council-table, the *Governers* was to impart it to this Cabinet Council, where it would have a quicker dispatch, and sometimes more advised: For the less number (the King said) would be less tedious, and yet a few well chosen give as good advice. And then secrets would not be brought upon the stage, and there would be little occasion for the Ambitious to make speeches, and to maintain their opinions; because without a *Scene* and admiring *Spectatours*, proud men do but coldly act their parts. The greatest businesses are therefore agitated, out of the crowd, with less pomp, and more advantage. Lastly, in these meetings, where (though all have equall right to vote, and not equal judgement, yet) the major part carries it, it is easie to find (because in a multitude) many that want either ability or honesty: howsoever in regard their number is to be considered, not their reasons, the more and not the better must prevail.

His Majesty having thus instructed the *Governers*, and assigned her an Annual pension of thirty six thousand Crowns; to encrease the publick joy in the assemblie of the *Estates* at *Gant*, he created eleven Knights of the Order of the *Golden Fleece*, in their places that were deceased: for so many wanted to make up fifty one, the number to which *Charles* the fifth had multiplied the Order, whereas Duke *Philip* the Founder, at first onely instituted twenty five, and after added six to make up the number one and thirty.

Lastly, the King appointed a time to hear the *Petitions* of the *Deputies* to the *Estates*: Where *Granvel* in the Kings name made a speech to them: answered by *Borluthius* of *Gant*, Speaker for the *Estates*. *Granvell* gave reasons for the Kings going into *Spain*, Declared *Margaret* Dutcheß of *Parma*, under the Kings Majestie, Supreme *Governers* of the *Low-countreys* and *Burgundy* (she then sitting by the King); Disputed for the Old Religion, against Hereticks that corrupted it: And in the first place earnestly commended the protection and observance of Religion to the *Governers*, till his Majestie should return to the *Low-countreys*. *Borluthius*, after he had presented the *Estates* humble thanks and promises of obedience to the King, and *Governers*, delivered the Heads of their desires. That his Majestie by the example of his Father the Emperour, would please to call out of the *Low-countreys* all forrein forces, and use none but their own Country

E

Garri-

Appointed three
Councels.
Instructed by the
King.
After the reso-
lution in Council
what they were
to observe a-
broad.
The causes of
this Command.

How she was to
call the Council.

Ulricus Viglius
Zurthem.

Several rea-
sons thereof.

The King after
her instructions,
gives her a pen-
sion.

And in a Chap-
ter of the
Knights of the
Golden Fleece.

1516.

1433.

1429.

He declares her
Governers.

And commends
to them Religion
and Obedience.

Hears the E-
states Requests.

And grants
them.

Then his Ma-
jestie goes into
Spain.

The Duke of
Savoy into
Italy.

The Dutcheſs of
Parma to Bru-
xells.

Garrisons, nor admit of any Alien to sit in the Great Councel. The King, giving them fair hopes, promised to with-draw the forrein souldiers that remained (for he had already freed them of the maior part) within foure moneths next ensuing: So dissolving the Assēbly, all his business in the *Low-countrys* being now dispatched: From *Gant* he passed to *Zeland*, and weighing anchors from the port of *Ulfshen* in the month of *August*, made a happy voyage into *Spain*. The Governes the Dutcheſs of *Parma*, and the Duke of *Savoy* having waited on the King aboard, the Dukē with his Princely Bride, tooke leave for *Italy*: Her Excellence retired to *Bruxels*, the ancient seat of the *Belgick* Princes, and in *September* one thousand five hundred fittie and nine, began her Government over the *Low-countrys*.

The End of the first Book.





The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY VVARRES.

The second Book.

King Philips departure from the Low-Countreys fell out very inconvenient for that new condition of affairs. For every change in Cities and Kingdomes, like young trees when they are transplanted, had need of present looking to till we be sure they have taken root. Doubtless it had been farre better for the *Netherlands*, if the King (so the necessities of *Spain* would have permitted) had stayed there for some time, till he had seen at a nearer distance, the course and motions of things which he had altered in those parts. And not to have taken them upon trust, from others uncertain relations: For many times the water changes the taste, by running long and severall wayes under ground, nor can he that drinks it a farre off, judge of it so well, as he that sits at the spring head, and hath it from the fountain. Truly the King had with more certainty looked into the designs of men, and consequently the misfortune had been less, which after he left them involved the Low-Countreys in a difficult and tedious warre. And as when his father *Charles* went into *Germany* to be crowned Emperour, the *Spaniards* immediately took up arms against his Lieutenants: so the Low-Countreymen, when *K. Philip* went for *Spain* to take possession of his Kingdome, after they had kept a foot a civill war between them and their governours, at last the confederate Provinces fell off from their obedience to their Prince. The causes of which evils I being now to represent: I must confess, I never read of any tumult or war, whose originall was so variously and contradictorily reported by the *People*, and written by *Historians*. I believe that some when they found the reasons, that went currant for causes of this war, far too weak for the raising of so great commotions, they themselves guessed at others, that rather agreed with the writers wit, then the truth of history. Some again, have framed causes according to their factions and religions, passing over all those in silence, that made against their party. Others, not so much to cozen the Reader, as being cozened themselves with the show of pretended causes, ignorant how much *Causes* and *Beginnings* differ, have failed to clear the originals of these differences. When an Historian is obli-

The Kings unreasonable departure out of the Low-Countreys before a perfect settlement was made.

The like inconveniences in Spain when Charles the fifth went from thence to Germany.

1520.

The Causes why writers differ about the Beginnings of the Low-countrey tumults. Ostentation of wit. Ignorance of the difference between Beginnings and Causes.

which difference is principally to be observed and explained by an Historian.

So did the ancient and best writers.
Fab. Pict. in his Annals.
Tit. Liv. l. 21.
Polyb. l. 3.

To follow whose examples it is easie, for a man acquainted with Princes secrets.

The Low-Countrymen's Priviledges very great.

Lud. Guicciard. in Descrip. Belg.

From whence this evil had its Originall because the King trencht upon them three wayes.

The retaining of the Spanish souldiers was the first Cause of their rebellion. The Low-Countrymen were griev'd. Instigated by the Prince of Orange. And was provok'd by the Spaniards. Hence grew the rebellion on the King. To a Cause which was not intended to be imputed to the Low-Countrymen.

ged first to inform himself of the *beginnings* of Peace and War, or of Seditions, and what their grounds and *causes* were; and in the next place, to inform his Readers: lest they not understanding the difference of *causes* and *beginnings*, should judge amiss of actions and events: and so *History* the mistress of wisdom, become the handmaid of error. Nor was it an idle dispute among the ancient Historians, what was the ground of the warre wherein *Hannibal* was Generall for the *Carthaginians* against the *Romans*, because they knew it would be of great concernment, that such as were to read the actions of *Rome* and *Carthage*, should penetrate into both their counsels, to understand things rightly; and to make a far different judgement betwixt the Articles of Leagues, and Complaints of *Ambassadors*, and betwixt the justice of the war in generall. Taught by these great examples, I have thought it worth my pains, before I handle the Low-Country war, of far longer continuance then the war of *Carthage*, accurately to search and distinguish the *causes* and *beginnings*: Especially because in these affairs, so diversly censured in many mens letters and discourses, I can promise, out of the peculiar helps I have had, a more exquisite and certain relation. It is not to be doubted, but the liberty which people have long enjoyed, if it be entrenched upon or invaded, will cause insurrections. Nor is it unknown, that the government of the Low-Countries, came very near the form of free cities, by the indulgence of their Princes: who had made them, by many and liberall Charters, though not absolutely *free-States*, yet more then *common subjects*: especially those of *Brabant*, into which Province, we know, great belliced women came from the neighbour countreys to lie in; that their children might enjoy the priviledges of *Brabant*. You would think the husbandman had chosen this for a nursery for his plants: and after they were grown up, and had suckt their first moisture from that earth, then they were removed, carrying along with them the endowments of that hospitable soil. From hence, many writers derive the pedigree of their miseries: that the *Spanish* souldiers contrary to the Kings promise, were kept so long in the Low-Countries, that fourteen Bishops added to four which they had anciently, the episcopall jurisdiction seemed to be encreased with breach of priviledge to the Provinces, that there was an endeavour to bring in new Inquisitions of faith, and to impose an universall form of judicature upon the Low-Countries, which how they were the beginning or causes of their rebellion, with my best care and judgement I shall now unfold.

King *Philip* had used his *Spanish* souldiers against the *French*, nor did the Low-countrymen complain of it as a grievance. But the war being ended, when he had sent a great part of his army out of the Low-countries, his Majestic retained yet 30000, over which the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Esmond* had the command with shew of honour; but indeed to take off the odium of a *foreign armie*, by the popular names of their Generals. But it could not take it off. For on the one part, the Generals themselves appeared to be discontented with the honour, such as it was: Nay, the Prince of *Orange* prompted the Low-country men, not to suffer that remainder of the *Spaniards*. On the other part, the *Spanish* souldiers were so imperious and quarrellome (as it often happens, especially in the Towns where they are quartered) that it did not a little exasperate the minds of the inhabitants, so as the *Spaniards* grew to be hated, and the King himself ill spoken of, almost through all the *Netherlands*. Which mutuall averfion, as I shall never impute it wholly to the Low-countrymen, because they saw the promise deferred of calling away the souldiers, with whom they had daily quarrels, so

I shall not easily condemn the Kings delay, for continuing them in garrison: partly, because his sister the Governess advised him to have a care, least if he disbanded the *Spaniards*, the bordering cities might be encouraged to spoil and waste the Marches; partly, because he himself, as he was of a jealous nature, suspected the Low-countreymen had a plot, in pressing him to free them of forrein forces. And the more earnestly, indeed contumaciously, that they reminded him of his promise, the more slowly and cautiously the King thought good to proceed. But whatsoever cause the King or the Low-countreymen had, yet he satisfied them in this particular. For a little more then a year after his departure from the Low-countrey, the *Spaniards* were sent for away, and all those stirs and popular tumults vanished in a moment: So as they that make this the cause of the *Belgick* troubles, have found out a very sleight one.

The multiplying the number of Bishops, was a far stronger motive to rebellion, especially, for that after the death of *Paul* the fourth, it was thought fit to change the orders he had made, concerning the revenues of their Bishopricks: and they were to be endowed as it pleased the *Popes Nuncio* in the Low-countreys, and *Pius* the fourth at *Rome*: and that Bishops should succeed in place of some *Abbots* when they died, and should have the name, estates, and honours, formerly enjoyed by the *Abbots*; so as in the mean time nothing should be remitted from the strict discipline of the Monasteries. But whether it was the multiplication of Miters, or the endowing of them; it is not to be imagined how ill it took in the Low-countreys with all degrees of men. The former Bishops, as well the Low-countreymen, as their Neighbours, complained, That by setting up new ones, whose had their Jurisdictions confined to narrow limits, these, that they were not onely straitened in their limits, but likewise in the revenues of their Bishopricks; especially since this had been determined at *Rome*, without hearing of the parties therein concerned. The Nobility were aggrieved, that Bishops should come in place of *Abbots*, because being a degree higher, they would be far more potent, and therefore it would not onely derogate from the Lords Temporall; but also from their liberty. Nor should they dare to speak freely in the great Council of Estates, when those men were present, whom they knew, as bound by oath to the *Rope*, would draw all businesses to *Rome*. Neither was it for the Kings service, that they should bear all the sway, who were the Bishop of *Romes* sworn servants. But no complaints were bitterer then the *Abbots* and *Monks*, because none seemed juster. That they were deprived contrary to all precedent, of the right and power to choose an *Abbot* out of their own Order; that there ought not to be set over Religious men, that had a certain Rule and form of life, men ignorant of Religious Discipline; that indeed the means and authority of *Abbots* would pass to the Bishops, but the care and trouble remain with some of the Monks; that truly at present, such men were advanced to those Offices, as were eminent for piety and learning, but hereafter those rich *Deodands* should be exposed for prey, to some of the Princes followers and flatterers. Besides these common objections, two more were in almost all mens mouths, That by the creation of new Bishops, the priviledges of *Brabant* were infringed; and by degrees the tyrannie of the *Spanish* Inquisition would be introduced. The latter whereof, because it raised particular troubles, I shall speak of it apart. But though I read the osher almost in all writers, yet what the words of the Charter should be, whereby the King obliged himself so, as that he could not augment the number of Bishops, I find in no Hi-

Nor to the King.

whether the Belgick tumults are to be derived from this fountain.

Multiplying the number of Bishops, the second cause of Insurrection.

The complaints made thereupon.

By the old Bishops.

The Lords temporall.

The Abbots.

And almost all that stood for the Low-countrey priviledges.

In 2. Addit. ad
Lærum introi-
tum Principis
Hispaniæ.
Artic. 24.

What those pri-
viledges were.

Artic. 46.
And how viola-
ted by increase
of Bishops.

For which, ma-
ny men rail at,

And threaten
the King.

Artic. 5.
Some argued
for his Majestie.

From Precedents
in other coun-
treys.

Which makes
against the com-
plaints of the
old Bishops.

Baronius, ann.
639. & 741.

Extrav. Salva-
tor, de Præbend
& Dignit.

As likewise a-
gainst the tem-
porall Lords.

historian. For what some write, that the King swears at his Coronation, not to encrease the State Ecclesiasticall, is not an ingenuous allegation, because the Prince onely swears to that kind of encrease, whereby he promises not to suffer the Clergy to receive the goods of Laymen, which they call *Mortuaries*, but upon certain conditions. This is far from the point in controver-
sie; therefore I held it fit to march further into their records, where I found one Clause, that seems to make against the increasing the number of Bishops. Which condition of their priviledges, unless I had resolved to be a faithful Historian, I might safely have concealed; because they themselvs do not mention it, that have, I am sure, written many things in mere malice to the Spaniard: For King Philip being created Duke of Brabant, by his father Charles the fifth, among divers Priviledges which in the Act of the Joyfull Entry he bestowed upon that Province, inserts this clause, *That hereafter he will not suffer any to entrench upon the Offices, Lands, or Goods of Abbots, Bishops, or other religious persons within the Dukedome of Brabant, under the name of a Commendum.* But whilst, by the Kings procurement, Bishops were entituled to the reversion of *Monasteries*, after the Abbots deceases; the Brabanters seemed to have their Priviledges broken, and the people had oc-
casions offered, that the proceedings which every one hated for his private benefit, they might all in publick fairly declaim against, by the name of *Breach of Priviledge*. Some therefore wondered, what was in the Kings mind or counsel, to bring in new Bishops, & make a thing, displeasing of it self, far more distastfull and odious, by taking their estates from the *Monasteries*. And therefore they further said, That if the King proceeded to violate the Propriety and Liberty of the Subject, the Brabanters had cause to defend themselves, and that the Prince ought to remember, that when he made their Charter, he articulated, *They should pay him no subjection or obedience; if he entirely performed not to them his Oath and Protestations.* Yet some there were of a contrary opinion, and by how much they saw the King endeavour it, with lesse benefit and greater danger to himself; so much the more they commended his sincere religion, who in this business looked upon nothing, but the good of his people. And indeed; What was there apparent that men could justly blame? the encrease of the number of the Bishops, or of their maintenance? As if the Bishop of Rome might not do that in the Low-countrieys, which he had done in Germany and in France, between which two Nations in the middle, lieth the Netherlands? Did not Boniface Bishop of Mentz, Legate for the See Apostolick in Germany, when the multitude of Christians abounded in some places (by the authority of the Popes Gregory the third, and Zachary) adde three new Bishops to the former? The very like cause there was among other reasons, for doing the same in the Low-countrieys. But what motive was in France? the sacred jurisdiction of the Bishop of Tholouse was so large, that one Pastor could not possibly see the faces of all his Diocese; and therefore it was divided into five Episcopall Sees, by John the 22; not onely no care taken of the Bishops of Narbon, Bourges, or Cahors, out of whose estates both the Church of Tholouse; and some of these new ones were endowed; but the Bishop of Tholouse, must of necessity loose much of his revenues by the division of his then rich Diocese. That the neighbour Bishops ought not to have been called to Rome, and heard in a business of this nature, their reasons for it being onely their own profit and power, is sufficiently apparent. Nor were the grievances of the Lords built upon a much better ground, that is, they were discontented that they should be limited in their bold disputes, about Religion and Mo-

narchy, by the unwelcome presence of the Prelates, whom they ought to honour as *Fathers* and *Princes* of the Church, and to fear them as *Reverengers* of *sacred* edge. For when they alledged, that they doubted the Bishops would be evil Counsellours, and bandy against the King, it was a pretence to cozen children with; they doubted themselves, that if they should appear against the King, they should have these men for witnesses and adversaries, that had received, and hoped for more from his Majesty, then ever the *Abbots* did. Then the complaints of the *Abbots* and *Monks*, were somewhat more then became them. It was not without precedent, that a *Bishop* should succeed in the place of an *Abbot*. Let them look upon *France*, they shall find that *John* the xxii, indowed the Bishops of *Condom*, *Vabrin*, and *Lombere* (to name no more) with Monastery lands. And if there should want an example, yet when it was granted to a Prince by the *Pope*, that may command the *Monks*, they might have been so modest, as to teach others obedience to his *Holiness*. They might have remembered, most of their *Manners* and *Lordships*, were the bounty of the *Belgick* Princes, which made it seem more just; so as the King not making his own use or advantage of the profits thereof, but onely employing them for the good and benefit of those Provinces, the *Abbots* themselves ought to have been as willing as the Prince, and contributed to the necessity of the people, by so much more freely, by how much that Care is more proper to a religious life: and not with unseasonable exclamations have corrupted a good designe, stirred up the people, and alienated the *Popes* and the *Kings* mind from their patronage. For the great grievance, that the King had broke their Priviledges: First, they did not sufficiently understand the difference, between a *Commendum* and the Annexion of Church-livings. A *Commendum* being in the nature of a thing deposited, the other given as to an absolute Lord. And therefore *Commendums*, if the possessor die, revert to the depositor, as the Lord Paramount; unless they be passed over to another by a new *Commendum*: but such as are annexed, do not revert, but remain for ever to the Successour in that Office, to which they are appendent. For which reasons there is no more taken from *Monasteries* by annexing, then was by giving them in *Commendum*, because that which is annexed, doth no more revert to *Monasteries*, then that which was commended; forasmuch as what was once commended, is conferred again from one to another, by the *Pope*, to whom it reverts. Nay whereas Church-livings may be commended to non-residents, that cannot which is annexed to a Bishoprick. For herein Religion requires the Bishops presence, farre more then a *Commendum*; so as what might have come by a *Commendum* to a forreiner, by *Annexion* was retained in the Low-Countries. The King therefore while he took care that Abbies should not be given in *Commendum* to Bishops (which was the proviso of their Charter) but annexed to their Bishopricks; did not in truth violate their priviledges, which he had sworn to maintain. But what need more words? when the case being put to the University of *Lovain*, and studied by Doctors both of Divinity, and of Civill Law; it was definitively resolved, that annexion of Livings, and likewise the institution of new Bishopricks, was neither repugnant to the Kings oath, nor to the laws. Again, they ought to consider the difference, that was then from other times and manners: that while Religion was safe, the King altered nothing: but when it was endangered, there can be no priviledges to tie the hands of Kings from supporting their dominions falling into ruine. The number of pastours was the fittest remedy to defend the flock of

Christ

And against
the Abbots.
Aubertus Mi-
reus in Noti-
tia Episc.

The literal sense
of their privi-
ledges.

whence some in-
fer, that they
were not broken
June 4. 1561.
apud Arnold.
Havensf. de
novis Episc. l. 2.
Jun. 4. 1561.
Arnol. Havensf.
de nov. Episc.
l. 2. and adde
the decision of
the Lovain Do-
ctors, and ne-
cessity, the great-
est of Priviledges.

And that the King was not obliged to summon the Estates General.

Nor out of his own purse to allow maintenance for the Bishops. Especially when he gave them Pensions.

Whether the beginning of the tumults may be deduced from hence.

The Inquisition the third cause of Insurrections.

The first occasion of introducing it into the Government of the Church.

Christ from wolves breaking in upon them; and sure there is none so great an enemy to the King, but must acknowledge and believe it. Nor could their endowments be proportioned with less inconvenience then they were, by prudent men, to whom it was referred, with the Kings approbation, and the Popes command. Nor was the Prince (which some required) bound to do it by the advice of his great Council, for he held himself obliged to it by no law; and likewise his reason told him, the States (in a thing distastfull to many, especially such as listened to hereticks their neighbours) would easily dissent, using the liberty which they took upon them in publick assemblies. Whereby he should not onely expose his Prerogative and Majesty to the dispute, but even to the contempt of his people: and that he should vex their minds so much the more, by following his design, when they once declared their publick dislike, and passed their votes against it. But the King might have provided for the new Bishops, or it, upon a fuller survey he had found all other wayes more difficult, yet he himself should have maintained them out of his own, and not out of other mens estates; without the trouble of his people, without any mans prejudice. As if it were not just, that the Bishops which were to serve the Low-Countreys, should be provided for out of the Low-Countreys. Nor did the King spare his Exchequer, allowing every Bishop yearly one thousand five hundred crowns in pension, till sufficient maintenance should be raised elsewhere. Albeit the King in giving them the Abbots goods, did not directly bestow upon them other mens estates, especially since he did it by authority of the Bishop of Rome, who is the true Administratour of their goods. To conclude, this makes it plain, that although the King had given perpetuall pensions to the Bishops, it would not have satisfied these men, that were not so much discontented with the translations or annexions of Church-livings, as with the very number of the Bishops, which there being no reason to condemn, but indeed to welcome, as a safe and ready help, it plainly appears, in case the Brabanters, or other Low-Countreymen had took arms upon this ground, to which side the beginning of those troubles was to be imputed. Neither could this be the cause of rebellion. The substituting of Bishops in place of Abbots when they should de cease, and annexing of their livings to the Bishopricks, was but executed in very few Cities; because of their continual petitions (which I shall in due place remember) presented to the Pope and the King. I am sure in Brabant, which stood out the stiffest, the King at last consenting, there was nothing altered. Yet I deny not, but those agitations of diversly minded men, lessened obedience and duty to the Prince, which are the pillars of government; and foreshewed, in case they should be further moved, the ruine of the whole. For nothing is so pernicious to Monarchy, as when the people are taught publickly to contest with their Prince, and to dissent from him, not onely with impunity, but with advantage.

One thing most of all troubled and exasperated the Low-Countreymen, at first a suspicion, then an indeavour of setting up an inquisition against heresie, to be confirmed by the Edict of the Emperour Charles the fifth. Which in regard it is commonly thought, to have opened a door of war in the Low-Countreys; it will be worth my pains be what it may be, to give you account of it. Religion, as it was ever highly revered by all, as that which preserves the Worship of God, and Concord of Men: so the Christian Church hath been alwayes severe against the disturbers thereof. This charge was first administred onely by the Bishops, to whom it appertains by

by Law. Afterwards, perhaps because that sacred Office is ingaged in many cares; or because they are sometimes inforced to be absent from their Diocese; or lastly, some of them may be negligent in the exercise of their authority, and some happily ignorant; it seemed the best course, to delegate from the *Apostolicall See*, *Judges extraordinary*, of approved learning and piety, which should have commission to hear and determine against hereticks: whereupon they were called the *Apostolicall Inquisitors*. This I find begun by Pope *Innocent* the third, who sent against the *Albigenses*, the Founder of the preaching Fryars Saint *Dominick*, that first executed the office of *Inquisitor* with much applause. The custome was afterwards received (almost in all that, and the next Age) in many Christian countreys, there being created in every Province *Censors* of Faith, that should legally take notice of the violation of religion. Yet in all places were not the same Judicatories. Some had temporary *Inquisitors* sent about heresie newly sprung up, and when that was extinguished, their commission ended. In other parts a Tribunal was erected, to which, questions of faith were perpetually to be referred. In other places, the whole form of this judicature being rejected, none but Bishops themselves were permitted to inquire of hereticks. Nay, at *Rome*, the form was varied: for sometimes all was done by the ordinary and Civill Magistrates, no *Inquisitor* extraordinary; sometimes many, but then one or more of the Cardinals were of the *Quorum*. Till *Paul* the fourth instituted a Colledge of *Cardinals*, by whose suffrages these controversies were to be determined; establishing this course for ever after in *Rome* by a more venerable and sacred Court of Justice. And that it might more firmly continue, fear, the Beadle of the law, terrified them from the beginning: penalties and fines being imposed upon, and exacted of, the refractory: more easie ones by the *Cannon law*, and heavier by *Imperiall* Edicts. For when the Emperours observed, besides the worship of God, that it concerns the publick Peace, whose Guardian the Prince is, that subjects should be limited by Religion, and that they saw, when Religion was endangered, peace could not live upon the foul and rough waves of heresie, they decreed, that the punishment of traitours should be inflicted upon hereticks, as enemies to Religion, and by consequence to Peace. Provided notwithstanding, that the law should not be executed till their triall, and verdict were passed in the Ecclesiasticall Court, to which the proper cognizance of heresie belongs. Which though it was ever exercised in all orthodox Countreys, and in some places (according to sudden motions of new perverse opinions) with greater diligence; yet no where with more exactness and strictness, then in *Spain*: either out of the especiall inclination of those *Catholick* Princes, or by reason of contagious forreiners that mingled themselves among those their subjects. But this care of Religion was afterwards encreased, almost through all Christendome, by reason of the troubles raised by one man in many parts, I mean *Martin Luther*, the calamity of those and the following times. This mischief that he had long studied to bring upon true believers, he had oft begun to attempt, and then changing his mind, as if not resolved (or rather waiting for an opportunity) at last *Maximilian* the Emperour deceasing, and *Charles* his Nephew succeeding in the *Empire*, his wickedness broke forth; well knowing, that the beginning of a Princes reign is the best time for Innovation; and likewise believing the Emperours young years to be ignorant of government; and therefore despicable. Howsoever he made sure account his *Imperiall Majesty* would rather bend his endeavours to settle the affairs of his *Empire*,

F

then

The different
forms thereof.

Established in
Rome Constat.
34. Licet.

Not without
Penalties.

J. Manich, and
I. Quicunque
C. De hæreticis.

C. ut inquisitionis, de hæreticis, in 6.

In Spain especially from the
year 1383.
Martin Luthers Heresie
makes it every where
strictly observed.

Emp. Max. I.

Gratian. The-
od. Arcad. Ho-
nor. Marrian.
&c.

Charles the
fifth his Edict
against Luther
and hereticks
Leo x.

Seven times
the Emperour
renued it.

The Braban-
ters refuse the
Inquisition.

King Philip
confirms his
Fathers Edicts.

Commands the
execution there-
of to the Go-
verness.

The Governess
to the Magi-
strates.

The Magi-
strates let it
cool.

then to maintain the rites of the Church; so courting the Provinces first to revolt from the Church; and then (which is the next step) from their Princes, and from the Emperour himself; he thus broke in peices at once, the *Romane* Empire and Religion. Which gave occasion to the Bishop of *Rome* to be much more observant, and intent to questions of faith; and to Christian Princes, as every one tendered his Religion and Dominions, to be more vigilant therein. Indeed *Charles* the fifth, whom Religion in her afflictions looked upon as her only refuge, by the example of the Emperours his Predecessours, thought it expedient to establish laws through all the Provinces of the Empire and Low-Countreys, against the corrupters of the *Catholic* faith. Therefore whilst he was conducted from *Spain*, through the *Netherlands* and *Germany*, to the *Imperiall* throne, with extraordinary joy and gratulations of men, and with all that noise of his then smiling fortune; in the town of *Worms*, at the *Diet* (or Parliament) of the Empire, *Martin Luther*, condemned by the Bishop of *Rome*, was by vote of the Electors, and the rest of the Princes and Estates of the Empire condemned and proscribed, and the edict of his proscription the same year, one thousand five hundred twenty one, was published through all the dominions of his Empire and Patrimony. Nevertheless, *Luther* still persisted in his evil, nay, (as wickedness prospers by sudden attempts) within a few moneths that contagion infected, at least breathed upon, the most flourishing Cities of *Germany*. The Emperour in some places punishing delinquents, and renewing and enlarging his edict, which he applied seven times to that violent and volatile disease. Moreover when he had desired and received Censors of faith from the *Pope*, in reference to their authority and security, he passed many Decrees; which are inrolled in the *Imperiall* laws of the year one thousand five hundred and fifty. But this new fate of Justice brought with it into the Low-Countreys, more terror then observance; for though it were in some places received, yet the *Brabanters*, because they said their liberty was infringed, taking the opportunity, freed themselves of the burthen laid upon them, about the end of the year fifty: at which time, partly the great meeting of *Ausburg*, and the Council of *Trent*; partly war upon war rising in *Africa*, *Hungary*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *France*, drew *Cæsars* cares another way. And although King *Philip*, when he took possession of the Low-Countreys, instantly confirmed his Fathers laws and edicts by his own proclamation; it little advanced the business, he being forthwith engaged in a sharp warre with *France*: which began the year he set forth that Proclamation, and held three years after: till in the year fifty nine, as soon as ever he got a breathing from the war, he re-applied himself to settle Religion. And leaving the *Netherlands*, he commanded his sister, the Governess, and Bishop *Granvell*, to take speciall care that his Fathers laws, and the cautions which he himself had confirmed in behalf of the *Popes* Inquisitors, should be punctually observed. This was the state of affairs, these were the Edicts of *Charles* the fifth; these the beginnings and proceedings of the *Inquisitions* against heresies. When the Dutchess of *Parma*, as she was enjoyned, bending all her care that way, treated about it with Governours of the Provinces; but found by experience, it was of much more difficulty to do things commanded, then to command things fitting to be done. The Magistrates seemed unwilling to take the business upon themselves; some of the Nobility offered their services doubtfully, others absolutely told her, it was no good time to move that stone again, at which they had so often stumbled. The *Brabanters* that had

slip

slit the bridle under *Charles* the fifth, and would not suffer King *Philip* when he was there, to put it on again; should they now halter themselves, called by a womans voice? The people know no mean or moderate course, at first they are in *amazement*, then all *confidence*. Sometimes they *fear*, sometimes they *terrifie*; according as they are inflamed with the *breath* of great persons, and the *bellows* of hereticks. Nay, the common discourse concerning the King, hinted to the people, and uttered as their own, was this: *Why he made so many new Bishops, if they were not to protect Religion? But indeed it was resolved by Councils, that such Pastors as went slowly to work, in purging the ill fruits of heresie, should be put out of their Episcopall office. Bishops should therefore look to their own business, or else lay down their ill placed miters: which it were better they had never put on, nor vainly frighted the Low-countrey with their number: That Religion had flourished many ages in the Netherlands, onely by the care of the Civil Magistrate, without that pomp of the Popes tyranny, without any of the Emperours Edicts. Why that new addition of Inquisitors? That for the most part, it sprung from the ambition of Bishop Granvell, who that he might have suppliants, sought to make delinquents: That Religion ought to be perswaded, not commanded: That Charles the fifth had a most pious intention in making those Laws, but experience demonstrated, the cause of Religion, and the common good and state of the Provinces, was thereby nothing advanced, but daily grew to be in a worse condition: That commerce was already obstructed; Merchants had a stop of trading, to the great losse of the Low-countreymen, especially those of Antwerp, whose wealth consisted in merchandize. Lastly, that neither the Emperour Charles, nor King Philip, nor any other Prince that had sworn to the priviledges of Brabant, and promised not to impose upon the Low-countreymen new forms of Judicature, could have power (if the Laws remained in force) to compell them to suffer the severity of the Inquisition, and those Edicts. But these rumours moved not the Governes at all, who continued to execute the Law upon offenders. And the Council of Trent, then ended, was by the Kings command proclaimed in the Low-countreys. At which, in some places, the people openly stormed, and rescued condemned persons, half dead, out of the hangmans hands; stealing to conventicles in the City, and in the fields. Nay, many of the Nobility entered into a kind of combination among themselves, partly to scatter libels in the streets, partly to present petitions to the Governes by great multitudes; with such tumult and success, that the Emperours Edicts had their edge abated, delinquents were pardoned, and no one afterwards endeavoured to bring in *Censors* of faith, where they had not formerly been. So that nothing was done to oppose the *Preaching-men*, that had broke loose from their hereticall neighbours; and in the very market place declaimed against the *Catholick Faith*. To which a company of Boors and rogues presently joyning, rushed into the Chutches, robbed them, defaced the sacred Monuments; and lastly, fell into open rebellion, without any Generall then declaring for them; but with strange licentiousness, force, rapine, and plunder. To this point it was come at last. And some affirmed that storm, which with a sudden noise prodigiously fell upon the Low-countreys, was raised out of the peoples fury, caused by the severity of the Prince, who plotting at once to entangle them in so many inconveniences by the Imperiall Edicts, Questions of faith, and the Council of Trent, had provoked the patience of the Low-countreymen. Yet others cleared the King of any fault, as not being author of those edicts and questions, but onely confirming his Fathers Decrees; and those *Pontifician Censors* of faith, which *Charles* the fifth had called into the *Netherlands*. And that the King*

The Brabanters
still refuse.

The people differ
in opinions.

The common
discourse against
the Inquisition,
and the Empe-
rours Edicts.
In the Lateran
Council under
Innocent iii.

Tumults caused
by fear of the
Inquisition, and
punishment of
Delinquents.

Some men cen-
sure the King.

Others excuse
him.

C. Sant. 1. de
Off. & Potest.
Jud. lib. 1. 9.
Quimanda-
tam, ff. de Off.
ejus.

The first and
true causes of
the Low-coun-
treys Tumults.

By Heresie a-
mong the people,
introduced three
wayes.

F. Hieron. Pol-
linus, Hist.
Angl. 1. 3. c. 8.

Cherished and
augmented by
the countreys
adjacent.

whereupon the
Netherlands
grew to all li-
centiousness.

Heresie the
Trumpet to Re-
bellion.

Confession, Fast-
ing, Penance,
&c.
Inclyning men
to Atheisme.

or *Emperour*, when he brought in the Inquisitors, had not therefore broken the *Low-countrie* privileges, by inducing a new form of Judicature, because their jurisdiction not being ordinary, but only delegated, could not be called a new Judicatory: And therefore they highly extolled the Kings religion, that respected the authority of the *Romane* Bishop, and the Councils, far before the threatnings of his turbulent and seditious subjects; nor held it imprudence, to be the first that should oblige his dominions to that which had been decreed against heresie, by the wisest Fathers of the Christian Common-wealth. But farther to prosecute, in this place, diversitie of mens judgements, would argue an ambitious wit; especially, since I perswade my self, all I have hitherto set down, did indeed contribute to the *Belgick* tumults, but were not the principall causes of them. It is now my purpose clearly to explain those causes to you, that such as read my history may learn, by the example of the Low-countrie men, what it is that commonly imbroyles a State or Kingdome.

That which troubles the people, and puts them into fury, seldome moves the Nobility: Yet Noblemen (as if the same grievances pressed both parties) do often conspire with the Commons: not to promote their Interest, or to make it a *Common-cause*; but by others assistance, to rid themselves of private inconveniences; and to do their own *business*, while they are thought to be onely for the Publick. Now the *first* motive of the peoples tumults, without doubt had its original from Heresie; which was brought in, partly by forrein Merchants, together with whose Commodities, this plague often sails: Partly, by the Regiments of the *Switz* and *Germanes*, whose service *Charles* the fifth, and King *Philip* had long used in the former wars: partly, by the banished men and fugitives out of *England*, which Queen *Mary* while she purged that Kingdome from heresie, prosecuting it with her Proclamations and Penal Laws, cleared the Island of, at once, being no fewer then 30000 persons, sent thither from other parts, whereof very many planted themselves anew in the *Low-countrys*. Heresie chiefly entring by these wayes, was cherished and augmented by the borderers, that trafficked with the *Low-countrys*, of whom, by commerce, they learned their *manners*, almost as perfectly as their *language*. Nor did the *Rhine* from *Germany*, or the *Muse* from *France*, send more water into the Low-countrys; then by the one, the contagion of *Luther*, by the other of *Calvin*, was imported into the same *Belgick* Provinces. To say nothing of the *Anabaptists*, that came in shoals out of *Westphalia* and *Friseland*, because they were entertained as neighbours, and accounted almost natives. A considerable part of the Commons being infected by this means, and the better to maintain the licentiousness of their lives, carrying themselves more saucily towards their Superiours, laid hold of the first occasions to alter the government; and by degrees began those troubles, which Heresie never fails to raise in States, and Kingdoms, as we are taught by too dear experience. For Cities seldome change Religion onely, but as often as this sacred *Anchor* is weighed, so often the Ship of the Common-wealth is tossed: and no wonder, for Heresie is the school of Pride, and while by little and little it shakes from the mind Gods yoke, it shewes us in like manner, how to defame and shake off humane government. Is it not plain, that the wisdom of hereticks at length ends in this point, that taking away such things as were somewhat heavier in the Catholick Religion, and pretending Confidence in God (so lessening and blotting out his fear) it brings men, now hail-follows with God, to be of no Religion, and at last boldly to maintain there is no God at all.

all. And he that is once so perswaded, and hath expelled him from his heart, whom Nature made his Lord, he will despise all other Lords with as little reluctance, as they that revolt from their King, contemn his subordinate Magistrates. Indeed among humane things I have alwayes most admired, that in the Government of Cities and Kingdoms, so many millions of men should be subjected and awed by one. This consists in the Subjects *consent*, and that consent is grounded upon reverence and fear, especially because it concerns particulars, that the generality should be governed. But this pail of Government Heresie puls up and opens, whose trumpeters under the specious pretence of Christian liberty sound in the ears of the people (not deaf to scandalous reports) continual invectives against the Manners and Lives of Princes. Which Teachers having seasoned the peoples minds with these holy Precepts, it is no marvel if they detract so much from the Princes Power of ruling, and add so much to their own freedom from obeying. Nature hath planted in men, an aversion from their Lords, and an impatience to be commanded; what will they do, blown by the dayly breath of preaching: and being safe and confident under the veil of Religion. The *Transalpine* Countreys are and will be a sufficient example to Posterity: Which heresie hath too often *preached* into arms, by the sermons of a few seditious persons, that have involved Provinces and Nations in never to be expiated slaughter. So that what I said is evident, without wonderfull change in the Civill Government, Religion cannot be altered. And although heresie till that time had not so crept into the Low-countreys, nor was so numerous, that the faction could be greatly feared, many of the common sort being uncorrupted. Yet when those very men saw the Bishops multiplied; the Emperours Edicts published; and Inquisitours of faith imposed; the hereticks openly ringing in their ears, that all these conspired to destroy their liberty, they all then joyned their forces. For the Low-countreymen alwayes preserved their great Priviledges and Franchises, and did more securely enjoy them, by reason they had now been governed by female Princes for forty years together. Add to this the last long War: in which time, Licentiousness follows the Camp, and the Prince divides his Empire with the souldier: The Low-countreymen therefore with long liberty and the late warre grown stubborn, mingled with hereticks, and learning pride of those masters, no wonder, if being more insolent then they used to be, when occasion was offered, they would not onely not hear the word of command, and cast off their new burthens, but with erected spirits hoped for greater matters by the example of others. For they looked upon *France*, where after the tumult at *Amboise*, the hereticks had extorted so great a liberty, as they grew formidable to the Kingdome: and were to be fought to, for peace. But this spurre of the people, *heresie*, could never (as I say) have made such a progress in the Low-countreys, without the protection and assistance of the Nobility, for if heresie want this Elm, she creeps indeed, but on the ground, and to be trampled upon. And most of the Nobility were then in such a condition, and did so stomack the *Spaniards*, that the Commons might (and not rashly) presume upon that aversion. Now the cause of their indignation, was partly the defeat of their ambitions: partly Court-emulations, which began with shew of private hatred, even in King *Philip's* presence. Afterwards, before the Governels, it proceeded by open enmity to publick ruine. For in the beginning of the Emperour *Charles* his Reign, the Low-countrey Lords governed; the Low-countreymen had the best places at Court, the

whence follows
contempt of
their Sovereign
Lords.
And tumults.

What Occasions
Heresie made
use of to raise
tumults in the
Low-countreys.

Another Cause
of the Belgick
Insurrections,
the alienation
of the Nobility.

which grew
principally out
of Court-emu-
lation.
In what esteem
the Low-count-
reymen were
with the Em-
perour.

How they were
looked upon by
the King.

The difference
of disposition be-
tween Charles
the fifth,

And King
Philip.

The Prince of
Orange in his
Apology Anno
1581.

The Belgick
Lords defeated
of their expec-
tations.

which caused
their animosi-
ties against the
King.

Lib. 3. de Ira,
c. 10.

And afforded
them matter of
complaint.

highest commands in the Army. Afterwards when many great persons, out of *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Germany*, dayly came in to *Cesars* fortune every day more flourishing, it was necessary his graces and bounties should flow to many; And the greatness of his Empire and Warres admitted many flatterers. Nor were the Low-countreymen troubled at it; because they saw the Emperours inclination chiefly propense towards them; and to contend with forreign Nobility, they held it an honour to their Countrey. But when King *Philip* came from *Spain*, guarded with a train of *Spanish* Lords; both in his *Palace* and abroad, as they said, inaccessible; the Low-countreymen took offence at their being over gracious with the King, jeering their manners and fashions, which the *Spaniard* in all places punctually retains. Lastly, they were by degrees alienated from the King himself, who distasted them with being so unlike his father. For the Emperour easily gave access and audience, carrying himself like a private man, altogether trusting to his own Majesty. And as he had a wit that could winde and turn it self all Wayes at once, he did so put on their Manners, that he was no less a *German* with a *German*, an *Italian* with an *Italian*, a *Spaniard* with a *Spaniard*, then a Low-countreymen with his native Subjects. Where on the contrary, King *Philip* would be, and appear a *Spaniard* to all men; he spake seldome, and then all *Spanish*; and forbore to shew himself in publick, as if he meant, appearing after retirement, to strike a reverence in the eyes of his beholders; changing nothing of the mode of *Spain*, either in his apparell or other forms of State. Now this, by minds once vexed, was accounted Pride and Contempt: as if his diversity of manners were in scorn of them. It is reported, the Emperour gave his sonne warning of it, and being offended at words used by some *Spaniards* against the Low-countreymen; in the presence of the Prince of *Orange* and *Bossvius*, he told the King, that he foresaw the counsels of some of the Kings flatterers would one day hazard him the loss of the Low-countreys. And although, after the Emperours decease, the King was in war with *France*, and the Nobility employed abroad, which quieted the stirres at home: Yet the war being ended, the Discontent at Court grew so much higher then it was, by how much the Low-countrey Lords thought the King more indebted to them, for their valiant and faithfull service in his wars. Nor were they satisfied with his bestowing upon them so many Governours places before his departure. For such as were neglected, took it for an injury: and they that were chosen, held it no great bounty, because they expected a greater. But the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont*, as they were of vaster spirits then the rest, having absolutely perswaded themselves, they should have the Government of all the seventeen Provinces: when they fell, from that hope, whatsoever came short of their wishes lost the title of a benefit. From whence sprung the Low-countreymens fury; which is ever most dangerous to Princes, when men have not what they hope for, though many times they hope for more then they should have. It was not *Pompeys* Party that murdered *Julius Cesar*, but his own friends: because (as *Seneca* saith) he had not satisfied their unsatisfiable hopes. As if when men are much obliged, it were a kind of affront not to be more obliged. And now in the private discourses of the Nobility this was their ordinary matter of complaint, That the *Spaniards* had all the power with the King, That the Low-countreymen were but the *Spaniards* shadows, that waited upon them, and moved at their command; for the King transacted business of great concernment by the advice of *Ferdinand* of *Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, *Rui Gomez*, and the Count of *Feria*, his onely cabinet



*Anthony Perenot Cardinal Granvel
Counsellour of Estate to Margaret of Parma*

binet Counsellours, That the Low-countrey Lords were admitted to the Counsell board to pass things already concluded: and were pleased, like children with form and ceremony. This was not the Emperours promise of his sons bounty, nor what was due to their fidelity and service. Should they suffer themselves to be turned out, and forreiners to be quartered in their houses, and Low-countreymen to be despised, and thought so much inferiour to the Spaniards? Yet they endured it, while the King stayed among them; either fearing the Majesty of their Prince, or else faithfull even in anger. Nor did they proceed further then private murmurs, save onely their hatred to the *Spanish* took a deeper impression in themselves, and by them was spread among the people, that long since hated the very name of *Spaniard*. But when the King went for *Spain*, and the Court was free from strangers, the Low-countrey Lords perswaded themselves, they should bear all the sway with the Dutchess of *Parma*, falsely, for they found the malice of all the Spaniards in one man, *Anthony Granvell*, whose power occasioning the open differences at Court, and consequently the publick ruine: it will not be amiss to shew you, in this place, his pedigree and parts.

Anthony Perenott was born at *Besancon* a town of *Burgundy*, sonn to *Nicholas* Lord of *Granvel*, who was of mean parentage; and (as some say) son to a Black-Smith; but a man of excellent endowments, and great judgement, and succeeded in the place of *Mercurinus Arboreus Gattinar*, Chancelour of the Empire, trusted with, and acting in, all the Emperours Designs. For at the great Convention of the Estates of *Germany* in *Vancion*, he sat President, representing his *Imperiall Majesty*; who sent him out of *Spain* to *Trent*, to do honour to the Council, and to promise the Emperours presence there. Nor did the Chancelour loose any opportunity, but in that famous meeting of all Christendome, silently advanced the service of his Prince. He was the onely man chosen by the Emperour to publish his Decrees of greatest consequence in *Germany*; to make peace between the petty Princes; and to work them to joyn with the Emperour, in perswading the free Cities to give assistance to King *Ferdinand*, to move the Fathers to end the Council, that he might at once settle the cause of Religion, the Councils of War, and the Imperiall Laws. In all which employments, and the slippery Court affairs, he ever kept his footing firm; and had the Emperours constant favour, for twenty years together, till his very dying day. A rare end of a long continued power. He was likewise happy in providing wealth and honour for his many children; particularly for *ANTHONY*, whom he left Inheritour to his Office, and to the counsels and favour of the Emperour. And indeed having the helps of a great wit, and excellent learning, and proceeding with great applause in most of the Universities in *Europe*; by his fathers instructions, he easily obtained the perfect Art of business. So that when he came to be a Statesman, he presently won upon the Emperours good liking; and made it appear, that he relied not so much upon his fathers virtue, as his own. In many things he equalled his father, in many exceeded him. Especially in nimbleness of wit, tiring sometimes five Secretaries at once, with dictating letters to them, and that in severall tongues; for he understood seven languages exactly. But his greatest excellency was his eloquence, wherein none of that Age surpassed him. He had audience in the Council of *Trent*, for the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, and made a quick and handsome speech, being then Bishop of *Arras*, of twenty four years of age, in his fathers time. He was called to be one of the great Council of the *Empire* and *Low-countreys*: When the Army

The Lords dis-
tates aggrava-
ted by the power
of Granvel.
Of Anthony
Granvel.

His birth and
parentage.
His fathers Offi-
ces and estima-
tion with
Charles the V.
Cardinal Mer-
curius.

He died in Au-
gust, An. 1550.
His happiness
in his issue.
Anthony
Granvels Abili-
ties.

Languages.
Elocution.

which did his
business.

The Emperours
character of
him to King
Philip.

His artifices to
ingratiate him-
self with the
King.

And he effected
his designe being
employed in
things of highest
concernment.

And by the King
commended to
the Governes.

His favour
with her.

His dexterity in
giving counsel.

For the most
part by Letters.
Tacit. Annal.
lib. 4.

Army marched, he still attended the Emperour, and wore arms. He was the Emperours *Embassadour* to Princes and Cities, and happily dispatched most of his business by the help of his Rhetorick; but tempered with wonderfull discretion: without which allay, all eloquence is but the unseasonable over-flowing of Wit, that cannot keep within its bounds. When *Charles* the fifth resigned the Empire, he commended *Granvell* to King *Philip*, with a noble testimony of his merits. They say, the Emperour at his departure for *Spain*, professed, that *Anthony Granvel* was the onely man, whose service he wished his son to use, in things of highest Concernment. But *Granvell* (knowing such Commendations to be good while they are fresh, but that when our Parents memory grows out of date, they often turn to hatred, as if they had in them more of Command then Duty) hastened to merit the Kings favour with admirable dexterity. For though it be difficult to please a Successour, commonly differing in nature and manners: yet *Granvel* overcame all that difficulty by *Observance*. And as he had a wit that could easily new-cast it self into any mould, he transformed himself immediately into the manners of the *Spanish* Prince. His studying to fortifie Religion against Heresie, in which he strangely hit the inclination of the King; his mind neither greedy in seeking honours, nor unfit for them when offered; his subtilty in decyphering the Princes mind, before he declared himself in his Commands, conjecturing them by his looks: his abstinency by night from sleep, by day from meat; his constant pains and fidelity, far above the practice of the Court, did exceedingly engage the Kings affections to him. His knowledge of the Emperours Counsels, likewise much endeared him to King *Philip*, who by the same Compass meant to steer his Government. For which reasons, in all his four years stay in the Low-countries, the King did nothing either at home or abroad, made neither peace nor leagues, with Kings or Nations; concluded no marriages; quieted no seditions; acted nothing that related to Religion or the Church, but by *Granvell*, he delivered his commands. Nay, when the King went from the Low-countries into *Spain*, he left this man to the Dutches of *Parma*, as a principall instrument of State: and told her, it concerned the Low-countries, that she should use his advice oftner then any other of the Council. And she did it, so that he had the same place and esteem with the Kings sister, that he had with the King. His power (which rarely happens) being thrice successively confirmed. Seldome any private or publick business passed, but he was first heard to the point in agitation; and to hear him was to be surprized: so dextrous he was, and his counsel so applicable to all occasions, that the Prince was free to choose, and thought himself Authour of the determinions, for which *Granvel* by his own judgement had prepared him; and could not but love the Modesty of his inventions, not compelled (which is unsufferable to Princes) to commend the wisdom of his Teacher. And though *Granvell*, under shew of observance, arrived at once both to Power and Favour: yet he seldome made any Dispatches in person, but (reviving the fashion of *Augustus* and *Tiberius* their times) by Letters and Notes under his hand to the Governes. I have at this present a great volume of his letters, which he sent her (though they were both in Town, and commonly in the same house) to avoid, as I conceive, that jealousy the Lords had of his power; or else, that his advices might be deeper imprinted. But 'tis hard to deceive the Court. And now no man doubted, but that all was transacted by *Granvell*, both at home and abroad: and as it often happens, things he had no hand in (when once his name was

up

up for a Favourite) were believed to be his doing. Indeed at first, the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and the greatest *Low country Lords*, did not much fear his power, because they despised him as an upstart. But when his authority began daily to encrease, and all things to bend that way; nay, some of the Nobility to apply themselves to him, and become his Creatures, then they took notice of him as a Competitour. And because he seemed to stand upon even ground with them; they began to raise batteries against him: at first civilly, shewing themselves enemies within compass. Afterwards, interpreting the greatness of the Kings favour to him, by the new honour of his *Cardinals* *scarlet*; and suspecting that he infused into his Majesty a doubtfull opinion of the *Low-country Lords*; then they extended their malice beyond all bounds; and came to the Council-board in presence of the *Dutchess*, rather to quarrel, then to give advice: having commonly no other reasons for dissenting, but because *Granvel* had assented. And to exasperate them, fell out many accidents which I shall here repeat together. *Charles* Count *Lalin*, and *Simon Regnard*, in the name of King *Philip*, had concluded a Truce for five years with *Henry* the *French King*. The conditions whereof displeased the *Spaniard*; and therefore *Regnard* was out of favour with King *Philip*, because more in fault, as the rumour went. *Regnard* suspecting I know not by what discovery, that by *Granvels* means the King was alienated from him, railing every where upon the man, drew Count *Lalin* to side with him, because he was the principall Commissioner, and therefore all reports of infidelity in that Treaty, must chiefly reflect upon him. The infection of this conspiracy was caught from *Lalin*, by *Philip Montmorancy* Count *Horn*, (whose sister *Lalin* had married) and struck to his heart, when Count *Horn* saw *Charles Breme* Count of *Megen* preferred before him to the government of *Gelderland*; which repulse he took as received by *Granvels* instigations. The like cause had *Robert Brederod*, who stood to be Bishop of *Cambray*, and had the votes of all the Lords: against him *Granvel* appeared, for *Maximilian* of *Bergen*, a man better meriting his favour, who carried the Bishoprick. At the same time *Lazarus Zwend* (that had been General of the *Germans* in the war of *Hungary*, and at the battel of *S. Quintin*) promised himself all his own wishes, relying on his intimacy with the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Egmont*; but they could not with all their power get him admitted to be of the great Council: *Granvel*, as was thought, putting a rub in his way. Which affront he very weakly shewed himself sensible of, and endeavoured at all opportunities, to make his friends have the same resentment. But the offence taken by Count *Egmont* was of an higher nature, because he thought himself abused by *Granvell* in the Government of *Hesdin*: and after the death of the Abbot of *Trull*, when Count *Egmont* petitioned the *Pope* for his kinsman: and *Granvel* for himself, this man was preferred. But the Prince of *Orange* held it as a great indignity, not onely to be defeated of his hopes, for the Government of all the *Low-countreys*, by the practise of the Duke of *Alva* and *Granwell*; but that they had so ordered it, as to hinder the marriage (to which he had long aspired) with *Christierne* *Dutchess* of *Lorain*: and though the *Dutchess* of *Parma* laboured to take off the opinion of *Granvels* power, and to extinguish the envy towards him (contrary to the practice of some Princes, that like it well, to have a servant on whom men may discharge the hatred due unto their Masters) yet she could not perswade his enemies; who interpreted this very endeavour of the *Dutchess*, as the greatness of her goodness to him. Most of the Nobility having these and other private

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The Lords first
scorn,And then emu-
late him.Particular offen-
ces taken against
him.Especially by
Count Lalin,
Regnard.
Florent. V. A.
de init. l. r.Count Horn.
C. Megen.

Lazarus Zwend

C. Egmont.

The Prince of
Orange.The Governes
is for Granvel.But all will not
do. The Lords ban-
dy against him.

dif.

He slighteth their
calumnies.

The Commons
concur with
the Lords.

The Lords make
use of them to
trouble the
Peace.

To make Gran-
vel odious.

And to displace,

At least to vex
him.
In the interim,
the Heretical
Faction is
strengthened,
more then some
Lords could
wish.

Howbeit others
of them desired
the troubles.
These were
of two sorts.

discontents, were so much the more eager to bring down *Granvels* power, that is their common prejudice. In council, they had long by compact and designe opposed *Granvels* motions, rather like his despisers, then the Princes Counsellours. In their Letters to the King, in Complaints to the Governes, they gave him the Character of a proud man, one that hated the Nobility, and would in time be the destruction of the *Low-countrieys*. They had already made him odious to the people, and perswaded them, that the super-numerary *Bishops*, the reviving of the Emperours Edicts, and the severity of the *Spanish* Inquisition, proceeded merely from this one mans ambition: who by enslaving the Low-countriey-men aimed to enthrone himself, in I know not what Principality. And the people heard them, because they hated him. Nor did *Granvel* decline the opinion, whilst he alone solicited the cause of Religion, with somewhat more violence, then caution. And as he was of a confident and high spirit, he easily slighted all the threatenings and conspiracies of his Competitours; and declared himself to depend wholly upon the Kings favour: unlesse perhaps he appeared to slight them, lest if he should seem fearfull to be trod upon, they might think it feasible to tread upon him. Hence the people (prone of their own nature to live licentiously, and prompted forwards by their commerce with hereticks) charged *Granvel* with all the Kings severer proceedings, not more out of hatred to him, then out of love to the Lords, whom they looked upon as Patrons of the Commons, and Assertours of their Countreys liberty. Therefore they adhered to them, and were at their devotion. And the Lords (laying hold of this occasion of protecting the *Publick*, to revenge their *Private* injuries) had good hope to remove their Rival, if what the King asked by him against the peoples minds, were made void by their assistance. Therefore some of them in the Provinces where they commanded, were slow in advancing the Cause of Religion; and in publishing the Emperours Edicts, enjoyned them by the King. Others tacitly favoured the multitude, and perswaded them not to suffer a new Tribunal to be erected, to bolster up the *Romish* bawbles, and the *Spanish* superstition. Some that preferred *Ambition* before Religion, connived at the coming in of hereticks from all quarters, encouraged seditious conspiracies, and lastly, omitted nothing whereby the King might understand, how much he had misplaced his favour, in trusting the *Netherlands* onely to the pride of *Granvel*. By this means it was presumed, they should see him removed from the *Low-countrieys*, and perhaps from the Kings good opinion: or howsoever, it would subject him to perpetuall danger of the People and Tumults. Both which came to pass, and that at last which some of them never aimed at, I mean, the setting up of the *Heretical* party; the increase of licentious and seditious persons; shame and fear of the Law by degrees cast off, and finally reverence and fidelity to the Prince. And many honest men being involved in the same fate, such a fire of mutiny and warre was kindled, as afterwards the bloud of the people, the ruins of Cities and Provinces never could extinguish. From such smal beginnings the greatest mischiefs often spring, and are precipitated with a far greater violence, then could proceed from the strength of their first mover. For it is most true, that to fire houses and to set bounds and limits to the flame, is not in one mans power. Yet some there were of the Nobility, that wished those troubles, and at that very time, plotted the change of Government. Of these were two sorts: Some either out of hope of a loose life, or infected by their wives (which they had married out of the cities (or rather pest-houses) of *Germane* hereticks, daily made

less



*William of Nassau
Prince of Orange.*

less account of observing the Orthodox Religion; and therefore inclining to the hereticall party, impudently encouraged them, and hoped that one day, they would master & put down the Catholick government. Others to maintain their port and dignity, having consumed their private patrimonies, were necessitated to make use of the publick troubles. For not a few of the Nobility (both in the former Warres, and afterwards at Court,) accounting it a dishonour to be outbraved by Forreiners, especially by the *Spanish* Lords, in gallantry of apparell, or arms, in the train of friends and followers; in the number and rich trappings of their horses; had at this Vie consumed vast summes of money, the expence being more grievous to them then to the *Spaniards*, who commonly had far greater fortunes. Therefore since on the one part, no revenues would hold out to maintain these scenes of Pride; and yet they had still in their small fortunes, great spirits, sensible of the honour of their Families. On the other part, while the hereticks, to avoid banishment, or the hangman (which was the business then in agitation) promised to the Nobility money in abundance, and especially to the Governours of Provinces. Diverse Noblemen, upon these hopes, easily revolted to them: and neglecting their own private benefit, and the safety and tranquility of the state, by their cunning dissimulation mocked the endeavours of the Governess and *Granwell*, in pacifying those tumults and seditions: which they in the mean time very well approved of, as the Mart from whence their richest traffick came.

But the causes which hitherto I have numbered up severally, and shewed them to proceed from the Lords and Commons, did at last all meet in one point of concurrence in the Prince of *Orange*. To demonstrate this, I will give you an exact account of his descent, his nature, and by what arts he attained his power: a necessary narration, and I presume not unpleasing to the Reader: that such as shall see him, almost for sixteen years, Generall of great armies fighting with various fortune: may have his manners, and as it were the Picture of his heart before their eyes. The house of *Nassau* in *Germany* was ever Princely, but when *Adolphus* of *Nassau* was elected Emperour, he made it a Sovereign Family. Count *Orho* brought them into the Low-countreys, almost two hundred years ago, where they were established by his nephew *Engelbert* the first, and by the nephew to the first, *Engelbert* the second. That being great Grandfather, this great Uncle to *William* Prince of *Orange*. Which Princes left him the inheritance of many towns in the Low-countreys, and other fair possessions, that came to them by marriage: which made him there a person of eminence, afterwards encreased by the Principality of *Orange*, that descended from the *Chalons* upon the family of *Nassau*. For his fathers brother *Henrick*, had a sonne named *Renatus*, by *Claudia Chalon* sisterto *Filibert Chalon* Prince of *Orange*. *Renatus* after the death of his uncle *Filibert*, succeeded him in the Principality upon condition, that he should change his name from *Nassau* to *Chalon*. But he likewise dying without issue, the Principality of *Orange*, and the rest of the great estate which he had in *Burgundy*, came to his Cousengerman *William*, whom we now speak of, by the favour of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. *William* was born in the year one thousand five hundred thirty three, the eldest of five brothers, and it is reported his father (whose name was *William*) desired to know his sonnes fortune of *Philip Melancthon* that was by *Chaldean* rules, rather as a Professour then an artist, held to be skilfull in Calculating of Nativities. Who having erected their Schems told him, *Williams* fortune was not in all parts alike proportioned. For at first, his

Both which at last contributed to the ruine of the Publick.

Of the Prince of Orange.

His Ancestours came out of Germany, Into the Low-countreys.

Ann. 1292. The Prince of Orange in his Apol. 1581.

Their power in the Netherlands.

Anno 1544. The birth of the Prince of Orange. Henr. Ranzou. in exemplis Astrol. Michael Aitzinger in Leone Belg. His Nativitiy calculated.

His civil.

And military
education.Called the or-
dinary Bands.
Emmanuel
Fifthbert Duke
of Savoy.His favour at
Court.Some suspect
him.The Emperour
answers all Ob-
jections.And commends
him to the King.The King makes
great account
of him.The Causes of
his Discontent.

stars would shine down honour upon him: afterwards, he should lay his design for greater honours: but at last, come to an unfortunate end. What his judgement was of the other four brothers, I have neither heard spoken, nor seen written. Perhaps, because they wanted *success*, they were passed over in *silence*: lest it might discredit his art. *Charles* the fifth took him away when he was very young, from his father, who had revolted to the *Lutherans*, and delivered him to his own sister, *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*. As soon as his years permitted, the Emperour made him a gentleman of his bed-chamber, and was much delighted with the constant waiting and conditions of the youth: because he was very modest, and did not make vain ostentations of his service, nor omit any opportunity to be serviceable: and that in a grave and serious manner, that he might be thought more *capable* then *ambitious* of imployment. From the bed-chamber, where he kept his place for almost nine years, the Emperour made him a souldier, and Generall of his horse in the Low-countries. Nay when the Duke of *Savoy* left the army, he substituted in his place *William Nassau* Lieutenant-generall: though he wanted years for so great a command, being not past twenty two, and was brought in over the heads of many great Commanders, among others (which the Prince of *Orange* himself admired) of Count *Egmont*: who besides his experience in the warres, was twelve years older. Thenceforth, as well in peace as war, he was by the Emperour valued in the first file of Nobility; and imployed upon diverse noble *Embassages*. Indeed, in the Emperours great resignation of his dominions; which was his last act as a Prince, when he sent the Crown and Sceptre of the Empire (as we have told you) to his brother *Ferdinand* by the Prince of *Orange*, he clearly shewed, by that last honour he could do, the greatness of the affection which he bare him. And though some, that suspected his nature from the first, often wished the Emperour to look to him, and not to be over confident of his disposition; which under the pretence of virtue, covered fraud and design; and that he should take heed how he cockered up that fox in his bosom, that one day would devour all his domestick Poultry. But the Emperour frowned upon and contemned these aspersions, knowing they are ordinarily cast upon such as Princes favour. Nay these rather confirmed him in the Emperours good opinion. Howsoever by making honourable mention of him, and commending the modesty and fidelity of the youth, the Emperour seemed to discharge that envy. Perhaps he thought the Prince deserved it not; perhaps it was the common fault of *masters*, that apprehend themselves to be no less concerned in such investives, then their *favourites* and *servants*; and without looking into the business, make themselves patrons of the men, whose cause they think their own. Yet in the Prince of *Orange*, at that very time, were symptomes of a disease, that should have been prevented, or at least observed. Which symptomes grew more and more apparent after the Emperours departure. For though at his leaving the Low-countries, the Emperour commended the Prince of *Orange* to his sonne *Philip*, and King *Philip* both of his own accord and for his fathers sake, gave him many testimonies of his good liking; for he made him one of the Order of the Golden fleece, sent him to conclude a peace with *Henry* the *French King*; and that done, delivered him for hostage. And to those large Provinces of the *Netherlands*, which the King trusted to his Government, he added *Burgundy*, though farre remote. But what could all this work with him, that gave out, the King was obliged to bestow upon him the absolute Government of all the Low-countries, for

For his pains and expences, to defend the greatness of the house of *Austria*. And in his Apology against King *Philip*, he took upon him the boldness (after he had particularized the merits of his Ancestours towards the Emperours *Maximilian* and *Charles*) to conclude, That but for the Counts of *Nassau*, and Princes of *Orange*, the King of *Spain* could not have loaded the front of his proclamation (wherein he proscribed him) with the glorious titles of so many Kingdomes and Nations. Frustrated therefore of his hopes to govern the Low-countries; and perceiving *Granwell* to be the great man in the Dutchesses new Court, and fearing he should every day be less esteemed by her, whom he would have prevented of her Government, by professing himself to stand for *Christians* Dutchess of *Lorraine*, and endeavouring to bring her in; he resolved to maintain his greatness by another way: and, provoked by new indignities, to act what he had long since designed. And though I have no certain ground to believe, that at the very first, he laid his plot to revolt from his allegiance to the King; yet I dare boldly affirm, he studied, at that time, some innovation: whereby he might weaken the Kings Government; overthrow the *Spanish* power; encourage the hereticall party; by right or wrong advance his own honour and authority; and if fortune made him any other fair offer, to lay hold upon it. Indeed for altering of a Government, I know not if any man ever lived, fitter then the Prince of *Orange*. He had a present wit, not slow to catch at opportunities, but subtil; concealing himself, not to be sounded, even by those that were thought privy to his secrets. Then he had a rare way to ingratiate himself with any that but came to speak with him: so unaffectedly he conformed to strangers manners, and served himself of others ends; not that he stooped to the poor forms of complement, and common professions of imaginary services, wherewith at this day men do honourably mock one another. But shewing himself, neither sparing nor prodigall of his Courtship, he so cunningly contrived his words, that you could not but think, that he reserved farre more for action. Which begat a greater opinion of his discretion: and gave more credit to his pretensions. Besides, though he was of a proud and infinitely ambitious spirit, yet he so carried it to the outward shew, that he seemed to command himself, and not to be sensible of injuries. But he was as subiect to fear, as free from anger: Inasmuch as he doubted all things, thought every thing unsafe: but yet desisted not, because on the one part his brain, fruitfull in plots, if the first took not, presently made new supplies; on the other part, his vast and immoderate ambition, strangled all doubts and delays. But in the splendour of his house-keeping, and the multitude of his friends and followers, he was equall to great Princes. No man in all the Low-countries more hospitable, and that gave nobler entertainment to forreign Embassadors, then the Prince of *Orange*, which hugely pleased the people, that delight to have the wealth and power of their Countrey showed to strangers: nor was it difficult to Princes, with whom he redeemed all the opinion of his pride, by his humble and familiar invitations of their servants. But for his Religion, that was very doubtfull, or rather none at all. When he was with the Emperour and the King, he seemed to be Catholick. When they left the Low-countries, he returned by little and little to his Fathers heresie, which was bred in him of a child: yet so, as while the Dutchess of *Parma* continued Governess, he rather appeared a Favourer of the hereticall party, then an Heretick. Lastly, after the Dutchess was removed, he declared himself for *Calvin* (for from a *Lutheran*, he was now turned to his opinion) not

His Designe,

His Wit and Manners.

which relished not of Courtship or Levity.

The splendour of his Family.

His doubtfull Religion.

He declares himself a Calvinist. Apology 1518.

*His Apology,
Anno 1518.*

*Whether from
his heart or no,
is uncertain.*

Ann. 1581.

*He was Hostage
for K. Philip,
to Henry K. of
France.*

Ann. 1581.

*He discovers
both the Kings
designes against
the hereticks.*

*And from thence
takes his hint
for Commotion.*

Ann. 1559.

*Beginning at the
Convention of
the Knights of
the Golden
Fleece, out of
the same Apo-
logy.
Hovenius Mo-
morancy, Lord
Montany, An-
thony Lalin
Count Hoch-
strat.*

only as a private Sectary; but as the great Defender of his Faith. Afterwards he writ a Book, wherein he testified to all the world, That from his childhood, he was ever much enclined to the Religion (which he calls) Reformed: the seeds whereof his heart alwayes constantly retained; which at length ripened with his years. And that all he did at home, or in the warrs, related to this end, To maintain Religion in her first Purity, assailed and shot at, with so many Laws and Edicts by the *Emperour* and the *King*. Whether he wrote truth, and was indeed a *Calvinist* in opinion; or rather by that means sought to ingratiate himself with the men, whose service he had use of, some have made a doubt: it is most probable, his Religion was but pretended, which he could put on like a Cloke, to serve him for such a time; and put it off again, when it was out of fashion. Truly, that Religion was not much to be regarded, when Authority was to be acquired, or established; are the words of his own letter to *Alençon*, Brother to the *French King*; part whereof in its due place, I shall insert. This, it was thought, he learned in the villanous school of *Machiavel*, whose Books he seriously studied; as *Granuel* affirms in his Letter from *Spain*, directed to *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*. *William of Nassau* furnished with these Arts, how he employed them, in exasperating the minds of the Low-countrie men, I shall now briefly open. He was hostage, as I have formerly said, to *Henry* the second of *France*. Hunting with the King, they fell into that discourse, which he speaks of in his Defence against his Proscription published by King *Philip*, wherein he glories in the discovery which he made, of the plot betwixt him and King *Henry*: who letting fall some words of the grand Designe (but abruptly and obscurely, lest perhaps he might reveal it to one, that was not of counsel with them) the Prince of *Orange*, as he himself sayes, to wyer-draw the whole business out of the King, takes upon him to have been long privy to the plot, which the King easily believes, thinking the Prince in great esteem with his Master, and seeing him his hostage there. He therefore freely tells him, that by the *Spanish* Embassadour, the Duke of *Alva*, King *Philip* agreed with him to destroy all the families of the new Religion: which he was to see done in *France*, and King *Philip* in the Low-countrys: in which he likewise had erected a constant Tribunal, where matters of Faith should be tried, which would be as good as his Forts, to keep his people in obedience. The Prince of *Orange* finding the designe, which he knew to be King *Philip*, return'd into the Low-countrys. There when he saw the Dutcheis of *Parma* made Governels, and *Granuel* joyned with her; the number of Bishops increased; and Inquisitors of Faith to be brought in; he conceived this to be the designe which King *Henry* had discovered to him. And when he perceived that these new Decrees had filled the Cities with fears and jealousies, and that no part of the State looked cheertfull; he resolved to make use of the opportunity: supposing, that if he should feed the beginnings of these discontents on his part, as many already (corrupted with heresie) would do on theirs; that he should undoubtedly elude the designs of the *Spanish*. And now that he had some little glimmering of an expectation, and began to form great plots to bring all his aims to their desired ends, thus he set them a work.

The King, at *Gant*, called a Chapter of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, in whose Creation (because all authority was not in the King, as Master of the Order, but in the joynt-votes of his Companions) that some might be chosen which hated the King, (I suppose, *Monting* and *Hochstrat*) the Prince of *Orange* took a great deal of pains, solicited, and prevailed with his Col-leagues

leagues, to promise him their severall suffrages. And both these Lords now obliged, he meant hereafter, as purchased by this favour, to make use of. Besides, when the Cities mutinied (as I have told you) because *Spanish* Garrisons were left upon the frontiers, he privately inflamed their fury, and argued with his friends of the pride of those forrein souldiers, that under colour of defending the Borders, laboured to put a yoke upon free Cities. Withall, he commended the loyalty of the *Low-countraymen*, which notwithstanding suffered, for that strangers were preferred before them. And put it in their heads, that the Estates who were then to be summoned, should with great earnestness petition the King, that his *Spanish* souldiers might be disbanded, by his Fathers example, who never had any Garrisons in the *Low-countrays*, but of *Low-countraymen*; which accordingly the States were suiters for, with great noise and clamour. And at that time, the King promised to satisfie them by word of mouth, which afterward he really performed: the Prince of *Orange* much glorying in it, who, in his Letters professed himself to have been the authour of sending away the *Spaniards*: and that by this act (which he accounted an eternal honour to him and his Colleagues) he brought two things about: the one, that he freed his Countrey from slavery; the other, that he opened (they are his own words) the way to Religion. Onely to his and their Crown of glory this was wanting: that as they had turned the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countrays*, so they had not shut the door upon them, locked it fast, guarded the Passe, and kept them from all hope of ever coming back again. Yet he doubted not, but as he had purged a great part of the *Netherlands* of them, so as they could call nothing there their own, but the bones and ashes of their Countrey-men; in like manner he should quickly bring to effect, or at least endeavour it, that they should all be banished out of the seventeen Provinces, and being compelled to return to their own Countrey, should at last suffer the *Low Dutch* to enjoy the liberty of their fortunes, bodies and souls. Nor was he less active against the designe of introducing new Bishops; which (by the spirit of *Calvin*) he used to call *hangmen*, brought in to flea and burn mankind. And to that end, he applied himself to the *Abbots*, some of which (instructed at private conferences, and emboldened against the fear of any Magistrate) were for a great while his principall instruments of discord. But he had not better success in any thing, then in defeating the Emperours Edicts, and the Kings proclamations. For as nothing more amazed the people, then the name of the *Inquisition*, so the Prince of *Orange*, in that fright, aggravating their fears and jealousies, telling them of the breach of Priviledge, the tyranny of the *Spaniards*, the slavery of the *Low-countraymen*, most of them vain surmises, but yet working in minds inclined to suspicion: It is hardly credible, what an odium he brought upon the *Inquisition*; how he turned the Peoples hearts from the King, and made them hate the *Spaniards*. So that many (being perswaded the freedome of their Nation would be lost, if this went on) would assoon have let into their cities the Enemies of their Countrey, as the *Inquisitors* of Faith. The Prince of *Orange*, glad of this success, and being (as I have said) enraged at *Granvels* power; absolutely resolved to joyn with the People and the Hereticks, who (he knew) hated *Granvel*, and he was glad they did so. At length, new and far more implacable tumults rising every where in the *Low-countrays*, when the Duke of *Alva* was Governour; the bolder the people grew, who then refused their pardons (offered by some Governours of Cities) and publicly renounced their allegiance: the more high-hearted grew the Prince

Starting matter
for sedition out
of the *Spanish*
souldiers.

1559.
In the same A-
pology.

Out of the new
Bishops.

In his said A-
pol. and so
Granvel writes:
Ann. 1582.

Out of the In-
quisition.

Out of *Granvels*
power.

Out of the trou-
bles arising in
the Duke of *Al-
va's* govern-
ment.

The mutinous
Citizens and
the Hereticks
desire to have
the Prince of
Orange for
their Generall.

Anne daughter
to Maurice
Duke of Saxo-
nie.

He offers him-
self.

To the destru-
ction of the
Publick.

The Causes and
Occasions of the
Belgick tumults
summed up.

Prince of *Orange*. His hopes, which hitherto were uncertain and farr off, now came near and courted him. So that scorning the Court, he looked for greater and quicker fortunes in the Warrs. But the mischief daily encreasing, seditious Citizens joyned with the Hereticks, part necessitated to avoid punishment, but the major part invited with hope of liberty. That their pretences might shew more honest, and promise more safety, under some one Generall, they looked upon the Prince of *Orange*, whom they knew to be ambitious to command in chief, and therefore an enemy to the *Spaniards*: besides, that he was seasoned with heresie, at least ingaged by affinity with Hereticks, whose service he made use of. They likewise knew he had many strong towns of his own, and that he would be supported by the counsels and wealths of forrein Princes. And he himself was partly encouraged by his inclination to the Hereticks, (to favour which party, he was at home perswaded by his wife, his brother, and his friends; abroad by great Persons) partly out of hatred, first to *Granvel*, afterwards to the Duke of *Alva*, alwayes to the *Spaniards*: especially, because despairing of the Kings favour, he hardly saw any place left for drawing back his hand, when he had cast the Die: partly, by the opportunity of Command, which from all quarters was offered to him. Upon these motives he wholly revolted to them, for whose defence he had the colour of protecting their Liberties; with abundant matter of feeding his own hopes. And thus, what neither the Prince of *Orange*, nor any Generall whatsoever could have done without a mutiny of the People: nor a mutiny of the People without a Generall, was effected by a conspiracy of both, a sudden flame of Rebellion breaking out, which afterwards continued a long fire of Warr, equally pernicious to the *Conquerours*, and the *conquered*.

Wherefore, to give you a full View of all at once, it is very considerable whether Misfortunes *succeed* or *meet*. And as by the conjunction of stars, ill winds they say are generated; so questionless there is a conjuncture of evils in the destruction of Men and Kingdoms. The sudden inundation of Heresie, the peoples dislike of the *Spanish* souldiers, the Multiplication of *Bishops*, the Revival of the *Emperours* Edicts, with the punishment of Delinquents, the *defeated hopes* of the Nobility, *Granvels greatness* at Court, because they all happened together, easily raised those tumults and troubles. Nevertheless, all were not of one Quality; for many of them seemed honest Pretences then the rest; but two of them did the business, Heresie and Ambition: though going under other Names, borrowing elsewhere their occasions, and beginnings: For the Hereticks having made the People theirs, pretended the Priviledges of the *Low-countrys*, and lest the Dutchess of *Parma*, their Governess should oppresse them, they put themselves under the Protection of the Nobility. These gudgeons were greedily swallowed by many, some set on by Poverty, more by their Repulses and Affronts, most by the Power of *Granvel*. Nothing could therefore advantage them but troubles, wherein they should receive Pay from the Hereticks, and Employment from the Governess: and by that means *Granvels* Power would decay for want of Action. The peoples contumacy thus increasing with their strength, they despised Government, terrified the Cities with seditious tumults, and immediately after in many places, violated and robbed the Churches. Lastly, in some places were discovered evident signes of subjects intending a Revolt, which was now set a foot.

And thus much I have discovered of the Originall of the Low-coun-try Tumults: which before the departure of the Dutchess of *Parma* out of

of the *Netherlands*, being laid and almost extinguished, revived again, farre more fatally in the Government of the Duke of *Alva*, whilst their Abettor the Prince of *Orange*, took opportunity of the peoples falling into rebellion, but not likely to hold out long, without a General: and upon their open defection from their Prince, he long opposed the *Spanish forces*, as their General. Wherein how much the *Spanish* erred in prelsing *unseasonable remedies*, or the Low-country men in *disobeying* their Sovereigne; I had rather you should gather out of the Narration of things themselves, then out of the arguments and partiall disputes of an Historian.

The End of the second Book.





The Historie of the LOW-COUNTRY VVARRES.

The third Book.

1559.
The Spanish
souldiers have
Orders to de-
part.



He new Governess took care in the first place to send away the *Spanish* souldiers. For the Provinces complained (as I have shewed you) that the four moneths were past, wherein the King promised to free the Low-countries of forrein souldiers; and yet, they were kept in Garrison: but the Dutches of *Parma* had put it off so long, because she most confided in the valour and faith of the old souldiers, if any troubles should arise at home, by the contagious example of their neighbours, that were together by the ears about Religion. Which was the cause that when the Low-countreymen denyed their Pay, she her self borrowed money to supply them. But the Low-countreymens complaints dayly multiplying, they alledged to the Governess, that the King had obliged himself in honour; and her husband *Ostasio* Duke of *Parma* (who never liked the stop of the *Spanish* army in the *Netherlands*) at his departure into *Italy*, perswading his wife to let them go; she writ letters to the King for his assent. And upon the receit of money from *Spain*, together with the Kings Commission, her Excellence drew out the Garrisons from the border-towns, commanding them presently to march to *Ulusken*; and to go aboard with the first fair wind, for *Spain*. But while shipping was prepared, winter coming on, the Governess received an Expres from the King, enioyning her not yet to send away the *Spanish* Garrisons: but (as in her discretion she thought fit) to spinne out time, till the King sent his absolute determination. And I believe, his Majesty alwayes desired their stay in the Low-countries: yet perhaps he was more moved to it, by new suspicions, collected out of *Granvels* letters, who having an eye upon the actions of the Nobility, made an ill construction of their eagernesse to expell the *Spaniards*: and perhaps penetrated further into the Prince of *Oranges* designs. But the Dutches could not at that time obey the King, by reason the hatred and quarrell between the two Nations was then irreconcilable. For the *Spaniards* were enraged because the Low-countreymen were so violent to have them gone. And the Low-countreymen, vexed with new grievances, were the more fierce in urging their departure.

4. Octob.
Their Departure
countermanded
by the King.

whereat the
Low-countreymen
rage.

parture. So as the *Zelanders* (in whose islands the *Spaniards* had lyen for a wind) being now grown desperate, resolved to work no more upon the sea banks: but though before their eyes the water bore them down in many places, yet they said, they had rather have their land *drowned*, then *plundered*. So, long since, the Generall of the *Ancibarians* vowed to do, in the same place, against the *Romanes*. Nay they professed openly, in the *Spaniards* hearing, The sea should swallow them alive, ere they would set foot out of doors to hinder it, as long as forrein souldiers tread upon their ground. Yet the *Governess* to comply with the Kings desires, delayed the *Spaniards* going aboard; and debated, how she might call them back from *Zeland*, in her Cabinet counsell: and with some few others of approved faith, whom she joyned to them. But all things were represented full of marvellous difficulty. *For they could not be called back, before Towns were appointed for them to be quartered in; but those could not be appointed, without their Governours, who would, no doubt, protest against it. Then it was to be considered, whether they should be kept in their winter quarters in a body: but that would be insufferable to the City that should give them quarter: or whether they should be dispersed through the Provinces: but then they must be exposed to all injuries and indignities, which the people (that contemned their small number) would be sure to put upon them. It was likewise considerable, Where the Spaniards should have pay? since the Low-countries had vowed to part with no money neither to them, nor their own Countrey-men, till the Netherlands should be cleared of forrein force.* Though the Governess knew this to be so, yet that she might leave nothing unattempted; Or by consulting to gain time, she brought the whole business to the Councell table. But here the same votes passed. And as the number of Counsellours was greater, so was their confidence. Some affirmed the Cities, when they should hear of that delay, would publickly claim promise of the King, and that the States would take it as an huge affront, when they suspected the Kings word had failed them: some alleadged the complaints of the Merchants; Others the pay which the King owed to the Low-country souldiers. Lastly, that their going aboard could not be deferred, was the opinion of the whole Councell, *Granvell* excepted, who opposed them all; either to please the King, or because he thought it would conduce to the good of the Low-countries, or because he was unwilling to be without such a guard, in case his Rivals should conspire against him. But when he had held out as long as either his authority or elocution could resist; at last, he yielded to number and weight of reasons. Perhaps he was afraid that any thing should be carried at the Board without *Granvels* consent. Which made him vote with the rest, and, as he would have it believed, willingly. The Governess therefore, moved with the generall suffrage, especially seeing them dayly grow more odious; which would make their presence a greater mischief to the Low-countries then their absence could be: writes to his Majesty the Result of that Councell for Remove of the souldiers, slightly and perfunctorily, as to the Cause, lest she might be thought to fear the Lords of the Councell, unto whom she read the letters, before the packet was dispatched away. But by the same post she wrote to the King, in cyphers, *That she was not able to retain the Spaniards any longer. The Provinces being all resolved, that so long as they saw themselves ained by the remainder of forrein souldiers, they would not give a penny to the Kings Collectours, by way of Subsidy. That Bankers and Merchants complained, that the Cities which had borrowed of them great summes wherewith to pay the Spaniards while they seemed ready to depart; when they saw them demurre upon their voiage, grew an-*

And grow desperate.

Tacitus in his Annals. l. 13.

Called the Consult.

1560.

The Consulters are of opinion the souldiers should not be stayed.

1560.

Of the same mind were all the Councell of State.

1560.

But only Granvell.

who at last consents.

The Governess Expresses to the King. Her private letter.

12. Decemb.

The King as-
sents in these
words.

The Spanish
souldiers sail
for Spain.

1561.

A new Modell
of the Foot.

Touching for-
rein and dome-
stic souldiers.

gry, and refused to pay interest for the money. But as there was a generall joy as soon as they knew the Garrisons were drawn out, and shipping ready for them. This had quieted the murmurs of the money-Masters, and fed the hopes of the Low-countrie souldiers, that had fifteen moneths Pay due to them: which they were promised by the Cities, as soon as ever the Spaniards weighed Anchor. But if their voyage should be put off, and the Low-countrie men see them return from Zeland, she very much feared the souldiers, defrauded of their expectation, would keep the high-ways, and live upon pillage. Nay, that the Cities, through which the Spaniards had lately passed (not without quarrelling and fighting) when they came back, would shut their gates, and man their works against them. As to the jealousie of tumults among the French upon the borders, they had not yet troubled the Low-countrie, nor was it greatly to be feared that forreiners would invade them in the deep of winter. That a more certain mischief impended from the peoples discontent, and sedition at home, which if it should rise by their neighbours example, the Low-countrie could not be secured by three thousand Spaniards. Nor was there as present so much money in the Treasury, or hope of taking up so much, as would raise an hundred men for present service. Upon receipt of these letters, the King gave a more speedy then willing assent to the desires of the Provinces, and wrote back to the Governess, That she might (if she thought good) send away the Spanish souldiers, which would be a seasonable supply in Africa, where so many thousand Christians had been slain in the battel of Gyrba. That their officers should be carefull the souldiers landed not in a body, sending them severally by companies and troops, some to Naples, some to Sicily. That he himself would look to his engagements unto the Cities, and take order that the money, lent by the Merchants, should upon bills of exchange, be returned them in Spain. But the wind lying cross, and the winter proving hugely tempestuous, the Spanish souldiers were constrained, for a time, to stay in Zeland and Holland. At last, the ill weather breaking up, about the beginning of the year, they weighed Anchors, to the great joy of the Low-countrie men. And because the King had injoynd the Governess, that the Infantry of the Low-countrie should from thenceforth be no more commanded by the Low-countrie Lords; under colour of settling the Militia when the Spaniards were departed, she revived the custome (used in the time that Mary Queen of Hungary governed the Low-countrie, but since intermitted) That the Commanders should be immediately chosen by her self, to make them more obedient to their Governess. Nor gave she Commissions to Colonells (which used to be the gift of the Nobility) but signified her pleasure, that all Captains should receive orders from the Governours of towns, so long as they quartered within their commands. And she doubted not, but the Governours would be faithfull, because they were placed and displaced by her. So, for the present, cutting off the Colonells places from the Militia, she conceived she had likewise cut off the authority of mutinous souldiers, and the power of the Nobility. Nor had it been a vain conception (as some thought) if she had withall provided, in place of the Spaniards, some new regiments out of other Countreys. For although to bring forrein forces into the Low-countrie, was contrary to the desires of the Estates, and the Kings Promise; yet the Low-countrie men might have been induced to admit them, (whilest the sending away of the Spanish was in dispute) if the Governess had conditioned, That so long as their neighbours were in arms, so long the borders should have their Cities (besides their own train-bands) kept with forrein Garrisons. Certainly they had in generall such a longing to be rid of the Spaniards, as they would have agreed to any terms what-
soever:

soever: and afterwards the Governess might easily have suppressed the tumults with those forrein souldiers. But being then engaged in troubles, the Dutchess endeavoured to compose them for the present. Unless perhaps she were deterred from entertaining forrein souldiers by the emptiness of the Exchequer: fearing in that great want of money, if their pay should fall short, *ferreiners* would mutiny more dangerously then the *natives*, which, from their Princes hand, might divers wayes receive correction.

The publick joy of the Low-countreymen for the departure of the *Spaniards*, was accompanied with private joy at Court, for *Granvels* being created *Cardinal*: and the solemnity of the Prince of *Orange's* marriage, solemnized in *Saxony*, whither many of the Lords were gone along. For whilst he was present at the marriage of his sister, he had there concluded a Match for himself (his first wife *Anne Egmont* being dead) with another *Anne*, daughter to *Maurice Duke of Saxony*, wherewith he preacquainted the Governess. Who at first disliking his marrying into a *Lutheran* family, assured him, it could never be approved of, either by his Majesty or herself, that he should have a Lady born in a *Lutheran* Court, not onely bred an heretick by her father long since deceased, but whose zeal would be dayly inflamed by her fathers brother *Augustus* (who succeeded Duke *Maurice* in the Electorate) and by her mothers Grandfather *Philip Landgrave of Hessen*. But the Prince of *Orange* perswaded her Excellence he had taken order for that, and, by way of prevention had agreed with *Augustus*, Guardian to the Lady *Anne*, that he would not marry her unless she turned *Catholick*; and that *Augustus*, and she her self, under their hands and seals had Articled as much: though *Philip*, her Grandfather, was against it, refusing the condition of altering her religion: because he had a design, when that marriage should be broke off, under colour of Religion, to march his own daughter to the Prince of *Orange*. To this purpose he had treated with him by letters, promising for his daughter, that he would accept the condition of her renouncing the *Lutheran* faith. So little account they make of abusing Religion, whose profit is their God. The plot being discovered and greivously complained of by *Augustus*, *Philip* replied, (said the Prince of *Orange*) That he being but poor, and the father of many children, it was not unhandsome for him, to receive conditions from another: but it would be a dishonour for the Duke of *Saxony*, a *Prince Elector*, to have *William of Nassau* give the Law to him: and therefore he had refused the condition for his *Niece*, and accepted it for his *Daughter*; but this answer was not satisfactory to *Augustus*, therefore to prevent him, he resumed the Treaty with the Prince of *Orange*. And when the Prince of *Orange* had often professed, That nothing was or could be so dear to him as his soul and honour, and duty to his Prince, the Governess at last consented. But yet she gave no leave to the Governours of Provinces to accompany the Prince of *Orange* (which he made his suit) because she had use of their service at home; the *French* being in arms upon the borders. Notwithstanding, lest he should depart discontented, she permitted the rest of the Nobility to go with him. And in the head of that gallant Troop he rode to *Saxony*; followed by *Florence Memorancy Lord of Mominy*, who, in the name of the Dutchess of *Parma*, visited the Bride: and presented her a diamond ring. The Prince of *Orange* at *Liepswich*, a city in *Saxony*, having celebrated his marriage in the beginning of *August*, (where the King of *Denmark* was present, and divers other Princes of *Germany*) immediately returned into the Low-countreys; tennuing his promise to the Governess touching his wives Religion. Which

1562.

The Marriage between the Prince of Orange and Princess Anne daughter to the Duke of Saxony.

Anno 1550 Landgrave of Hessen.

The Landgraves Plot to break the match.

Discovered to the Duke of Saxony.

1561.

The Nuptials with Princess Anne celebrated.

Afterwards he
sued out a Di-
vorce.

Anno 1572
At Brill in
Holland.

Granvel made
a Cardinall.

A Cardinalls
hat brought to
him.

He delays his
acceptance.

25. Feb.

12. July.
1562.

27. March.
The Governess
likes not his
delay.

He at last owns
the scarlet.

And has sent
him by speciall
favour from his
Holiness.
For which he
gives the Go-
verness his
reasons: as she
wrote to the
King.

29. Novem.
1564.

Promise he as truly performed, as she did the Faith she had sworn to him in marriage: being thirteen years after taken in adultery, and sent back into Germany by the Prince, who married *Charlotte Bourbon*, daughter to the Duke of *Mompensier*. But his new marriage feast was kept in *Holland*, with more pomp then joy by the Prince of *Orange*, offended at *Granvels* scarlet, which he had long forborn to wear: but now the Prince found him in his robes. For *Pius* the fourth made him, together with seventeen others, *Cardinall* of the Sacred *Romane* Church, this year, upon the twenty sixth day of February, and within twelve dayes after, the messenger brought the news into the Low-countrieys; soon after came one to *Machin* that was to present *Granvels* letters from his Holiness, and a *Cardinals* hat. But *Granvel* put off the receiving of those honours, till he knew the Kings pleasure. He therefore dispatched a messenger into *Spain*; I suppose, because he was sensible, that the Governess had used means to procure him this dignity without acquainting the King with the contents of her Letters to the Pope. Indeed she had not onely concealed it from his Majesty (who she knew would like well of it), but from *Granvel* himself. Though it had been long in agitation between her and the Pope, as she afterwards wrote to the King. Therefore, fearing the King would conceive him to be obliged onely to the Dutchesse, *Granvel* would not accept that honour without his Majesties consent, and as it were from his Royall hand. Perhaps he had some little doubt that the Dutchesse, at one time or other, would take occasion, by reason of that Ecclesiasticall advancement, to remove him from the Civill Government. And therefore he thought it fit, to wait for the Kings approbation, who, by a speciall and strict injunction had commended him to the Governess. But whatsoever he thought, the Dutchesse liked not his demur upon it, and therefore answered his letter to this purpose, That she condemned not his resolution, but her opinion was, he should have done better to have put on his Cardinals Robes without delay, nor did she doubt, but he would find the King of *Spain* of the same mind: and that he would receive, with his Majesties Letters, his Command to force him to it. And though she was very glad the Popes Nuntio (as *Granvel* wrote to her) took it in the best sense: Yet he must have a speciall care, that neither the Nuntio, nor any of his servants, should write to Rome: lest the Court there, should take occasions to cavill at this kind of modesty, or lest the Pope should take offence, as if his gifts should have their estimation from another. In the mean time she heartily joyed him of his Honour, which was joyed with so much good to Religion and the King, to which ends she had endeavoured it, knowing how advantageous it would be to the State of the Low-countrieys, if things appertaining to Religion, should be transacted by him, in whom (among other ornaments) his scarlet would advance his Authority. Yet notwithstanding these letters from the Dutchesse, *Granvel* assented not, till he had answer out of *Spain*; then he presently put on his Robes: and so, expressing his duty to the King, without distast to the Governess, he received honour from the one, and favour from the other. Besides his *Pall*, the Popes Chamberlain, brought him from Rome, a *Cardinals* hat, which is seldome sent to any; it being the custome to receive it onely in Rome. Which benefit *Granvel* ascribed to the Dutchesse, with exquisite thanks, not so much extolling the greatness of the bounty, as the giver. And he said, he had cause to reverence it, as the greatest of all honours, because therein he adored the goodness of his Prince. But in his private discourse, he plainly told the Dutchesse, That considering the Changes of mans life, he had accepted of that Dignity. Especially, for that, if at any time he should leave the Low-countrieys (as he saw a storm over his head, threatening him from the Lords)

he

he might have a place at Rome among the Cardinals, to which he might make an honourable retreat. A designe at this day hit upon by many, who knowing, That Power seldom grows old at Court; and that Favour will as surely perish, as Life; are willing to be advanced into this Order, not as ambitious, but as provident persons; that in their greatest misfortunes, the Altar and the Church may be their Refuge.

In the year following, 1562, the Civil War of France reviving, the Kings commands came to the Governess, enjoining her with all possible care and speed to send assistance to King Charles against his Rebels. An Account of the Management and Original of these troubles, will not (I suppose) trespass upon your patience; if I repeat briefly from the beginning, not onely what before this time was agitated touching these succours, but the whole Progress of these French tumults; forasmuch as partly upon private discord at Court; partly for that in publick, which concerned Religion, it was the Model of the Plot laid by the Low-country men, with so like success of both Nations, that sometimes unless you be rectified by the names of Places and Persons, you would not think you read the actions of two Kingdoms, but of one and the same People. Moreover, some part of the French Rebellion was carried by advice sent out of the Low-countrys; whereof Cardinall Granvel gave intelligence to his brother, Thomas Lord Cantoner, Embassadour for the Catholick King in France. This being therefore a business of no small importance, and because I would not interrupt my Narration of the Low-country war, with inserting that of France: I shall here, as the matter and place requires, with no vain nor tedious Digression, comprehend the whole.

Heresie having long since poysoned France, had distracted it into factions, and many men (contemning the old) had taken up the name of the new Religion. For although after Luthers pestilence reigned in Germany, France had a great while kept it self free from the infection; yet in the year 1533, it was attempted by some of Luthers Emissaries. For Francis the first, favouring learned men and learning (as commonly they do, whose actions are worthy of a learned pen) resolved to erect an University at Paris; sending proposals of great entertainment to the ablest scholars of Italy and Germany. This opportunity Luther took hold of, and sent Bucer and others of the boldest of his followers, which by disputing in that confluence of prudent men, might give an Essay to bring in the new Gospel. Nor wanted there some that were taken with the Novelty: Especially, because such as were questioned for Religion, had their recourse into Aquitain, to Margaret of Valois the Kings sister, who perhaps out of hatred to the Bishop of Rome (which had been infused into her in the family of her husband Alibret, whom his Holiness deprived of the Kingdome of Navarre) might lie open to the cunning of the Lutherans: perhaps out of ambition to be thought a Wit, which she affected beyond the limits of her sex; or indeed (as she herself confessed some years before her death, at which time she was a Catholick) it was not out of the perverseness of her nature; but out of commiseration to the condemned persons that fled to her protection, which made her so earnest with her Brother in the defence of their new opinions. So that for ten years together, she bolstered up Lutheranisme in France. Though Francis the first was the more slow in eradicating it, by reason of the Germanes and the Swisse that served him against Charles the fifth; till being grievously offended with the contumacy of the men, and their malice to Religion, he published many Proclamations against them; not onely threatening, but executing his

Laws,

1562.

The Crown of France, being endangered, succours are sent from the Low-countrys. Of the French Tumults.

The Lutheran Religion brought into France.

Upon what occasion.

The City of Paris.

Its Favourers. Margaret of Valois, sister to K. Francis.

It is almost extinguished by the King.

Calvinisme
succeeds.

First among the
Commons.

Afterwards
among the Lords

Out of their e-
mulation and
envie.

1562.

To the Guises.

Duke Francis
and his brother
the Cardinall.

Anthony of
Bourbon King
of Navarre.

The Prince of
Condé, brother
to the King of
Navarre.
Gaspar Collig-
ny, and his bro-
ther Andelot.

All these were
infected with
Heresie.

But the greatest
Professor of
them was Joan
Alibret, Queen
of Navarre.

Laws, untill at last he almost extinguished the name of *Luther* in his Kingdome. But *Calvins* stratagem succeeded somewhat better. Who immediately upon the death of *Francis* the first (whilst King *Henry* was engaged in the Warrs) attempted *France*, by sending Libels from *Geneva*. And as he found the minds and ears of many possessed with *Luthers* opinions, so he himself set the common people agogge to understand his new doctrine; and the vulgar was very proud (for his Books were writ to their capacity in the *French Tongue*) to be made Judges of Religion; and as it were to passe their votes upon the abstrusest controversies of Faith. Lastly, as they that fall from the highest point are easily tossed from one breach of the precipice to another, till they come to the very bottome; having once departed from the old Religion, they fell headlong from *Luther* to *Calvin*; many of them not resting, till having disclaimed all worship, and not believing there was any God at all, they finally stuck fast in the bottomless Abyss of evil. And notwithstanding that Heresie first corrupted the minds of the People, (they being still the first that are swept away with a Plague) yet in a short space it made way through the Commons, seized upon some of the greatest Lords, and came into the Court it self, where it infected many persons of quality: as that which was likely to be serviceable to the factious Nobility, for winning the peoples hearts, and drawing them to make head against their Competitours, that grew still more powerfull with the King: For *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scots* (of the House of *Guise* by her Mother) being married to *Francis* the second, much advanced the greatness of the *Guises*: For the King but fifteen years old, had use of others service, and these were fit to be employed: Especially *Francis* Duke of *Guise*, and his brother *Charles* Cardinal of *Lorain*; he being an experienced fortunate Commander abroad, and a prudent man at home; this eminent for a generall Scholar, deeply learned, but particularly of a subtil elocution, and a Majestick kind of presence. But the more these Princes by their own worth, and the *Queens* favour, were advanced; the more must others necessarily be discontented, that either had been, or hoped to be the first in favour. Principally the *Bourbons*, and the *Colligny*, not to name *Momorancys*, that bore spleen to the *Guises*, but with more civility. Indeed *Anthony* of *Bourbon*, besides his being the first Prince of the bloud, took upon him (in the right of his wife *Joan Alibret*) the title of King of *Navarre*: He was a man equally tempered for the Arts of War and Peace; but immoderate in his pleasures, and therefore unfit to establish a Dominion. Much more fierce and cunning was his brother *Lewis* Prince of *Condé*, constantly engaged and exercised in the War: yet with much more courage and confidence, then either strength or knowledge. *Gaspar Colligny* and his brother *Andelot* were of like nature; but because he was Admiral of the *French* seas, and this Lieutenant General of the Foot, they were likewise in high esteem. These which I have named, with others of inferiour quality, though there was no tie of friendship among them, yet because they were all concerned in one common Interest, easily conspired together. And the Engine wherewith they meant to ruine the power of the *Guises*, was by protecting the *Hereticall Party*, who, they knew, hated the very name of *Guise*: Especially some of them, having now forsaken the old Religion, desired to appear not onely Patrons of the Sectaries, but likewise of the Sect. Among which, none more boldly professed and maintained Heresie, then *Joan Alibret* wife to *Bourbon*, and onely daughter to *Margaret* of *Vallois* and *Henry* King of *Navarre*. This Lady, because she saw her self deprived of her Kingdome (of which *Ferdinand* the Catho-

Catholick King had by arms dispossessed *John* her grandfather, excommunicated by the Bishop of *Rome* : was transported with so implacable an hatred unto *Rome* and *Spain*, and consequently to the *Romane* Religion, which she knew the *Spanish* so much tendered; that she spared no pains, nor cost, to beat down the *Popes* Authority, and the Catholick Faith in *France*. Heresie therefore supported by these eminent persons, spread it self so far over the whole Kingdome, that *Henry* King of *France* (whose Armies were kept in action by the *Spaniards* in the *Low-countreys*) concluding a Peace with King *Philip*, withdrew his forces and cares to compose discords at home, which threatned to break out into a Civil War. But the death of King *Henry* hastened on the mischief: For, as I said, his son *Francis* and the *Queen* and *Queen-Mother*, the more they used the faithfull endeavours of the *Guises*, against Hereticks; the more they exasperated their enemies, and put them on to use the proffered service of the Hereticks, to suppress their power: Which moved the *Queen-mother*, when her daughter *Isabella* was to go for *Spain*, to desire assistance from her Son in Law King *Philip*, against the Hereticks, and troublers of the Kingdome. To which request she received a very gracious answer, with a magnificent promise of men and money. Letters from the King to that effect being purposely read before some of the *French* Lords, to strike them into a fear, did rather encrease their envie to the *Queen-Mother*, and unite them against *Spain*. And now against the *Guises*, and against the King himself were scattered Libels, as fore-runners of the tumults which immediately followed. And the Lady *Alibret* earnestly solicited the Cause: who remembring her old quarrel, and impatiently longing for a Crown, rung in her husbands ears, *That he must not suffer this onely opportunity of recovering the Kingdome of Navarre, to slip out of his hands: That he may now make himself head of a mighty faction, almost half the strength of France: That upon these terms, he may expect assistance from the Germane Princes, of the same Religion, from the English, the Low-countrey men; besides such Catholicks as were enemies to the Guises, and by a strong conjuncture of all these, they may expell the Guises out of France, advance the Hereticall party, and no doubt, but at length they may carry that army to the conquest of Navarre.* But this furious *Tullia*, was married to a milder *Tarquin*, so as the Duke of *Bourbon* being cold, for all this fiery curtain-Lecture: his brother the Prince of *Condé*, a *Tarquin* that well-matched the Lady *Alibret*, is said to have undertaken the Advance of the Conspiracie: and that he engendred the tempest at *Ambois*, which for that time was dispersed by the providence of the Duke of *Guise*. But new clouds of discontentments gathering, at last the storm fell more fatally in showers of blood and civil war. They say in that tumult the name of *Hugonot* was first brought up at *Tours*, upon this occasion: It is a custome at *Tours* to fright children by telling them of *Hugh*, who (they say) rides about the Suburbs in the night, pushing at all he meets: And when the Hereticks, that flocked to *Tours*, had their nightly Conventicles in the Suburbs, because they durst not come together in the day time, they were accidentally pointed out to the children, like midnight-goblins, and from *Hugh*, by way of jeer, were called *Hugonots*. Though some derive them from another kind of original. But whencesoever they had that denomination, it appears they thought it a scorn to them; and therefore they called the Catholicks *Papists*. But these are onely names, I proceed to the matter, as it is recorded by them that wrote the History of those times. The first designe of the *French* tumults was laid at *Geneva*, by *Calvin* and *Beza*, holding in that town a shamefull and barbarous consulta-

Julius II.

The Lord joyn
with the hereti-
call rabble.

1559.

Against whom
assistance is re-
quested of the
King of Spain.
And promised.

Alibret exasper-
ates her hus-
band against
the Catholicks.

Tit. Liv. l. i.

The conspiracy
at Ambois.

where and how
the name of Hu-
gonot came up.
Thuan. lib. 4.
of his History.

Gil. Geneb.
lib. 4. of his
Chronicle, and
others.
The Authors of
the tumult at
Ambois.

Succours sent
from Spain.
Limosin.

Strange fortune.
King of Navar,
Prince of Condé.

The hereticks
imboldened.

Granvels de-
sign.

Sancta Cruz
endeavours to
draw off the
King of Na-
varre from the
hereticks.

He is taken off,
and sends an
Embassadour
into Spain.

Rui gomez de
Silva.

4. April
1562.

By whom
Granvel like-
wise writes.

tion, upon a day appointed, suddenly to massacre King *Francis*, the *Queen*, the *Queen-mother*, the Kings brothers, and all the Lords of the Court, The King therefore to curb this insolence of the Hereticks (maintained by some of the Nobility, for their private ends and feuds) raised an army in *France*, called his forces out of *Germany*, requested succours from the Duke of *Lorain*, and the King of *Spain*: And indeed King *Philip* presently sent him souldiers out of *Spain* (which were to joyn with the *French Army* at *Limosin*) intending to furnish him with more men; but hearing of the death of King *Francis*, he put off his other supplies till the next year, to which time the warre it self was deferred.

The death of King *Francis* was attended with a great alteration in the state. For the *Bourbons*, one of which was condemned to loofe his head, and hourly expected the executioner; and the other banished the Court, and generally thought to be oppressed in his brothers ruine, were presently made the disposers of the Kingdome, the administration thereof being come into the hands of the *Queen-mother* of the house of *Medices*, who was to govern for King *Charles*, a child of ten years old; The Prince of *Condé* was restored by Proclamation to his libertie, his offices, and the Kings favour. And the King of *Navarre* as nearer to the Crown, by the prerogative of his blood, was declared Constable of *France*: the *Guises* on the contrary falling as much from their authority; The *Hugonots* increased in number and licentiousness; and were by so much the more audacious, by how much they conceived it would be more acceptable to the great Constable of *France*, who, by these troubles, hoped to recover his wife's portion, the Kingdome of *Navar*. But to ease him of that care, and the *Hugonots* of their confidence, Advices were privately sent out of the Low-countries, by Cardinall *Granvell* to his brother *Cantonet*. *Prospero de sancta Cruce* came Embassadour to *France* from *Pope Pius* the fourth, and looking into the King of *Navarres* designs, he was of opinion, the man was not troubled so much about Religion, as about the getting of a Kingdome, and therefore might be drawn from favouring the *Hugonots*, if he might have some hope given him of coming to the Kingdome by another means. Wherein *Sancta Cruz* meant to found the King of *Navarre*. But first he acquainted *Thomas Cantonet* the *Spanish Embassadour*; and he communicated it to his brother Cardinall *Granvell*. Then *Sancta Cruz* proposes to the Constable (what had formerly been agitated) the restitution of *Navarre*: and undertakes, if he will but defend the Catholick cause, that the *Pope* shall earnestly solicit King *Philip*; either to resign to him the Kingdome of *Navarre*; or to give him, in lieu of it, something of equall value: and that he doubted not, but King *Philip* (whose inclination he had found at his being in *Portugall*, as he came from *Spain* into *France*) would comply with his *Holineesse*. This often confirmed by *Cantonet*, wonne the King of *Navarre*, who resolved to treat with the Catholick King himself, and sent one of his meniall servants, *Anthony Almeyda* a *Portugese*, whom he knew to be gracious with his Countreyman *Rui Gomez* Prince of *Ebora* then in greatest favour with the King. But *Granvell* receiving intelligence of these proceedings from his brother *Cantonet*, was very glad for the successe of his design: but yet no lesse solicitous (as he wrote to the Governes from *Machlin*) what the King would answer to *Almeyda*, because he conceived, upon that answer depended the motions of the greatest *French* affairs. He had pre-acquainted *Rui Gomez* and the Duke of *Alva*, and let them know That it was a nice point and full of danger: in the managery whereof they might trespass as much by forwardnesse and violence,

as by security and neglect. And therefore he conceived it best to offer the Duke of Bourbon some such thing, as if he deserted them, might be taken away again. After many overtures, the Kingdome of *Sardinia* was proposed to him in King *Philip*'s name. Whereto was added the Admiralty, and a pension to maintain the office. Which conditions though some commended, as good for both parties, because on the one side *Sardinia* is a greater and richer Kingdome then *Navarre*; and, on the other, in the midst of King *Philip*'s Dominions which at his pleasure might command it. Yet some were of another opinion, and thought King *Philip*, who was not prodigall of his Kingdomes, onely baited him with the hope of *Sardinia*. For to what purpose, should the *Bourbons* be brought into that Island, neighbouring upon *Sicily* and *Naples*: where they might revive their ancient factions in those Kingdomes. Neverthelesse the *Pope* did wisely in moving it, whether he hoped to bring it about; or understood it to be labour in vain: because it would equally conduce to the good of Religion in *France*, whether the King of *Navarre* was kept from protecting the hereticall party, by a true hope or a false. And truly by little and little he was so averted from them, that he was not altogether so kind, as formerly he had been to his wife *Joan Alibret*; which perhaps made some affirm in writing, that the *Spanish Embassadour* indeavoured it, and treated with the King of *Navarre* to divorce himself from his wife, because she was foully poysoned with heresie: and gave him hope of a marriage with *Mary Queen* of *Scots*, by the help of her Uncles the *Guises*: and that he should have with her, the Kingdome of *Scotland*, and likewise all *Great Brittain*, wherein he should be established by the *Popes* authority, and the King of *Spains* assistance; *Queen Elisabeth* being deposed for heresie. But these were either vain rumours, or contrived out of envy. Nor is there any colour of truth, that *Granvel* or *Sancta Cruce* could be ignorant, that heresie is not a sufficient cause of Divorce; or that King *Philip* would offer the Kingdome of *Scotland* to one he could not choose but fear, because of former enmity in the businesse of the Low-countries: and his power to offend *Spain* for the future, in case he should conquer that whole Island. Indeed two years after, when there were Treaties between the same *Queen* of *Scots*, and the *Arch-duke Charles* sonne to the *Emperour Ferdinand*, and *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, King *Philip* writ to *Granvel*, That he was well pleased The Archduke should, in that, be preferred before his sonne. But if the King of *France* should think of a marriage with her (whereof he had some intimation, that troubled him not a little) then he should willingly consent to a match between his sonne and the *Queen*. Out of which words it may easily be collected, What *Philip*'s mind was touching the Kingdome of *Scotland*. Nay that the *Spanish Embassadour* did not so much as pretend the Propofall of that Match to the King of *Navarre*, this assures me, because when he communicated all particulars to his brother *Granvel*, (as I observe in their letters) and often mentioned the businesse of *Sardinia*, there is not one word of this marriage. But be what it may, it is certain *Alibret* incensed against her husband (who daily grew more averse from the *Hugonots*, and would not hear her when she was a suiter for them) in a rage left his Court, and withdrew into some Towns of her own. The King of *Navarre* did not so much neglect, as his brother the Prince of *Conde* and the *Collignies* earnestly imbraced the patronage of the hereticks, especially, because the *Guises* were restored to grace and favour at Court. And now, such was the face of things, not onely at Court. And now, such was the face of things, not onely at Court (divided into factions) but likewise all the Kingdome over: that arms were taken

Sardinia is offered in stead of *Navarre*. whether in earnest, or no.

A match between the King of *Navarre* and the *Queen* of *Scots* falsely rumoured. Thuan. in his History l. 28.

1562.

1564.

The King of *Spains* Letter concerning the *Queen* of *Scotlands* marriage.

Dat. 6. of August.

Alibrets indignation.

The *Guises* power revives.

And the Malice of their Rivals.

Either party prepares for war.

Katharine of Medices.

King Philip sends Foot out of Italy & Spain.

May 2.
And commands the Governes to dispatch away the Horse out of the Low-countries.
The Belgick Lords oppose it.

Perhaps set on by the Prince of Conde.

1562.
April 4.
June 30.

The Governes cools in the business.

July 1.
She is checkt for it by the King.

Instead of men she sends money.

up to maintain the different opinions in Religion, and all things seemed to boad a Civill warre. To the Prince of *Conde* and Generall *Collignie* the hereticks from all parts sent assistance. Nor were the *Guises* and *Comestablis Memorancy* lesse ayded by the Catholicks. With whom the King of *Navarre* joyned himself, but he was brother to the Prince of *Conde*; the King a child and ignorant of deceit. Mean time, the *Queen mother* was distracted between two factions, wavering, and fearing the successe of either. Things being in this condition, whilst King *Charles* made all the friends and means he could, to help himself: King *Philip* was extraordinarily carefull to dispatch away succours to his kinsman. Perhaps moved by zeal to Religion: perhaps solicited by his wife, who trembled at her brother *Charles* his danger: perhaps jealous of the Low-countries, lest the arms or example of the *French*, should there prejudice his affairs. Therefore having raised three thousand foot in *Italy*, and made *John Anguisciola* their Colonel, to be commanded in chief by *Imbertus Platerius Bordillon*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Spain* in *Piemont*: and dispatching as many more from Spain by the way of *Navarre*, he writes to his sister *Margaret*, Governes of the Low-countries, presently to choose two thousand horse out of the Low-countrie Militia, to march against the *French* Rebels; and if the *Queen* or the *Guises* shall desire more men, to furnish them. The Governes reading the Kings letters at the Counsel board, observed, that all the Lords were against sending assistance to the *French*. The Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* argued, that the horse was maintained by the Provinces for a guard to the Low-countries, and to that end they were at first ordained. Therefore to carry them out of the Low-countries, the Provinces must give their consent: but that would be a work of time and exposed to much danger; now especially when the Low-countries wanted additionall forces, and ought not to have their own taken from them. But they had perhaps a higher Consideration. For it was believed, at the instigation of the Prince of *Conde*, some *German* Princes had threatned their neighbours the Low-countraymen, if they assisted the *Guises*, enemies to the new Religion, they in defence of the Cause would bring an armie into the Low-countries. Nor do I think it unlikely, that both the Prince of *Conde* attempted it, and the *Germans* undertook it. For on the one part, the Prince of *Condes* faction was much troubled about the raising of those forces in the Low-countries; as appears by a book then published, and sent by the *Spanish* Embassadour *Cantonet*, with letters to his brother *Granvel*, wherein they give the Hereticks many reasons, why the King of *Spain* should not assist the Catholicks in *France*. On the other part, the Governes by an Expreſs to his Majestie informs him, *That the Low-countraymen, either terrified by the Germans, or out of some other cowardly considerations, would hardly, nay could by no means be drawn; to give order for the horse to march into France: and threatned mischief if they went.* In which letter she seems to touch, what I have here mentioned, the cause of their dissent. And she her self (either despairing that the Provinces would let them go, or believing they could not be well spared from the Low-countries, equally endangered by a war from *Germany*, and an Insurrection at home) pressed the business more remissely at the Council Table: When on the sudden came an Expreſs from the King, wherein the Governes was not a little chid for her delay, and commanded, without further consultation, immediately to send away the Horse. She, anxious how she might obey his Majesty in that particular, by the advice of *Granvel*, changed the name, not substance, of the Kings desires, demanding money instead

instead of men: Which being granted, she presently returned it into France to the *Queen-mother*, and signified to King Philip the reason of her so doing, Not onely because she knew money would be far welcomer then men to the *Queen* (according as she her self formerly intimated, and after the receipt confirmed) but likewise for fear the Governes should loose both her endeavours and authority, in pressing the Low-countrey men to that, which she found by experience was not to be obtained; or if it were obtained, would be disadvantageous. That she feared the Low-countreys now their hearts were down, and that in Tournay and Valencena were begun no inconsiderable stirrs about Religion; and no doubt but they would increase, if the seditious once saw the Low-countreys left naked, without defence of their Horse. Lastly, for that some by their Place were to conduct the Horse, whose faith she might very well suspect; it seemed to be no less dangerous to trust them with Arms, then to shew a diffidence in them, by choosing other Officers. The King received, rather then approved the condition of the money, which the States had granted, and sending fifteen hundred horse out of Spain to the *Queen-mother*, which the Governes was to pay, he strengthened the Catholicks in France. But before these succours came, the King of Navarre, the Guise, and *Momorancy*, had taken Roan from the Prince of Condes men. The King himself, though dangerously shot, lying upon his bed in a kind of Chariot, was triumphantly brought into the Citie. But a few dayes after, his wounds bleeding afresh, in the same sepulchre with himself he buried his hopes of the Kingdome of Sardinia, which he had kept alive till his last gasp, to the great good of the Catholicks. Nor was the War prosecuted with lesse care, *Momorancy* commanding in Chief, both Armies exceedingly increasing. For with the Kings forces were joyned 6000 foot sent from King Philip, and the fifteen hundred Horse, formerly mentioned. And near to Dreux, a Town in Normandy, they fought a battel, with great courage on both sides. The Prince of Conde and *Momorancy*, both the Generals were taken prisoners, and above ten thousand men slain: the Victory at last fell to the King, but with more honour then joy. Such fatall wars issued from the liberty given to the Hereticks, and cherished by the ambition of the Lords. But these miseries of the French, which I have related (for to that end I have related them) brought the same mischief upon the Low-countreys, as any man will easily perceive that hath leasure to compare the practises of Hereticks in both Nations, and the differences of either Court, the names of *Hugonots*, and *Gueses*, raised in their severall tumults: The Cardinal of Lorraine answering to Cardinal Granvel; the *Queen-mother* of France to the *Duchess* of Parma in the Low-countreys: the like conspiracy of the Nobility, the like Edicts of their Princes, the plunder of Cities and Churches not to be distinguished: all things in both Countreys almost the very same, as springing from the self-same Causes; save onely, that the War was more suddenly begun by the French, and more obstinately pursued by the Low-countrey men.

The first Low-countrey Towns that followed the example of the French, were their next neighbours, Tournay, Lisle, and Valencena, which by their sudden motions, plainly signified the subsequent ruine of the Netherlands. For in October the year before, two French Calvinist preachers in the same night, the one at Valencena, the other at Tournay, openly before a great assembly in the Market-place, delivered their new Gospel; and when they had done it, were followed through the streets by the multitude, to the number of an hundred at Valencena, and six hundred at Tournay, singing Davids Psalms in French. At this Psalm-singing and these night-sermons, tumults

And writes her reasons to the King.

August 31.

The King of Navarre enters Roan triumphant, and dies.

A memorable Battel Dreux.

The French & Low-countrey tumults paralleld.

The first Belgick tumults occasioned by French Calvinists. Lisle.

The insurrection
at Tournay
quieted.

Novem. 15.
1561.

That at Valen-
ciens inflamed,
by the Hereticks
escape of pun-
ishment.

1562.

March 22.

which at last
are condemned.

But rescued by
the Commons.

were raised in both Cities, between such as favoured and such as hated them. The cognizance whereof taken from the Magistrates, was brought before the Governes, who commanded the Governours of those Provinces, *Florence Momorancy* Lord of *Montiny*, and *John Glemè* Marquesse of *Bergen* (that were both at this time by accident in *Breda*, to joy the Prince and Princefs of *Orange*, newly come out of *Saxonie*) forthwith to return to their Governments, and use their best endeavours in what concerned them nearest. The Lord of *Montiny* posted to *Tournay*, with *Christopher Assonwill* and *John Blaser*, whom the Dutcheffs had joyned with him, to examine the business: Where he apprehended the owner of the house the Conventicles were kept in: and found and burned many hereticall books. A moneth after, hanging up *Lanoy* the night-preacher, *Tournay* was quieted. But at *Valenciens* things fell out far otherwise: For though the Marquess of *Bergen* presently went thither, and by the assistance of *Filibert Bruxellius* and *Auroux* (assigned him for Adjuncts by the Governes) two preaching Calvinists, *Philip Maillard* and *Simon Favian*, were committed to prison, deferring their punishment, contrary to the Dutcheffs command. Before the Citie was pacified, the Marquess of *Bergen* went to *Leige*, to visit his brother Bishop of that City: For which, being reprehended by the Dutcheffs, and commanded back to his Government, he boldly excused himself, That it was neither agreeable to his place or nature, to put Hereticks to death. Which insolent answer, she wrote to the King, commending in the letter the industry of the Lord of *Montiny*, and so comparing the ones deserts with the disservice of the other, made both appear the greater. And indeed, that Heresie like other contagious diseases, is caught in an instant, and must with expedition be prevented, as may be instanced in the examples of *Tournay* and *Valenciens*. There by the present punishment of a few, all being put in fear: here, by delay and negligence, the turbulent people having time given to encourage them. For now that brace of Hereticks (I spake of) had been in prison seven moneths, and the Magistrates were affraid to proceed to judgment; because they saw the peoples affection daily increasing towards them; and divers bills posted up, that threatned mischief to the Judges, if any harm came to the Prisoners. And many passing by the Jayl in the night, were heard to chear up the prisoners; and bad them fear nothing: for if they should be led to execution, the people would rescue them. But the Dutcheffs informed of all this, taxed the Magistrates with the fear they had brought upon themselves, by seven moneths delay; and seriously forewarned them, not to make the disease incurable, by further delaying. Therefore according to the Emperours Edict, sentence was pronounced, and the delinquents condemned to be burned. But because some tradesmen were suspected, especially the Clothiers, the execution was put off to a day, when they alwayes used to be absent from *Valenciens*; their custome being on Saturday night, to walk abroad into the fields, and not to come back to town till Monday morning. Part going a feasting to the Villages near hand, with their parents and their wives; part getting out of the way, lest they should be observed not to be at Church with the Catholicks. On Monday therefore by day-break, the condemned persons were brought into the market-place. Yet it was not so privately carried, but multitudes of people followed: And *Favien*, when he came near the faggots, cried out as loud as ever he could gape, *O Eternall Father*: At which words the whole Market-place made a hideous noise, and suddenly strove to fetch off the prisoners, casting stones at the Officers, withall breaking into the place of execution,

tion, they seized upon all the instruments of death; threw about the fagots, and for very madnesse, broke them into little pieces. Till the officers, too weak for the multitude, were forced to carry the prisoners back to the Jayl, and to run for it themselves, the stones flew so fast about their ears. Having freed their companions, by degrees the peoples fury cooled, or rather, not knowing what to do for want of a Leader, they met all in a peaceable manner: that you would have rather thought them Petitioners, then Mutineers, singing *Dauids Psalmes* by *Calvin's Psalter*: then breaking out again into rage, they blamed their own sloath, and resolved to take their opportunity while the Citie was in fear and trembling. Before I proceed, because the singing of Psalmes hath casually been twice, and must be oftner mentioned, I conceive it will not be amisse for the Reader to understand the Originall thereof.

Among the *Grooms* of the bedchamber to *Francis* the first of *France*, there was one *Clement Marot*, born at *Davean*; a man naturally eloquent, of a voluble fluent tongue, having a rare vein in *French* poetry, wherewith the King was much taken, and kept him as a choice instrument of his learned pleasures. But (as his wit was somewhat better, then his conditions) by his acquaintance with the *Lutherans*, he was suspected to have changed his Religion: and therefore fearing the King would be offended, he fled to his Majesties sister at *Bearn*, the old Sanctuary for Delinquents. A while after, the King was pacified, and he returned to *Paris*. Where he was advised by his friend *Francis Vatable*, the *Hebrew Lecturer*, to leave the trifling subjects he wrote upon, and study divine Poetic. Hereupon, he began to translate the Psalmes of the *Hebrew Prophet* into *French* stanza's, but so ignorantly and perversely, (as a man altogether unlearned) that the King (though he often sung his verses, yet upon the just complaints of the *Sorban* Doctours and their severe censure passed against them) commanded that nothing of *Marot's*, in that kind, should be from thenceforth published. But being forbid by Proclamation, as it often happens, the longing of the Reader and fame of the Work was increased: so that new tunes were set to *Marot's* rhimes, and they were sung like profane ballads. He, in the mean time, growing bold by the peoples applauses, and not able to forbear bragging: for fear of punishment ran to *Geneva*. And flying from thence, for new crimes committed, but first having been well whipped for them, he died at *Austune*. The successe of this Translation of Psalmes, moved *Theodor Beza* a friend of *Marot's* (that wrote an Elegie in *French* upon his death) to joyn to the fifty, which he had printed, the other hundred in *French* meter too; so the whole book of *Dauids Psalmes* was finished. And to make it pleasing to the people, they had severall tunes set to them by excellent Composers, that chimed so sweetly, as every one desired to have the new Psalter. But many errours in it being detected against Religion, and the Work therefore prohibited, as well because the sacred verses of the Prophet were published in a vulgar tongue by profane persons: as that they were, *dolo malo*, bound up with *Calvin's Catechisme* at *Geneva*: these singing Psalmes, though abhorred and slighted by the Catholicks, remained in high esteem with hereticks: and the custome of singing *Geneva* Psalmes in *French*, at publick meetings, upon the high way, and in shops, was thenceforth taken for the distinctive sign of a Sectary.

The seditious Townsmen of *Valenciens* warbling in this manner (as I was about to have told you) passed along the streets, as if they meant to deliver a Petition. But making a stand in the market-place, they lifted up their sing-

1562.

And by the Magistrate carried back to prison.

Dauids Psalmes turned into French meter.

The Authour Clement Marot.

Ex. Florim. Hist. de ortu, &c. Hæres. l. 8. His Manners. Dubious Religion.

His Translation of the Psalter.

Forbidden by his Majesty.

Marot flies his Country.

Dyes. Beza finishes Marots work of the Psalmes.

It is published but prohibited immediately by the Catholicks. Retained by the hereticks.

The Valencian Sedition renewed.

ing

1562.

They incourage
one another ei-
ther to rescue or
revenge the
Prisoners.

They forceably
take them out
of the Jayl.

Souldiers are
brought into the
Town by the
Governesses
Order.

A Councell is
called about pu-
nishing the city.

The milder opi-
nion carries it.

ing-Master, and bad him preach *ex tempore*. Immediately, either by the Preachers perswasion, or the increase of their company, the mutinie was revived: and finding themselves grown strong (for they were about two thousand) they would not part, without doing something worthy such a Muster. Wherefore they resolved to pull down and burn a monastery of *Dominicans*. But changing their minds upon the way (for they were tossed and tumbled like billows in a storm) a fury possessed them, when they remembered that the condemned persons had been taken out of their hands and carried back to prison. *To what end had they raised this tumult, and frighted the town to no purpose, if their associates should suffer death in the Jayl, which they had escaped in the market-place? no, they would look into the matter, break open the prison, and either release their fellows, if living: or if dead, revenge them.* So they cried, to the Jayl, to the Jayl. And thither they ran, forced the doors, knocked off their shackles; and that they might appear to do nothing out of contempt of Law, they onely set those two at liberty, and kept in the rest that were committed for other causes; sending word to the Magistrates, they had onely met to deliver their brethren, but if they might live quietly, and not be troubled for their conscience, not a man among them would stirre any more. In the mean time, *Michael Hovey*, Deputy-governour of the Town, was sent by the Magistrate to the Dutchess, who amazed at the news of the sudden tumult, sent *Hovey* himself immediately to *Bolduc* a town near *Valenciens*, to desire *John Henmin*, Count of that place (whom she knew to be faithfull and industrious) that he should instantly get into the City: and in the Kings name, till the *Marquesse* of *Bergen* returned, at discretion quiet the troubles, if any yet remained. She commands him likewise to signifie to the *Marquesse*, in what condition *Valenciens* was, whilst he neglecting his publick office, minded nothing but his private business. But now the *Marquesse* Lieutenant (the Low-countrey-men call him the Count-governour) with two troops of horse (one whereof he took out of the *Bolduc*, the other he himself commanded under the *Marquesse* of *Bergen*) entered *Valenciens*, the people not daring to attempt any thing against him. Thither also with all speed marched the horse of *Philip Croy* Duke of *Areschor*, by order from the Governesses. Lastly the *Marquesse* of *Bergen* himself, and the Count of *Bosch* came into the town: and, contrary to their expectations, found all quiet, not so much as any signe of a Sedition. But *Indeveltiuz*, who was in Commission with the *Marquesse* to examine business of that nature, being sent by the Magistrate to the Dutchess for authority to pursue the fugitives, was earnest with her, to take from that turbulent Citie both their priviledges and arms; and that, with the fines payed by the Mutiners for their composition, a fort should be built to hold in the stiff-necked people like a bridle; & the *Valencenians* might be compelled to this, if her Excellence would but send one thousand two hundred foot, to the horse already in town. The Governesses caused it to be moved at the Councell table; where the gentler vote carried it, That the fugitives should be brought back to execution, and the authours of the Sedition punished: but that the rage of the mad people should not ruine the honest Citizens. The Governesses consented, the rather; because that Citie (as she wrote to the King) standing much affected to the *French*, must have been unseasonably provoked, whilst the *French* were in arms within sight of the town. But she her self forbore, as much as was possible, to make any Levies: lest the sword, and consequently the power should come into the hands of some of the Low-countrey-Lords. Yet, because nothing could be

done

done in that City without souldiers, she commands the *Marques* of *Bergen*, to draw souldiers out of his severall Garrisons, not above thirty out of any one; and so on the sudden, to put two hundred into *Valenciens*, giving it out, that company after company should follow them, to awe the Town: that the Judgement, pronounced against the offenders might accordingly be executed. The *Marques* readily obeyed: And though the two seditious Preachers were then escaped, a while after one of them was taken, and put to death; and the Citie, terrified with the decrees of the Magistrates and the continuall fresh supplies of souldiers; within a few daves, having taken the fiercest of the Mutineers (or those that bragged most of their doings in the tumult) they were severely punished. So for that time the mutiny at *Valenciens* ceased. The Governesse was not more glad of the success, then fearfull of the consequence, because such a multitude of Calvinists were crept into one Citie; especially, because in other places, she saw the like beginnings and motions, she was jealous lest Calvinisme, which then infected *France*, might be caught by their neighbours of *Haynolt*. In like manner the commerce with *Denmark*, and the neighbouring towns of *Germany*, might corrupt *Frisland* with *Lutheranisme*. And though on the one part Heresie had hardly touched any of the Lords of *Frisland*, but onely crept upon the ground among the Commons, as suteable to their capacities, being a rude plain people, and therefore credulous; and on the other part, *John Lignius* Count *Aremberg* looked very carefully to that Province; yet questionless the disease would spread it self, and by degrees seize the Nobility, unlesse it were prevented by strong Physick.

This seconded by *Granvels* advice, moved the Governesse to bring in the designed Bishops into their severall Diocesess, that by example, word, and deed (which most conduces to the advancement of Religion) they might be a stay and support to the people committed to their charge. Indeed things were put into a handsome way; and by the industry of *Granvel*, and the *Nuncio* (the one having the Popes Commission to this purpose, and the other the King of *Spains*) they were received into the Cities. But the *Brabanters* stood out, and would suffer no change of Government in their Provinces, though Cardinal *Granvel* pressed it very much: and delivered his opinion for the present suppression of those tumults and designs, which would grow daily worse and worse. But from *Rome* the Popes letters for the endowment of the Bishops (without which nothing could be done) were not dispatched away by *Francisco Varga* the Spanish Embassadour; not so much out of the humour of demurring, which is naturall to the *Spaniards*, as out of the Popes indignation, incensed by the practice of some near about his person, who had taken offence at *Varga's* carriage in the Court of *Rome*: and therefore the Embassadour was put off. The truth is, he had insinuated himself into the secret councils of the *Cardinals*, which many of them stomack'd very much; and by his endeavours, Cardinal *Pacecho* by divers votes of the Conclave, had like to have been chosen Pope, a dignity proportionable to his merits: his Chair being once lifted up by the *Cardinals* his friends, as the custome is at the Election of a Pope. This was perhaps remembered by some of the Popes Court, that were not yet reconciled to the Embassadour, by whose means their master had almost lost the *Papacy*. But from what cause soever these delays proceeded, the Abbots thereby had time given them (whom it concerned to avoid their Reversioners the Bishops) to meet at divers consultations about it: and to desire assistance from the Estates of *Brabant*, and some Lords, which their own private inter-

New souldiers
put into the
Town.

The seditious
executed.

Valenciens
quieted.
The Governesses
vigilancy.

Her particular
care of Religion
in Frisland.

New Bishops
brought in.

The Brabanters
will have no Bi-
shops.

The Popes Bulls
were delayed at
Rome.

Pius IV.

The Abbots ex-
asperated the
Brabanters.

The Brabanters
send Agents
publickly to
Rome, and pri-
vately into
Spain.
Their Instructi-
ons.

Expedition mo-
ney given them.

The Governes
prevents them
by Agents of
her own, that
came before
them to Rome.
And into Spain

The Agents for
the Estates re-
turn from both
places without
Dispatches.

The Brabanters
will not give it
over thus.

Count Horn
writes for them
to his Majestie.
June 2.

ests engaged, and to try all remedies that either counsel or fear could find out, or opportunity present. And the Estates, because they could not prevail with the Governes, resolved to send two Agents out of the Low-countries, the one privately to Pius the fourth, about the end of the old year, the other publickly in the beginning of the new year, to the King himself. To Rome they sent *Moulin* a Civil Lawyer, of good account, to supplicate his Holiness, that the goods of the Monasteries might not be given away to Bishops, contrary to the Doners minds, and that the Monks might not be deprived of their ancient priviledges, to choose Abbots; lastly, that he would not permit the King to ordain any Bishop, that should not be maintained out of his Majesties Exchequer. With these instructions, private letters to the same effect were written to the Pope, and other eminent persons, by the Prince of Orange, and the Marquess of Bergen, whose Tutour *Moulin* was: and by his favour, which he still enjoyed, continually employed in weighty affairs. Besides, they furnished him with great summes of money, that his way at Rome might be the smoother; and they allowed, that he might with some bounty purchase patronage to the cause. To conclude, besides his expenses, they gave him to his own use 1200 Florents, and as much to the other joyned with him, for the honour of the Embassage: and if they got their business dispatched, they were promised great matters at their return. But the Governes, from whom nothing of all this was concealed, to prevent the Brabanters, writ to the Spanish Embassadour *Varga*, to pre-engage the Pope; to have an eye upon *Moulin*, and to use his best judgement to frustrate that mans endeavours, that opposed the good of Religion, and the pious intentions of the King. She likewise wrote to his Majesty, letting him know, that within few dayes some men would come to petition him, in the name of the Brabanters; and in January came *Iserclasse* and *Nyffus*: twice the King gave them Audience, and in March following, returned them to the Low-countries with a doubtfull answer. Nor had *Moulin* any better fortune at Rome. The Agents for Antwerp, *Godfrey Streck*, Pretour of the Town, *Vrselt* and *Wessembeck*, set forth in May, to petition the King that Antwerp might not be compelled to receive a Bishop, but they prevailed not in their suit. Yet still they in the Low-countries practised against the Bishops: For the Abbots wearied the Dutches with complaints; and some of the Lords, especially *Granvels* enemies, encouraged the discontented party. The States of Brabant stood as for their Lives and Religion, against the breaking of their Priviledges. The common people would have no Inquisition, no Bishops: And *Philip Momorancy Count Horn*, (who some moneths since was returned from Spain, and by the King commanded to write back) certified his Majestic, That the complaints of Brabant were grown more violent then ever, upon a rumour spread among the people (as it was supposed by the French and German) that without the consent of those two Nations, out of whose Provinces some Low-countrey Diocesess had been enlarged, new Bishops could not be created in the Netherlands: and therefore the Low-countrey men would do all they could, to hinder their institution, for fear the French and Germans should come upon them at once, and make sudden invasions by severall wayes. To this purpose he wrote likewise to *Erasso*, one the King trusted with his secrets, a civil Gentleman, and powerfull at Court. But in the close of his letter he laid all the fault upon *Granvel*, who ambitiously and weakly designed that, which could never come to good effect. Indeed *Granvel* was an eye-fore to many, and a Remora to their projects; and if I may freely speak my opinion, I believe there had been

been little or no stirring or trouble about matters of Religion, if the Nobility had not drawn another way. But some of the Lords (as I have told you) took it ill that the Bishops were increased; that is, they conceived it prejudiciall to their own authority and freedome, especially when they met in the great Councel. The Hereticks had engaged the rest, many upon private discontents were alienated from the King. But the most were incensed against *Granvell*, concluding him to be the authour of increasing the Bishops, because they saw him declare himself for their coming in. Out of the hatred hereupon conceived, the Lords either absented themselves from Councel, or came thither to oppose the *Cardinal*. These quarrels the *Governess* discovered at her first coming to the Government, particularly in Count *Egmont*, and the Prince of *Orange*, each of them having hoped to be Governour of the Low-countreys; and therefore so much the more sensible of their late repulse. But the Prince of *Orange* carried it more closely. Count *Egmont* a blunt souldier, open-breasted in his love and hatred, was so farre from dissembling; that in his own house he suffered his friends to speak things derogatory to the Majestie of the King, of which the *Governess* was informed, and gave the King intelligence by her letters; wherein she named *Simon Regnard*, as an encourager of these unlawfull assemblies, a Counsellour of great subtilty and volubility of tongue, nor of lesse authority with many of the Lords, especially with *Egmont*. There had been an old emulation from their very childhoods, between this *Regnard* and *Granvell*, in the Schools where they studied, because the one had the more excellent wit, the other the more plausible. And as the quarrels of wit use to be irreconciliable among children; these being now grown men, and the subject of their business changed, the same contention held still in King *Philips Belgick* Court. But because in Dignity and the favour of his Prince and the *Governess*, *Granvell* far out-stripped him; he that was cast behind, had the more envie, in regard they had once been equals. *Regnard* therefore finding a way open to mischief *Granvell*, through the hatred born him by the Lords, began every where to sollicite and dispute the cause of the discontented Nobility; and by aggravating the indignation of such as were his own friends, plotted in the mean time his private revenge. The *Governess* fearing the sting of this Viper would secretly poyson the State; she, to avoid shipwrack by a dry tempest, perswaded the King to remove him out of the Low-countreys, under colour of some advancement; but it was deferred till five years after, and when the storm was grown too boystrous, *Regnard* was called into *Spain*, almost to no purpose, but onely to shew how strong a disease grows by the delay of remedy. And although Count *Egmont* (who was not of an ill nature, when he had no advisers) at the beginning of these troubles, carried himself with obedience and fidelity to the *Governess*; yet his private grudge to Cardinal *Granvell* interposing, he inrolled his name among the Conspiratours, and sided with the Prince of *Orange*: who being at that time grievously injured by *Granvell*, sought but to match his own indignation with some other alike offended. Now the Prince of *Orange*, to ingratiate himself with the *Brabanters*, casting out words of these differences, especially of the new Bishops, said, There was no other help for it, but that the *Brabanters* (who have no particular Governour, but onely such as commanded the whole Low countreys) should petition the *Governess*, to appoint them one of the Lords that should look into their affairs, and onely regard their interest. And some to please the Prince of *Orange*, moved this at the board. But *Granvell*, suspecting what was aimed at, bitterly inveighed against that

Many Low-countrey Lords assist them,

Discontented at the King, and at *Granvell*.

Their principall Abettours the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Egmont*.

Count *Egmonts* liberty of speech.

4. Octob.

1559.

Regnard soothes him in it, Out of emulation to *Granvell*, begun when they were school-boys.

Mart. Delrio lib. 1. Tumult.

Belg-*Granvell*, *Regnard*.

Continued when they came to Court, And there turned into envy against his Superiour.

This made *Regnard* so active against *Granvell*.

The *Governess* therefore labours to have *Regnard* sent for out of the Low-countreys, Which at last, but too late, was effected.

The Prince of *Orange* sets on the *Brabanters*.

His Ambition is checked by *Granvell*.

who put a kind
of affront upon
him.

which occasion-
ed the Prince of
Orange and
Count Egmonts
first complaints
to the King, that
they were ne-
glected at the
Council-board.
That one ruled
all

And Granvell
was the man.

But the Gover-
ness defends him
in her letters to
the King.

Decemb. 18.

1561.

24. 1561.

The Governess
denies her assent
for summoning
the Estates ge-
nerall.

Counsel, and at last, *What man soever* (said he) *undertakes their protection, ought to consider with himself, that he is created Prince of Brabant, and divides the Sovereignty of the Low-countreys with the King.* Not contented thus, he moved the *Governess* a while after, when the Magistrates were to be chosen for *Antwerp*, that the Prince of *Orange* should not be called to Council, lest he should boast himself the Authour of that benefit to the Town: which neglect he deeply resented. This caused the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont*, to write their complaints to his Majesty, That they were seldom called to Council, and what concerned their particular Governements never communicated to them, but all things privately determined by the advice of one or two: and then, they were called in merely for a show, to consult upon the reliques and refuse of Affairs, being there contemned, here mocked. To say truth, it is a great incentive to anger and discontent, and hath raised mighty troubles in many States, when a Prince employes onely one man in divers Offices. For though a River swell by the accession of waters; yet so long as it keeps it self in the Chanel, it is injurious to none: but when it flows over the banks into the adjoining meadows, and intrencheth upon anothers harvest, then it is accused by the just grief and complaints of the Husbandman. And indeed, *Granvell* was not limited to any certain employment. The *Governess* both of her own accord, and by the Kings command suffering him to do what he pleased. The very Expresses that came to her Excellence from *Spain*, or other parts, were never brought to the Council, till she had privately, either by conference or by letter, acquainted *Granvell* with the contents; who weighed every thing with himself; and gave his judgement upon the particulars, then returned them to the *Governess*, or to *Viglius* President of the Consult or Cabinet-Council, and he (omitting those heads which *Granvell* had marked with his pen) read them to the Lords at the Council-table: and though it was privately carried (for *Viglius* was true to *Granvell*) yet because the Prince of *Orange* often received Duplicates of the *Duchesse's* letters, they found some things were concealed from them, and therefore suspected all: complaining, That business was malignantly communicated to them: and the *Low-countreys* and the King defrauded of much good counsel. But this moved not the *Governess*. She onely gave the King an account of her proceedings, putting him in mind of his letters dated June; wherein he enjoyned her, That whatsoever concerned *England*, or the Council of *Trent*, or Religion in generall, should be, as the *Pope* had advised, privately debated; Yet I deny not (said the *Governess*) that in other things, wherein the *Provinces* are interested, sometimes the Lords are not admitted to consult. As lately in choosing the Magistrate of *Antwerp*, the Prince of *Orange* was not called; which I did on purpose, lest he should aim to increase his present authority by that election. Notwithstanding, I cannot but acquaint your Majestie, that it is not for our Honour to communicate all concerns freely to the Council, lest the dangers, fears, and necessities wherewith I am sometimes pressed, be laid naked before their eyes: and then, if any of them be false, they may abuse that knowledge, by preventing our designs with contrary counsels, and secretly binder the successe of our affairs. Howsoever as well in these, as other things, all shall be done according to your Majesties letters and commands. But the King writing nothing to the contrary, the *Governess* continued her former custome of privacy in her Councils. Whereupon a rumour was spread by some of the Conspiratours, that there was a necessitie to summon the Estates generall, to raise subsidies for his Majestie, and to put the *Low-countreys* into a posture of defence against their neighbours the

the French, that were in arms. Some perhaps really intended it, but the most onely made use of that publick remedy, to alter the present condition of the Court. But the Governess, who borrowed the ears of many faithfull persons, was present at their Councils and conferences, almost in their very thoughts: and cut off that expectation, publicly professing that the King among his other commands, left in charge with her, not to call an Assembly of the Estates till he returned.

This harsh deniall of the Governess was mollified, by permitting (for this was another of their requests) a Convention of the Order of the Golden-fleece. But as soon as ever they were met at *Bruxels*, presently it appeared, that summons was not endeavoured for the publick, but for their private Interests. For besides the meeting in presence of the Governess, where they consulted about the preservation of the Low-countreys against the French, they had private discourse with the Prince of *Orange*, and there it was resolved, they would no longer suffer the power of *Cardinall Granvel*. To this ingagemēt entered into by the great Commanders, the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont* and the Marquesse of *Bergen* endeavoured to get hands; and severally founded the Knights of the Order, but some refusing to sign an ingagemēt, against the *Cardinall*, it was laid aside. Especially, because the Governess calling them more frequently to Council, and wearying them with fresh employments, took from them all opportunitie of meeting apart, and in good time put an end to their publick consultations. The result whereof was, that some of the Lords should be sent into *Spain* by the Governess in her name to inform the King of the necessities of the Low-countreys. *Florence Momorancy*, the Lord of *Montiny*, was chosen to go with letters delivered him by the Governess, but penned by *Granvel*. He likewise received instructions for his carriage, and four thousand crowns to defray the expences of his journey, which he began in June. But before *Momorancy* set forth, the Governess to make her vigilance appear, and to prepare his Majestie sent him by a sure messenger an Exprest in cypher to this effect, That she, making it her business to look into the secret consultations of the Knights of the Order, at last had got all out of *Charles Count Barlamont* one ever found Loyall: that he assured her, the indignation of the Nobility sprung chiefly out of these heads, That they were perswaded his Majesty considered not in them; and therefore the Governess called them out to her Cabinet-Council, for as much as *Granvel*, jealous of his power, had wrought the King to that suspicion: and had boldly writtē to him, that he should never be absolute Lord of the Netherlands, unless he cut off six or seven Noblemens heads. And that *Granvel* by his letters had further moved the King to invade the Low-countreys with a formidable Army, and being so possessed of them, he might then impose upon the Low-countreymen what Laws he pleased, by the right of Conquest. That the increase of Miters, the first whereof *Granvel* wore, tended to no other purpose, but to bring the Spanish Inquisition into the Low-countreys. To which words of *Barlamont* she had answered: That the Lords were not kept from the knowledge of any secret fit to be communicated to them, as *Barlamont* himself being one of the Council very well knew; Nor was *Granvel* (whose transactions when he was but a young man were approved of by *Charles the fifth* and *King Philip*) so ignorant a Statesman, that now in his old age and experience the King might not employ him: or of so rash a malice, that he would offer to perswade his Majesty to take away their lives which he knew were dear unto the King, and might be sure she would oppose him in it. Nor did that seem lesse improbable and ridiculous which was said of his advising his Majesty, for would any man make war upon him-

1562.

But gives way to a convention of the Knights of the Order, where the Lords were found a conspiracy against *Granvel*.

The result of the Convention.

Montiny sent into *Spain*.

The Governess dispatches a Messenger before him with this private letter.

June 14. What Grievances the Lords pretended.

How the Governess answered them.

1562.

The faith and
freedom of
Count Barla-
mont.

27. July.

The Governes
is commanded
to find out
some expedient
for setting the
Lords at disfe-
rence among
themselves.

What disparity
between Count
Egmont and
the Prince of
Orange.
P. Orange.
C. Egmont.
C. Egmont.

P. Orange.
C. Egmont.

P. of Orange.
Which the Go-
vernes made
use of to divide
them: and it
ministred a
double occasion.

self, and with wast expence to purchase what already is his own? Lastly for the Bishops, Granvel indeed sought to bring them in, as the King had injoyned him, in pursuance of the Popes command, not to make way for the Inquisition, but to protect Religion in a troublesome time. The charge whereof (as of all things else, which conduced to the maintenance of the Kings prerogative) because Granvel fearlessly undertook, despising all mens murmurs, he was therefore hated by many, as they should ever be that stoutly defend the authority of their Prince. With these discoveries the Governes pre-acquainted the King, and desired him in a litle note by it self, that he would use the service of some one of speciall trust in the decyphering of her letter. Though Barlamont himself, as he was open hearted; and thought, that in this relation to the Governes he had both served his King and Countrey; being asked by the Prince of Orange who took notice of his long stay with the Governes; whether he had told her what private conference they had among themselves: he ingeniously repeated his whole discourse with the Governes: Nor did the Prince of Orange seem to take it amisse; I suppose, because he saw the grievances of his own framing, were proposed in the name of a generality, which therefore could not be imputed to him alone, but would receive authority from the multitude. In the interim, the King adviseth the Governes, by no means to suffer private assemblies of the Nobilitie, but to find out some expedient, that the publick meeting of those men packt together to destroy the quiet of the State, might be handsomely dissolved: and that, keeping Spies upon the Prince of Orange and his Counsellors, she should still have him at Court and in her eye. And to set Count Egmont and the Prince of Orange at variance was not thought very difficult, because they had formerly stood at a very great distance, before their common hatred to Granvel united them. Count Egmont was of a sweet disposition, free of speech, and confident: the Prince of Orange of a sower nature, not to be discovered, therefore to be avoided. In this, you could not but commend his cunning, but the other better kept his faith. The one was an Ajax, a better Commander then a Councellour, the other an Ulysses, that could fight better with his brain, then with his sword. This had a great forecast, and alwayes fixed his mind upon the future, so that he was still fit for any emergent occasion. That, seldome took care but for the present; yet upon a sudden misfortune was rather unprepared, then unready or unwilling to encounter it. You might hope more from the one, and fear more from the other. You would rather chuse the friendship of Count Egmont, and decline the enmity of the Prince of Orange. And to demonstrate, that there was not the least resemblance between them; Egmont had a well-featured face, a strong-timbered body, & a look full of honour: the other was a thin-faced tawny-complexioned man, and bald. Yet they were exceeding popular both; but the people loved the one, and revered the other. The Governes, who exactly knew them, wrote to the King what she thought would the soonest cause a division: and pointed out the best means to effect it, viz. that the Kings Pay and his Munificence (about the sending whereof at that time to the Governours of the Provinces, he had before consulted with her) should not be distributed to all, but come onely to the hands of the Prince of Orange and Count Egmont; and the Count should have more then the Prince, that the Prince of Orange might suspect him for his Rivall in his Majesties favour: and the rest of the Lords, because they were passed by, somewhat resent it in them both. This plot went on, and their ill-pieced conspiracie began to crack a sunder: the Governes still having her irons in the fire.

And

And to this purpose, at the generall Dyet (or convention) of the Estates of *Germany* summoned by the Emperour *Ferdinand* at *Frankford* to create a King of the *Romans*, some of the Low-countrey Lords being to go thither in the name of King *Philip*; whilst all the Nobility were in expectation of the imployment, the Dutchesse made choice of *Philip Croy* Duke of *Arescot*, not because he was bred up in *Germany* with *Charles* the fifth (as she declared her self at the Consult) and therefore was likely to be well received by his brother *Ferdinand*: But because he was an enemy to the Prince of *Orange* his faction, she honoured him with that Embassage, that others might follow his example on like hopes of honour. Yet the Prince of *Orange* resolved to be present at the Dyet, as a private man, pretending business with the Elector of *Saxony* about his wifes portion, and with the Emperour concerning his Estate. And though the Governells would not, without the Kings consent approve of his journey, yet he departed; in such hast, as he would not tarry till his wife was brought a bed. Who three dayes after was delivered of a daughter, that was christened, by her appointment, with the ceremonies of the Church, to the great satisfaction of the Governells.

Montiny having twice had audience of his Majestie, prepared for his return, and when he took leave, the King, whilst he commended to his care the state of the Low-countreys, as it were upon occasion of discourse, began to fitt him, and charged him by his faith and sinceritie, virtues he had found in him, to deal plainly, what he thought was the cause of those Grievances and Heart-burnings of so many in the Low-countreys. *Montiny* though he said he knew nothing, whereof his Majesty had not been long since informed, yet as farre as he could conjecture, the reasons partly proceeded from the new Bishops put upon the Provinces without the consent or privity of their Governours, & therefore the people believed they intended to bring in the *Spanish* Inquisition: partly out of the hatred conceived against Cardinall *Granvel* from the highest to the lowest, so implacably, that it was to be feared, that at one time or other it would ingage the people in an insurrection. The King replied, that all this was indeed known to him, but that he admired the Low-countreymen could be moved with such vain rumours. For seriously no other cause brought him to augment the number of the Bishops, but onely the necessity of his people, and the Councell of his father *Charles* the fifth. And that was not concluded so secretly or suddenly, as the Marquess of *Bergen* could tell him, who had given his advice therein, and commended his design when he waited on the King into *England*, at his Marriage with *Queen Mary*. And that for his own part, it never entered into his mind, by that adjunction of Bishops to impose the *Spanish* Inquisition upon the Low-countreys; Nor had Cardinall *Granvel* ever perswaded him to do it, or was so much as acquainted with that purpose of his Majesty till he sent *Francis Sonnino* his Embassadour to *Rome*. He likewise assured him, they were much deceived that hated the Cardinall as conceiving him, by private information, to asperse the Lords, for he did never attempt it, neither had his Majesty himself at any time discovered in *Granvel* any malicious inclinations: which if he should hereafter find in him, or any other of his ministers of State, he never should indure them. But, howsoever, he hoped shortly to be in the Low-countreys, and then to satisfie both his own person, and the Provinces desires. *Montiny* thus dismissed by the King, returned to *Bruxels* in December; and reading to the Council his letters which contained the Kings pleasure for settling the intricacies of the Exchequer for assistance in future to be sent to *Charles* King of *France*, and

spe-

1361.

The Princesse of Orange brought a bed of a Daughter.
Montinys Embassage out of the Kings letter to the Governells
23 Novem.
His Conference with the King.
He imputes the generall discontent to the new Bishops and Granvel.

The King gives his reasons for increase of the Bishops.

Defends Granvel.

Possesses Montiny with his Resolution to go in person to the Low-countreys.
Montinies Relation in Senate
14 Day of Decemb.
which they credit not.

1562.

The Lords of-
fended at
Granvel upon
new suspicions.

He despiseth his
enemies.

His Rivals plot
against him.

Some dissenting.

22. March.

Letters writ
against the Car-
dinall to the
King by C.
Egmont, C.
Horn, and the
Prince of O-
range.

specially for defence of Religion; he added, of himself, many arguments of the Kings affection towards the Low-countries; but to little purpose. For in *Montinies* absence, they had conceived still greater jealousies. The Prince of *Orange* and some others, reasoned against the promises made by the Embassadour, for they rather trusted their own reall, or (to justifie their discontents) pretended intelligence from their private friends in the Court of *Spain*, then the professions made either by King *Philip*, or his sister. Their indignation was augmented, because *Montiny* told them the *French* accounted them Patrons of the *Hugonots*. About which scandall they passionately expostulated with the Governes, affirming, it was onely forged in the *Cardinals* work-house. The Dutches declared her self of a contrary opinion, and shewed them, it was rather invented by the *French* hereticks and rebels, who to advance the authority of their faction, would have the ignorant believe the Low-countrie Nobility were of the same sect. To conclude, they being more and more exasperated, because the Governes would not displace their Competitour, that feared not their plots or envie, but proposing to himself onely the Kings favour, respected this *Jove* alone despising the other petty Gods; (as if a man could be onely struck with a thunderbolt, and could not be killed by the hand of a common souldier: or that *Joves* lightning were not fed by the baser elements.) the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* particularly agreed to write letters to the King against *Granvel*, in the name of all, though all were not consenting: perhaps, because the Governes had formerly scattered among them seeds of dissention: perhaps, some of the Lords therefore differed in opinion, because they were not chief of the Conspiracy. Indeed the Duke of *Areschor*, pressed by Count *Egmont* as they were hunting, to joyn with the rest, denied to set his hand against the *Cardinall*, or to prescribe the King how he ought to use his servants; and it proceeded so farre, that at last the Duke concluded, he would receive the Law neither from Count *Egmont*, nor the Prince of *Orange*, to neither of which he thought himself or his family inferiour. The Counts of *Aremberg* and *Barlamont* then present were much troubled at the accident, and lest it might come to more then words, turned the discourse to another subject. Nor was there lesse heat between Count *Aremberg* and the Prince of *Orange* upon the same occasion. Of both which passages the Governes certified the King. But though by these Lords example, and for private reasons many withdrew from the conspiracy: Yet were letters directed to the King signed by Count *Egmont*, the Prince of *Orange*, and Count *Horn*; a Copy whereof (which the King afterwards sent to the Dutches) I give you verbatim out of the *French* Originall. Sir, We are infinitely sorry that we are at this present inforced to presse upon your Majesties great affairs; but as well the account of our service which we ought to give, as the mischief undoubtedly impending, will not suffer us longer to be silent: especially because we hope this our intimation, as free from any passion, will be received by your Majesty so gracionsly, and with such remembrance of us, as we your affectionate servants have indeavoured to deserve. We likewise beseech your Majesties pardon, if we write later, then the exigence requires. When the greatest and wisest men consider the Government of the Low-countries, questionlesse they cannot but think it absolutely managed by *Cardinall Granvel*; which hath made so deep an impression in the hearts of the Low-countrie men, that it cannot be hoped the opinion will be blotted out, so long as he lives among them. Therefore we humbly desire, that, for our fidelity which, Sir, you have ever acknowledged (to speak nothing of our services) you will not be displeased to take into consideration, how much it concerns

your

your Majesty to ease the common complaints and grievances of your people. For again and again we beseech you to believe, that the businesse of the Low-countries will never have an happy end, so long as it is ordered by the man they hate. Nor should we presume to write thus much, unlesse we had the mischief in our eyes, to which if your Majesty apply not present remedy, the whole state will certainly be endangered. Wherein, if ever your Majesty gave credence to our words or actions, we beseech you now to credit our hands. This indeed was the cause why so many of the Lords and Governours of these Provinces, with a multitude of others desired to have it signified to your Majesty, that our imminent destruction may be timously prevented: and your Majesty will prevent it, as we hope, and the merits of so many Low-country men, and their prayers for the safety of the publick, will be more valued by your Majesty, then that for one mans sake, you will reject the petition of so many of your Majesties obedient subjects. Especially since none of all this number, but is so far from complaining of the Governells, that we give your Majesty immortall thanks for so prudent a Princess. And that your Majesty may not think, as some perhaps will suggest, that we have plotted this out of an ambition that we our selves may govern, we all of us earnestly intreat to be removed from the Councel-table, and affairs of State: it being neither consistent with your Majesties interest, nor our own reputation, that we should come any more to Councel with the Cardinal. But touching Religion, which is now a thing of greatest concernment, we promise in our own names, all that can be justly expected from good Subjects and Catholicks, such as we professe to be. And truly if the Lords had not looked into it, Religion had not been in that tolerable condition wherein now it is: the minds of the Common people being infected with Heresie, a disease hardly curable by the Cardinals authority or example. Lastly, that we may no longer trespass upon your Majesties weighty occasions, we humbly beg you will please favourably to interpret what we have signified, no less out of duty and allegiance to your Majesty, then out of fear that hereafter you might blame us, if any misfortune should befall the Low-countries. Thus we humbly kiss your royall hands, and pray God long to preserve and blesse your Majesty. From your City of Bruxels, the last of March, 1563.

LAMORALL EGMONT,
WILLIAM NASSAU,
PHILIP MOMORANT.

These Letters thus signed by the *Triumviri*, Count Egmont secretly sent into Spain to Charles Tisnac a Low-country man, and the Kings Procurator in Spain, for business of the Low-countries. But before the Dispatch was made, the Governells understanding what they had writ, pre-acquainted the King. Nor was the intelligence she gave concealed from the Conspiratours, Count Egmont charging the discovery upon Count Aremborg, as if he were fallen off; especially because there was difference between him and the Prince of Orange. But he seriously denied, that ever he had spoke of it to any man living; nor needed their project a discoverer, which they themselves in every place vain-gloriously divulged. Yet Count Egmont insisting upon it, replied, That a friend of his had assured him, it could not be revealed by any but himself. Aremborg growing into a rage, And I (said he) assure you, he lyes who ere he be, that fathers this upon me; which I am ready to make good with my sword. The Governells writing this passage to the King, forgot not to complain of Count Egmont, that he whom his Majesty had accounted faithfull above the rest, could so far ingage against him, as publicly to sollicite and encourage others to joyn their minds and endeavours for their Countreys benefit and liberty. And now after three moneths, the Kings Letters came from Spain, written by the hand of Charles Tisnac, where-

1562.

Of these letters
the Governells
preadvertised
the King.

March 9.

How the Governells came by her intelligence, causes a grievous falling out between Egmont and Aremborg.

May 5.

The Kings answer to the Letters sent from the three Lords, inviting one of them to Spain.

1563.

June 15.

A private letter from his Majesty to Count Egmont.

But none of the three would go.

For which they give reasons to his Majesty.

Granvel grows out of date at Court.

Aloyso Cantera lib. 9. in the life of King Philip.
The Governesse displeased with him, for three reasons.

August 29.

wherein his Majesty answered the demands of the *Triumviri*, in this manner; That he had received their Letters, and doubted not but that they signified these things out of sincere affection to their Prince and Countrey. For they had given many sufficient proofs of their fidelity and service. But since they had not yet given particular reasons for Granvels removal, and that it was not his custom to change any of his Ministers of State, without proof against them: He should therefore take it well, if some one of them would come over to Spain, and make him understand the matter, for by how much they affirmed there needed the greater remedy, by so much the lesse ought the business to be agitated by absent persons. Besides these Letters, the King wrote privately with his own hand to Count Egmont, that he should be glad to hear from the Count himself, the causes that were not inserted in their Letters. His Majesty likewise acquainted the Governesse what answer in common he makes to all three, and what particularly to Egmont; that he invites one of them to divide them, and wishes it might be Egmont, because he, separated from the rest, might be easily wrought upon, new moulded, and so brought again to himself, and his right reason. But neither Count Egmont, nor any of the rest could be brought to go the journey; perhaps thinking it below them, to undertake so great a voyage to accuse Granvel: perhaps their guilty consciences durst not trust themselves in Spain. Yet in their answers to the King, they laid the cause of their stay upon their neighbours the French, who having shuffled up a kind of Peace at home, it concerned them to watch whether they would use their Arms abroad: and while the people continued in that Jealousie and fear, they held it impious to leave their Countrey, to inform against any man. Notwithstanding, if the King pleased to send for them upon other terms, they would immediately obey his Majesties commands. In the mean time, they would forbear the Council-board, lest they should meet there to countenance Granvels Actions. In all things else, they would never be wanting to their Prince and Countrey. The like answer was made particularly by Count Egmont; who likewise humbly thanked his Majesty for his speciall grace and favour to him. Whilst this was in agitation, Granvel tottered at Court: For 'tis hard to stand long in a slippery place, if a man be iustled by many, specially when a Prince is made jealous, as if his servants derivative power detracted from his own ability to govern. Nor have the old Court-Engineers many better inventions to crush the favour of their Rivals; especially with such Princes, as are ambitious to be famed for wit, whether deserving or undeserving. With this very stratagem, a few years after, Didacus Cardinal Spinoza, no lesse endeared to the King in Spain, then Cardinal Granvel to his Majesties sister in the Low-countries, was cast down (they say) from the highest point of favour, by such as knew the King loved his Ministers of State, so long as they carried themselves as servants, and not as authors of his Counsells. And now the Governesse seemed to be altered in affection towards Granvel, perhaps weary of the man, as if he were her adjunct in the Government, if not her superintendent: perhaps seeing her self in danger of being infected with the peoples hatred, which he was incurably sick of; perhaps, at length she had looked into him, and found him ambitious and envious, fomenting the divisions between the King and his people, as she afterwards enformed his Majesty. Which last reason, being contrary to the commendations she had so often set upon Granvel in her letters to the King, whether it were true, and discovered by the Governesse upon long acquaintance: or that she knew it at first; but then, as she concealed it in favour of the man: so now weary of him, and fearfull of

im-

imminent mischief, she revealed it: or whether mis-informed, and compelled by his enemies, she wrote thus to the King, I dare not absolutely affirm. The *Governess* therefore, as she had resolved, sent *Thomas Armentarius* an old Courtier and Counsellour into Spain, with an exact account of business, part whereof he was to read to the King, and part to insert in his discourse, if occasion were offered. The heads were these, To let the King know the State of the *Netherlands*, and the Countreys adiacent; and how to that day the *Governess* had ordered the Sacred and Civil Government: And when they came to speak of the combination of the Lords against *Granvell*, that he should punctually tell the King, how the Prince of *Orange*, the Marquess of *Bergen*, the Counts *Egmont*, *Horn*, *Mansfeld*, and *Meyen*, came to her in July last; and the Prince of *Orange*, after many complaints made in the name of the Estates, touching the present condition of affairs, she appears so long due to the horse and foot, the Kings Collectors undone with paying interest, and the complaints of the Merchants thereupon; concluded, that since all this proceeded from the dominion of the *Cardinall*, and his followers, they were resolved henceforth to come no more to Council, not for any exceptions taken at the *Governess*, whose wisdom and affection to the *Low-countreys* they would alwayes gratefully remember; but lest they should contribute to those Acts passed, with so much prejudice to the King and the *Low-countreys*. Moreover, (which *Egmont* added) lest by coming to the Council-table, and yet not providing for the necessities of their Countrey, they should loose the Peoples affection, together with their own reputation, and consequently the Opportunity of doing his Majesty service. Nor would this seem strange, if the King pleased to remember, that long since, when *Charles Count Lalin* was President of the Council, *Granvell* being then Bishop of *Arras*, refused to come to the Board, offended at the Counts Potencie. Then he should tell his Majesty, that the Prince of *Orange*, and the Marquess of *Bergen*, bitterly inveighed against *Granvell*, and the Arts he had used to make the King believe, they juggled with Religion and their Prince. Nay, they very well knew, that *Telidan* a Divine of *Louvain* (as he himself boasted) wrote to the King, That the *Low-countrey* Lords were all tainted with Heresie; and that the very same occasion of enmity, which the *French* Hereticks took against the *Cardinall of Lorain*, was now revived by the Nobilitie of the *Low-countreys*. And that another day, the *Governess* taking *Egmont* aside, he confirmed the same grievances, wondering the King would suffer the *Low-countreys* to be troubled for one man, who was not so much as a *Low-countrey* man; and therefore both his fortunes and affections were *forreiners*: neither had he taken the Oath of Allegiance to the King; but partly to the *Emperour*, as born in an Imperiall Town: and partly to the *Pope*, from whom he had received his scarlet. When *Armentarius* should have discoursed this to the King, he was then to acquaint his Majesty, what the *Governess* answered to the particulars, according to his Notes containing the summary of his Embassage. Lastly, she charged him, upon the same heads, to be sure to remember, That *Egmont* had lately told her, it was by his onely means, that *Granvell* lived to that day; but that hereafter he would leave that care to the *Governess*, whom he had now clearly informed, that the *Cardinalls* life was every houre in danger: and therefore when his Majestie should well consider, what Insurrections such publick crimes draw along with them, he would in his wisdom resolve how to dispose of *Cardinall Granvell*. With these Commands, after a moneths voyage, *Ar-*

1583.

She sends Armentarius into Spain.

who was to inform the King among other passages, Of the Lords complaints against Granvell.

On the 15.

Of Granvells danger.

Septem. 13.

The King at
large bears him.

Who first ful-
pends, and then
alters his Ma-
jesty's resolu-
ons.

The Belgick
Lords leave the
Court.

1564.

menterius arrived in Spain; and as he found the King very desirous to know the State of the Low-countries, accordingly at his first Audience he held him four hours together, in the speech which he made out of his Notes. At which, as likewise at other not much shorter Addresses, he exceedingly satisfied the King with the Governesses endeavours, first suspending (which seldom any man could do) and finally altering his resolution, to retain the Cardinall in the Low-countries. But whilst the King deferred his purposes, busied in the assembly of the Estates of Castile, then sitting: and being likewise of himself a Prince naturally jealous and apt to demurre; the Low-countrie Lords, as if their suit were neglected, in the beginning of the new year with-drew from Court; all but Count Egmont, who told the Governess, the rest would not return till Granuell was departed, with whom in compass of the same walls they would be no more confined.

The End of the third Book.





The Historie of the LOW-COUNTRY WARRES.

The fourth Book.

BEfore the end of this year, a sad uncertain rumour was raised at *Madrid*; and immediately disperſed through all the further *Spain*, That King *Philip* was piſtoll'd. This report he was ſo farre from ſleighting (though otherwiſe ſubject to delays) that he laid it, before it could paſſe out of *Spain*; ſending Duplicates of letters poſt both by ſea and land, into the Low-countries: wherein, under his own hand, he certified his liſter, that in all probability this ſame was forged by the hereticks, upon ſome cloſe deſign ſet afoot by that treacherous kind of people. Withall he commanded her, that if ſhe did but hear the leaſt intimation of ſuch a report, ſhe ſhould preſently diſpatch letters through the Low-countries, and ſo into *France*, *Britain*, and *Germany*, to rectifie the errour; not onely that his uncle the Emperour, and his couſen-germane the King of the *Romans*, might be freed of their fears: but likewiſe the inſurrections prevented, for encouraging whereof theſe reports, whether true or falſe, did equally prevail with men deſirous of innovation. But the Governels having certain intelligence, that the news was no where divulged in thoſe parts, would not mention it at all: leſt ſhe might ingraſt the opinion ſhe indeavoured to eradicate. Eſpecially when ſhe had buſineſs at home of greater concernment; the Nobility being diſcontented, and notorious Libells read upon every poſt, or paſſed from hand to hand; the remedy whereof was ever difficult, whether you take no notice of them, and ſo invite them by impunity; or puniſh them; for neither way can extinguiſh the memory of what is done, nor deterre abuſive writers from the like boldneſſe. And King *Philip* grown now more ſevere, ſince the tumult at *Valencia* from whence that liberty chiefly took its riſe, injoynd the Governels not to ſuffer ſuch ignominious verſes, that commonly uſhered in rebellion. But ſhe quickly gave over her inquiry, fearing to take knowledge of the Authours, or to run the hazzard (as ſhe wrote to the King) of ſtruggling with ſo deſperate a diſeaſe. At this time beſides thoſe jeers againſt *Religion* and the *Bishops*, eſpecially *Granvel*, boldly vented becauſe pleaſing to the Nobility: there were added dark riddling Emblems and Cognizances of the

1564.

A report raised
that King Phi-
lip was mur-
thered.
Which he him-
ſelf was active
to ſuppreſſe.

4. January.

Scandalous
Pamphlets poſſe-
d up, and
banded through
the Low-coun-
treys.

15. July
1561.

10. Auguſt.

1562.

Emblematical
Cognizances
given by the
Lords-Conſpi-
rators.

1564.

29. Of
March.Invented at a
feast.In imitation of
the Germans.They throw the
Dice who shall
name the Live-
ry.
Egmont chuses29. Of
March.How the People
interpret the
Devise.The Governes
gets them to
leave off part
of it.
which the Lords
supply with
another Em-
bleme.
At the King
answered Eg-
mont. Prince of
Orange in his
Apology 1481.

Lords, great symptoms, as many thought, of a conspiracy. The whole
passage (as the Governes related it to the King) I shall briefly repeat.

The last year, in the beginning of December, the Lords *Egmont*, *Bergen*,
Mabyn, and the rest of the Order, were feasted by *Esper Scherck*, Lord of
Groendonsch the Kings Receiver; There, in their cups, they fell into dis-
course, of the moderating of expence in Liveries; whether it came in ques-
tion by accident (as the Dutchess affirms upon their own relations) for out
of premeditation, I leave to others judgement. They commended, upon
this occasion, the *Germane* fashion where all the year long they are waited
on by men in the same leathern breeches and black cloth-cloaks, or coats
with sleeves: nor have about them any thing of gallantry; but that the pin-
nions of their sleeves, which they call wings, are laid with silk fringe of di-
vers colours; spending their money much wiselier, in their stables upon hor-
ses for service. This example pleased the whole company, and they re-
solved to leave off their sumptuous and filken Liveries, with all the pomp
of their gawdy trains: and never after to be distinguished by the severall co-
lours worn by their servants, especially by their footmen; but that they
would all give one Livery; and so it should not be thought the invention of
any particular person that desired to save charges. And by the uniformity
of their apparell, it would appear their minds were uniform. Some therefore
proposing what colour would do best, they cast the dice who should chuse,
and the lot fell to Count *Egmont*, who made choice of black cloth-coats
with long sleeves, such as I told you were called filken wings: in which were
imbroidered the heads of men and hoods of divers colours such as fools and
jeasters wear upon their coats. A pattern of these wings, that nothing might
be concealed from the King, the Governes sent him. And now imbroider-
ers and taylours shops were full of these Coats and Cognizances, and the
people looked and talked high upon the matter: nor are they alwayes out
in their conjectures. For some said the hoods signified the *Cardinall*, who
according to the habit of his illustrious Order wore such an hood falling up-
on his shoulders; and the heads, they guessed to be the *Cardinals* and his
adherents, among whom they numbered the Duke of *Archebi*, Count *Bar-*
lamont, and *Viglius* President of the Councell; and they interpreted the
fools coats to signifie, that the Low-countrie Lords were not fools heads,
as *Granuel* once called them, but that *Granuel* himself and his party might
be pointed at for idiots. Others rather thought those heads and fools hoods
were brought in fashion by the Lords, as if they were contented to be called
fools: but yet they would have the *Cardinall* understand how *unpleasant*
the fools were: and to beware, least in that number there might be a *Brutus*.
But the Governes, though she made a better construction of these Em-
blems, yet feared that the people, which she saw begin to grow discontent-
ed and mutinous, should divide into factions and raise tumults: she was
therefore very earnest with Count *Egmont* and the other Lords, to give off
their design, and lay aside the new encouragements to insurrection. But be-
cause a great sort of the coats, and above two thousand of the wings were
already made: her Excellence thought it would be well, if she could get
them to leave out the heads and hoods, the principall matter of offence;
which with much ado they did; and instead of the old, Count *Egmont* de-
vised another Embleme, viz. a sheaf of arrows, which he said was the arms
of the Kingdome of *Castile*, (though it was not the arms of the Kingdome,
but of the Catholick *Queen Isabella*, and afterwards given by the States of
Holland when they were confederate, and revolted from the King) and
gave

gave out, that it signified the concord of his brothers of the Order in their duty to his Majesty. Yet this very change was censured by many that sung *Granvels* Disge, expounding it, as if the conspiracy were made now not with *hoods*, but *arrows*, and those tied together in a bundle, and therefore not easie to be broken. Nor did the Governels take notice of the alteration, hoping to cure the evil by contempt, and having often found by experience, That some mens proud natures are iraged if forbidden, but if left to themselves will in time recover. By which connivence, the fashion of giving this kind of Livery was long followed by the Lords: till the Kings command and other new accidents interposing, it was quite left off.

In February *Armenterius*, long looked for, at length returned from *Spain*, and changed the face of the Governelles Court. For among other Mandates which he brought from his Majestie the first was, the sending Cardinall *Granvel* out of the Low-countries; to which the King finally consented, that the Low-countreymen might not have so much as this colour of Grievance. For King *Philip* as he had no Courtier that governed him, nor would have his favour to any one eclipse his own authority: so he advanced and cherished divers persons, but such as were very usefull to himself and his Kingdomes; among whom *Granvel* may deservedly be numbred. Yet because his Majesty knew that, especially in the Low-countries, the power of forreiners would not be long indured; and that he had an eye upon the example of the *French* Court: and thought it best to do that, while his authoritie was intire, which perhaps necessity might unhandlome-ly inforce him to; for quieting the Provinces, he granted the Low-countreymens Petition, whereto was added the approbation of the Governels either altered in her mind or Counsels, and hoping by that sacrifice to the publick odium, to gain the affections of many of the Lords. This *Granvel* long since foresaw, & upon the return of *Armenterius* presently observed the Courtiers, which used to adore him, would not take pains to stoop so low, and that he had a thinner train and fewer suiters waiting at his gates; divers of his friends then forsaking him, when they were brought to the test. Nor did *Granvel* upon receipt of the Kings letter decline his departure: but very cheerfully shewed himself ready to go whithersoever his Majesty would please to send him. And before his departure, as if he were tired out with tedious cares, he was often heard to argue with his friends like a Philosopher, Of ease, and retirement from the hurry of affairs; That he had long enough followed others occasions; that a man broken with continuall toil could not but wish for rest; and that to out besieged with Petitioners liberty was not to be refused, especially when he knew that Petitioners and flatterers met like pitcher-carriers at a spring; which they drain and trouble; That favour at Court hath a better face, then inside; and that all humane things are found to be farre lesse in the possession, then they are fantied in our hopes. You would think he discoursed this out of a mind armed against dangers, long foreseen and expected. Unless perhaps it was not constancy, but discontent, putting a face of mirth upon his griefs; whereby he might at least defraud his Rivals eyes, of that sad object which they looked for. Indeed a few moneths before, when he saw his Remove inevitable, he wrote to his old friend the Duke of *Alva*, that if he must needs leave the Low-countries, he would please to make it his suit to the King to send for him into *Spain*. But the Duke was in great suspence, whether he should bring a man to Court, that was not unpractised in Court-designes, and might happily precede him in the Kings favour (for no virtue is lesse raised at Court, then that which is most feared) or whether by the

2564.

what many
men conceived
it to be.

The King and
Occasion puts
an end to these
Rebuses.

20.

Granvel sent
for out of the
Low-countries.

Why the King
consented.

Why the Gover-
nesse wished it.

Granvel pre-
supposed as
much by the
change of faces
at Court.

Nor is he at all
dejected.

But seems to
desire a dis-
charge.

Yet rather
wishes to be re-
moved to Spain,
and to that end
solicits the Duke
of Alva, who
deliberates
upon it.

accession

UML

1564.
Octob. 1565
At last moves
for him.

But prevails
not.

For Granvel is
commanded in-
to Burgundy.

Thomas Pere-
not Lord of
Cantonet.
Whether at
length he goes,
giving out, that
he will return
very shortly.
10 of Marc.
6 of March.

Which report
spoiled the
mirth of his ad-
versaries.
And troubled
the Governesse.

29. Of
March.

Who certifies his
danger and la-
bours to keep
him out of the
Low-countreys.

The joy for
Cardinal Gran-
vels departure,
as well of the
People as the
Lords.

accession of a friend, he might increase his power, or at least by using a man hatefull to the Low-countreys (as *Armenterius* wrote to the Governesse out of *Spain*) he might revenge himself of his enemies in the *Netherlands*? this later reason carried it with the Duke of *Alva*; his fear was overcome by his fury, the stronger motive to prevail with Courtiers, whom long prosperity makes not more secure of favour then impatient of affronts. But in vain the Duke solicited for *Cardinall Granvels* coming into *Spain*. For the King had been lately perswaded by *Armenterius*, that it would be greatly to his prejudice, to have the *Cardinall* in his Court: who out of his hatred to the Low-countreys would be suspected, in all their affairs to corrupt the Kings commands, which would be thought to be the Cardinals pleasure. His Majesty therefore would rather have him retire into *Burgundy*, and to live not far from the Low-countreys, where He hoped in time to settle him again. *Granvel* was the more willing to go thither, because he had the fair pretence of doing his duty at *Besonçon* to his mother now old and diseased: in company of his brother *Cantonet*, who having dispatched his *French* embassage was for the same cause travelling towards *Burgundy*. Therefore not suffering his going away to be named till his brother arrived at *Bruxels*, that it might seem he resolved of himself, and with his brothers advice, to visit his Countrey, and not upon the Kings command to leave the *Netherlands*; on the tenth of March he took his journey into *Burgundy*, giving it out, that he would shortly return. Likewise about this time, the Low-countrey Lords, upon letters from the King commanding them to sit again in Councel, and more to regard the authority of their Prince, then their own hatred to any private man, waited again at Court, to the joy of all degrees and qualities. Save that it took off a little from the generall contentment, that it was reported the *Cardinall* would come back; though many thought it an idle rumour, invented by the man himself, who (as they said) was proud in misery, and would not stoop, but even as he fled still threatened. But others were not of that opinion, especially the Governesse, that knew with how much difficulty and reluctance the King had called him away. By her letters therefore she acquainted his Majesty, That *Egmont* concealing the Authours names had discovered to her a plot against *Granvel*, who, if ever he set foot again within the *Netherlands*, was to be murdered the same day. The Low-countrey writers, out of uncertain reports name one *Villet*, a Countreyman of *Granvels* that undertook to kill him. And the Counts *Egmont* and *Horn* were charged, as privy to *Villets* intention, at their Triall in the year 1568. Besides in the private intelligence, which a Lady of quality from the Borders sent into the Low-countreys, I find this design against the *Cardinall* mentioned, unles perhaps all this was feigned, to fright the Governesse.

Granvell being gone for *Burgundy*, the Town and the Court seemed quite another thing. The people that, as a comfort to their low fortunes, use to behold with greediness the fall of powerfull men, especially of such as are Princes Favourites, because they impute to these Privadoes all the severer mandates of the Prince, began now to rejoyce, as if they were freed of a heave tax-master. In particular the officious Courtiers joyed the Lords for having banished their Corrivall: and they themselves boasted, That now they had sued out the *Governesses* Livery, who had lived long enough under a Guardian; That it was sufficient, they had for so long time endured the insolence of a new man, an upstart, that triumphed in his scarlet robes, for his Conquest over the Low-countreys. From thence forth, they were much more observant to the *Governesse*s, came oftner to the Councel-board; be-
stowed

stowed more time upon the Publick. The *Governess* thinking it best to use that opportunity, pressed them to many things at once, particularly to continue the Subsidie of the new year, for three years yet to come: which she had often, but in vain attempted; and most of her Proposals were in a fair Way to be effected; when by letter after letter, coming from the *Cardinall*, that spake of his return into the *Low-countries*; and by increase of the faction of the *Cardinalists* (for so they called the Duke of *Areschot*, Count *Barlaumont*, and the President *Viglius*) many mens minds were filled with fresh suspicion, and much of their new joy and alacrity abated. For on the one part diverse of the Lords said, They feared, (unless they pretended fear, to colour their private meetings) that if they should, removing all Obstructions, dispose things to a good conclusion, *Granvell* upon a sudden would return, and boldly claim a share in the success: On the other part, the *Cardinalists* more slowly followed the Kings business, either offended at the *Governess*, or to endear the *Cardinall* by his absence, and to make him the more longed for. But the *Governess* persisted in her desires to bar all hope of his return, and wrote to his Majesty many letters, wherein she did not a little tax the life of *Granvell*, I suppose to shew she had reason for consenting to his remove. Which was the cause, why an Officer extraordinary was sent into *Burgundy* in the Kings name, to take the accounts of the Exchequer, and so by the by to examine *Granvells* actions. At this Inquisitors return, the *Governess* made it her suit, forasmuch as the Lords suspected, *Granvells* stay in *Burgundy* had too near an influence upon the *Low-countries*, and that they likewise said, Though his person was absent, his Counsels and Directions still ordered the affairs of State, his ghost as it were haunting the *Low-countries*, that his Majestie would please to free the Provinces of that kind of fear; and send the man to *Rome*, the place he had long since chosen, whither afterward *Granvell* went of his own accord, not by the Kings command.

For in *December* the year following, *Pius* the fourth deceasing, *Cardinall Granvel* came to *Rome* to the Conclave (it will not do amiss, I suppose, to let you know the further progress and end this great man) where he was re-employed by King *Philip* (the show, not substance of whose favour he had lost) in soliciting all businesses at *Rome* that nearest concerned his Kingdome: with higher expressions then ever of his affection to the *Cardinal*. By which is evident, what difference there is, between such as get into favour with a Prince by accident, & such as are advanced by merit: for those if they once fall, never rise: these their absence ingratiate with their Prince, and necessity restores them to their places. And it fell out very opportunely for *Granvel*, who, being as ambitious of employment, as prepared for present business (the League between the Princes of *Christendome*, so often begun to be treated, & so often broken off, coming now again in agitation) received from the King a large Commission, that together with *Francis Cardinall Paceco*, and his Majesties Embassador *John Zuniga*, he should upon what conditions he thought good, make a league between *Rome*, *Spain*, and *Venice*, which he (clearing the matters of controversie that daily were revived) faithfully and actively endeavoured on the Kings behalf. After this, he was created by King *Philip* Vice-roy of *Naples*, and delivered from the Pope to *Don John* of *Austria* the Standard and commanding Staff, that declared him Generall of the *Christian Fleet*. After the Popes death, coming to *Rome*, he so applied himself, that besides his advancing the *Spanish* party, whereof he was chief, he was the principall cause that *Gregory* the thirteenth, to the great benefit of *Christendome*, was created Pope. And yet he exceedingly displeased that very Bishop at his re-

1564.

The *Governess* makes use of this alacrity in both. But it was distast again by new fumes of the Cardinals Return.

That they may have no more such frights, the *Governess* moves the King. *Novem. 29.*

To send him away to *Rome*.

1565.

The rest of *Cardinal Granvels* life. He goes to *Rome* to the Conclave.

Solicits the Generall peace of *Christendome*. Is created Vice-roy of *Naples*. Delivers the Colours to *Don John* of *Austria*.

1571.

Labours and votes in the Conclave for the Papacy of *Gregory XIII.*

1572.

Into whose displeasure he shortly after falls, for violating the rights of the Church.

In a suit with
the Archbishop.

The Pope by his
Nuncio justifies
the Archbishop.

The Vice-roy at
last submits.

1575.

He is made Pre-
sident of the
Italian Council
in Spain.
His free carri-
age towards the
Grandeas.
And towards
the King him
self.
Q. Curt. lib. 8.

1580.

He governs
Spain in the
Kings absence.

1583.

The honour done
him by the King
at his Return.
His death.

turn to *Naples*; where he carried himself somewhat more harshly towards the Church, then could be expected from a Prelate of his Robe; but not otherwise then we see many sacred and mitred persons do, that shew themselves more earnest then the Lay-ministers of Princes, to advance their politrick Dominion. Whether it be their care to decline the suspicion of being for the other party: or that their knowledge and emulation discovers the abstrusest points that are to be opposed. Nor are they lesse violent for being in holy Orders, familiarity and injoyment taking off their respect to that of which they are possessed. The Vice-roy *Granvell* had signed a warrant to his Officers, to take out of *Marius Caraffa* the Archbishops prison, a notorious offendour; whose cause *Granvell* said belonged to his Jurisdiction: For which fact, *Marius Caraffa* excommunicated the Kings Officers, whereat *Granvell* being implacably displeased, laid the Archbishops servants by the heels; and sequestred the rents and profits of the Archbishoprick: the Popes Nuncio *Antonius Saulio* in vain labouring against it, and threatening the Popes indignation if he persisted. *Gregory* the thirteenth was exceedingly vexed thereat, especially because when this was done at *Naples*, the like was attempted in *Castile* by the President of the Council, *Didaco Covarruvia* Bishop of *Segovia*. His Holiness therefore commanded *Saulio* to go to the Cardinal Vice-roy, and directly tell him, That unless within so many dayes, he would revoke and make null all he had done against the Archbishop and his servants, he by the authority given him by his Holiness, would turn *Granvell* out of the Colledge of *Cardinals*. Which message (though some fearing the Vice-royes displeasure, perswaded *Saulio* to put in milder terms) boldly delivered according to his instructions, so terrified *Granvell*, that he discharged the prisoners, and restored the Bishop to his own. Nay, he gave the Archbishop a prisoner in exchange for the condemned man taken from him, that occasioned the dispute, and had been forthwith executed. Afterwards he submitted to the Canons with much more care and reverence. So you see Threats and Menaces, proportioned to the greatest spirits, will at last humble them. *Granvell* having now four years governed that Kingdome with great Prudence indeed, but not so great regard to Chastity, as becomed his age and scarlet, being in some measure reconciled to the Pope, returned to *Rome*: From whence three years after, he was sent for by the King into *Spain* (being then 62 years old) and the *Italian* affairs of State wholly intrusted to his disposal, which was distastfull to some of the *Grandeas*, whose weaker and lesser iudgements were eclipsed by his old and solid experience, and looked on by him with a kind of scorn. I find likewise the King himself was offended with him, whilst by too passionately extolling the Actions of *Charles* the fifth, and instancing what he had done upon the like occasions, he seemed to urge them as presidents for his sons imitation, with a freedome odious to Princes, which had ruined many of *Alexanders* greatest Commanders, that spake too liberally in his fathers commendations. But *Granvell* knew he had to do with a Prince, enamoured of his merits, whose favour towards him he had found rather suspended, then extinguished; whereof he had this further proof, that King *Philip* going to take possession of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, left *Granvell* to govern *Spain*: and returning out of *Portugall*, when he made his entrance into *Madrid*, waited on by infinite multitudes, and received with the acclamations of all sorts of people, he rode through the Town with this aged Cardinal onely on his left hand. Lastly, three years after *Granvell* returning from the Citie of *Auspurg* where he had married the Infanta *Katharine*, King *Philips* daughter, to *Emmanuel*

Duke

Duke of *Savoy*) being now seventy years of age, departed this life at *Madrid* the very day 28 years after the death of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. His corps a little while after was carried to *Besançon*, and buried in his fathers Monument. The man is particularly remarkable to the favourites of Princes, because without the help of flattery, for about forty years, with unspotted fidelity he managed the principall affairs of a great Court, and being once outed, from his fall rebounded with ease, and rose higher then before: because he was gracious with a Prince that suffered him (a happiness seldome known) to enjoy both *favour* and *freedom* to the last. But our present History bears older Date.

The *Governess* in the mean time, bent her endeavours to maintain Religion, which she heard went to decay in many places: for the King by *Armenterius* enjoyed her that in the first place: and since then, wrote many effectuall letters to the same purpose. Indeed that King *Philip* did more then pretend to be carefull of Religion, the letters (about a hundred of which I have) written with his own hand, or in cypher to the *Governess*, do clearly testifie. Wherein he never used dissimulation, as in those that were read to the Council by the *Governess*, but discovered to his sister without reservation, all his necessities, fears, and secret thoughts. And in these private Letters, he so earnestly commends and commits unto her the protection of Religion, that he plainly declares it was to be her master-care, and all other Interests whatsoever, should give place to it. Nay, many times he instructs her how to hunt out Hereticks, and trace them to their holes. His Majesty likewise had Catalogues of their names (which I have by me, enclosed in his Letters) so exactly taken, as every ones condition, neighbourhood, age, and stature is to the life described; that truly it is wonderfull, how a Prince distracted and diverted with such a multiplicity of State-affairs, could have the leasure to inquire out, for the most part, obscure people, which a private man could hardly get time to turn his thoughts and hand to. And by this means, as often as Catholicks fled out of *England* into the *Low-countreys*, in whose behalf the *Governess* wrote to the King, with incredible celeritie (besides his Pensions bestowed upon Priests of that Island, which for the cause of Religion lived as banished men in the *Low-countreys*) he divided among them sometimes 2000 Ducats at once: sometimes more, sometimes less, alwayes something. Incouraged by this royall bounty, some Colledges of that Nation were begun to be settled, to the great good of Catholicks in *Spain* and the *Low-countreys*. The *Governess* therefore of her own accord, and by the Kings command, laboured to preserve Religion; and having the Nobility particularly obliged to her for her late favour, she dispatched letters to this effect to the Bishops and Governours of Towns, which exceedingly awaked their industry.

And now the Hereticks were carried to prison, and put to death: which terrified many, and those that died were often reconciled to the Church. At *Rupelmond*, a Priest that was turned Heretick, when he saw no hope to escape out of the Tower wherein he was imprisoned, fell upon a desperate designe of firing the next room in which the Records and Monuments of the Provinces were kept, supposing that while the guards were busied in preserving things that concerned the publick, he might get away. He acquainted his fellow-prisoners, which were nine, with the plot; and now the Tower was in a flame, which the souldiers presently extinguished, and the Priest being taken, was, with the rest of his companions, but a little more happily, executed. For openly renouncing his Heresie, before the multitude that

1564.

At Madrid.

His speciall
Commendations.The *Governess*
provides for Religion.
Commended to
her by the King,
seriously,With almost in-
credible care to
root out Here-
ticks.And with no
little bounty to
the banished
English.Hereticks put to
death with va-
rious success.A bold fact of
an heretical
Minister.But it saved
him at last.

1564.

August 13.

The punishment
of Fabricius
the Apostate,
out of her Ex-
cellencies let-
ters, 8. Octob.
The Execution-
ers dexterity.

The people mu-
tiny.

25 Novem.

They are quieted

The Senate of
Bruges affront
the Inquisitors.

Septemb. 10

Novem. 25.

Of the Council
of Trent.

was assembled to see him die, twice he cursed *Calvin*, and all the contrivers of Heresie, and bad the good people take warning, how they came near that plague-sore, which the Devil had sent from hell to infect mankind; and so professing he died a Catholick, his head was struck off. The *Governess* left out none of these passages in her Letter to the King, not doubting but they would be welcome to a Prince desirous of such news. But at *Antwerp* matters were carried somewhat more tumultuously. *Christopher Fabricius* was to be executed, who forsaking the Order of *Carmelites*, married in *England*, and had corrupted some citizens of *Antwerp* with hereticall opinions. When the Executioner brought him to the stake to be burned, suddenly as the faggots were kindling, a shovre of stones (cast from what hands was not known) fell upon the place; the Hangman seeing his own danger if he stayed, yet resolving not to leave the condemned man to the people, whipped out his sword, and when he was half burned, killed him: then leaping down among the souldiers, saved himself in the crowd. The mutineers thus defeated of their hopes, gave over for the present, either unable to master the souldiers, or conceiving they should stir to no end, the prisoner being dead. Yet, the next day, some of them lighting upon a woman, who (they said) first discovered *Fabricius*, they made a ring about her, railed and threw stones at her; and had killed her, but that she fled and hid her self in a neighbours house. The same day Verses were posted up in the Market-place, writ in bloud, to this effect. *That there were in Antwerp some that vowed shortly to revenge Fabricius his death*, whereof vvhhen the King had knowvledge (perhaps vvith some addition to the truth and manner) he severely commanded his sifter, not to let crimes of that nature escape long unpunished. And her Excellence causing one of the stone-casters to be hanged (for the rest, as they vv ere all of the basest sort of people, vv ere either fled the Tovvn, or lay there concealed) quieted the City for the present, rather by Terrour, then Punishment. But at *Bruges*, the very Senate offended at the same time far more contumaciously; if vve credit a *Spanish* Monk, vvho lay then privately in *Bruges*, and sent intelligence into *Spain*. For the Inquisitour by his Deputy (the Pretour of the Tovvn delaying to assist him for fear of the Senate) had sent an Heretick to prison, guarded by three Officers, the Senate presently commanded those Officers to be seized, and committed them close prisoners, to be kept vvith bread and vvater, till themselves had spoken vvith the *Governess*, and this vv as proclaimed by the Crier in the Market place, the Heretick in the mean time being released; a grievous vvrong both to Religion, and to the Inquisitour. The Senate did not in very hum-terms acknowvledge their contempt, but posting to the *Governess*, complained to her of the tumult that undoubtedly vvould have been raised by the Inquisitour, in a City that vvould not suffer the Breach of any of their Priviledges: if they themselves, peradventure by a *sharp*, but yet by a *safe* remedy, had not opportunely pacified the peoples minds. What vv as done herein by the *Governess*, or vvhat she answered to the King, after she received his letters by the Monk, I find not.

These and the like attemp (as I conceive) moved the *Governess* to consult, how the Decrees of the Councell of *Trent* against Hereticks lately brought into the Low-countries (some of which were not yet clearly expounded) might be there observed. For the King having many times wrote letters to her, wherein he shewed himself displeased with the Hereticks boldnesse, and the connivence of the Bishops: and having commanded his fathers Edi& to be revived, which had long lyen dormant, the judgement be-

ing

ing translated to Ecclesiasticall persons, The Governes replied, that although it would be very seasonable, in regard that many of the new judges and inquisitours had not been more ambitious of their places, then timerous in them; yet she said the Edict could not possibly be executed, if the Council of *Trent* were received: by authority whereof the cognizance of these causes was transferred to the Ecclesiasticall Tribunall. Besides that, when *Pope Pius* had spent the most part of this year one thousand five hundred sixty four in proposing and bringing in the decrees of the Council, earnestly commending their use and patronage to Christian Princes, it pleased the King of *Spain* to be the first that gave his assent: not onely out of his Majesties native piety, but likewise because that Council was called at the request of his father *Charles* the fifth, when he was at *Rome*: and therefore he conceived the maintenance thereof descended upon him by inheritance.

But whilst his Majestic first took order to establish the Council in *Spain*, and then wrote to his sister to do the like in the Low-countries; something happened at *Rome*; which it was thought would alienate the Kings mind from the *Pope*, and consequently that no farther regard would be had of the Council either in *Spain*, or the Low-countries. For there was an accidentall Dispute in the Council of *Trent*, whether the *French* or *Spanish* Embassadour should take place; this would not indure the other should precede him, nor would he suffer this to his equall. The controversie was for that present time composed, the *Spanish* Embassadour being honourably seated apart from all the rest. But when the Council was ended, upon the desire of *Lodwick Requesenes* King *Philips* Resident at *Rome*, that the precedencie might be determined, *Pope Pius*, it being *in re odiosa*, first began to put it off, and then advised *Requesenes* to give over the contest: finally, he perswaded them severally and in private, to referre the cause wholly to the sacred Colledge of *Cardinals*; in the mean time, they were to forbear the ceremonie of coming to the *Popes* Chappell; his Holinesse supposing the contrary factions of the *Cardinals* would be a means to make the suit depend for a long time, and free him of the necessitie, and so of the envie, of giving sentence. For, as he said very handsomely, a Prince should imitate *Jupiter* who (according to the old tradition of the *Thuscan* Soothsayers) hath two kinds of thunder-bolts, the *prosperous* he himself useth to shoot, but for the *unfortunate* he calls a Council of the Gods. Notwithstanding when mens minds are inflamed, they are like horses at full speed, hard to be stopped; and both the Embassadours took it ill, that the *Pope* so delayed them, especially *Henry Ossellie* King *Charles* his Resident, who thought himself by this means in a manner equalized, especially fearing least the contention might be ended now, as formerly it had been in *Ferdinand* the *Emperours* Court, where it was resolved the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadours should take place of each other by turns; which caused the *French* Embassadour to leave the *Emperours* Court; and this perhaps might be a president for the Court of *Rome*. But the *Pope* that the ceremonies in his Chappel might not any more be intermitted; at last, upon the sacred day of Pentecost, commanded, that next the Imperiall the *French* Embassadour should take place. Whereat *Requesenes*, in a fury, after he had in the *Popes* presence taken publick notice of the injury in his masters name; by his Majesties command left *Rome*. This business held many in suspence, what king *Philip* would do, particularly concerning the Council of *Trent*, which the *Pope* was so earnest with him to settle in his Dominions; and it exceedingly troubled the *Dutcheffs* of *Parma*, because

1564.

The diligence
used by Pius iv.
to get it to be
received,
which was readi-
ly done by
King Philip.

1536.

Paulo iii.
Pont.

The difference
between the
Pope and King.
Onuph. Pan.
in Pio iv.
Adrian. l. 8.
Hist. Thuan.
l. 35. Hist.
About the Spa-
nish Embassa-
dours place.
which began at
the Council of
Trent.
And being there
composed,
was revived
at Rome.

The Pope not
willing to de-
termine it.
Puts it off to
the Cardinals.

At last he ex-
plains himself.
whereupon the
Spanish Em-
bassadour in a
fury leaves
Rome.
This Accident
troubled many.
Especially the
Governor.

1564.

*The Hereticks
rejoyce in hope
the Council of
Trent will ne-
ver be received
in the Low-
countreys.
But they were
deceived.*

August 6.

*A letter from
the King of-
fended with
the Pope.*

*Yet careful to
establiſh the
Council of
Trent.*

*The Governes
doubts whether
ſome Decrees
of the Council
are not to be
excepted in the
promulgation.
The Senate
would have
it ſo.*

*But the King
will not.*

Septemb. 30

Novem. 25

*The Governesse
finds it difficult.*

1565.

*Count Egmont
ſent into Spain.*

because she governed the Low-countreys, which among all his Majesties Dominions lay most open to the invasion of Hereticks: and therefore the Pope most of all desired that the Council should be first established there. The Governesse therefore doubtfully expected the Kings pleasure in his next letters, and withall was somewhat more slack in punishing Hereticks; and some were absolutely of opinion, the Council of *Trent* should be no more heard of in the Low-countreys. This rejoyced the Hereticks, who jeered the wisdom of the Pope, that found so *seasonable* a time to provoke the *Spaniard*, by whom if the Council were refused, what Kingdome would obey the Canons made at *Trent*. Though some upon the same premises, concluded otherwise, and said, the Popes justice was not shaken either by hope or fear: nor did they doubt of the Kings piety and constancie, or that a private offence could move him to put the Councell out of his Protection: which if he should do, the *French* would not fail to undertake it, if it were but onely because the *Spaniard* had rejected it. And behold, Letters came from King *Philip*, which acquainted the Governess, that the Dispute was ended, but farre otherwise then he conceived the equity of his cause, or his observance to the Pope deserved. *That he had therefore called away his Embassadour from Rome, where he might not appear with honour, that being the last private businesse he was likely to have with his Holinesse: but for the publick, or his service and obedience to the Pope, and the holy Apostolick See, from which he would never depart, he had commended those to Cardinall Paceco, Patron of the Spanish at Rome, with whom she should hereafter transact all businesse appertaining to the designation of Bishops and establishment of Religion: for defence whereof, as likewise for propounding and imposing the Council of Trent upon the Low-countreys, it was fit her care and endeavours should not be slackd upon any cause whatsoever.* And indeed the King having thus declared himself, she would easily have brought it in, if she had not stumbled at the threshold. For desiring the advice of those that had the care of souls, and of the greatest *Casuists* in the Universities: and likewise putting it to the suffrage of the Senate, they voted against the Council, and advised her not to propound the Decrees, containing certain heads repugnant to Monarchy and the Priviledges of the Subject, unless the said heads were excepted. And this they urged more freely and peremptorily, because they imagined, such confidence could not but be acceptable to the King, which, under the pretence of liberty, served the Princes ends, and yet excused the Prince from any fault. But the King, whom the Governess in every thing consulted, liked it not: and therefore made answer, *It was not his pleasure in propounding the Council to his Subjects any thing should be excepted, lest Rome, a Citie apt to prejudicate, should from thence have matter of censure, and other Christian Princes, that looked upon Spain, occasion of imitation. For that which is said in the Council, touching Sovereignty and Subjection, was sufficiently considered, when the publishing thereof was disputed in Spain, where all those difficulties were discussed. And as at that time no exception was taken, but the Council absolutely proposed, onely with a little moderation to be used in the practice: so it should be in the Low-countreys, whither he had sent a copie of the Spanish Proclamation, that his Subjects, throughout all his Dominions, might obey him by one rule.* The Governess according to his royall Mandate, beginning to be active, and indeavouring to put an end to what she had in the *Neiherlands* begun, how sad a commotion followed, in the end of the next year, when the people, to the ruine of many, broke out into Rebellion, I shall in its due place commemorate. In the mean time, the Governess seeing the difficulties

difficulties of the Exchequer and Religion to increase: and that she could get nothing of his Majestie by Letters, resolved to send some great man her Embassadour to the King, and looking upon Count *Egmont*, as one, that, besides the Nobilitie of his birth and his experience in the affairs of the Low-countreys, she did believe would have all things granted to his great and acknowledged merit: her Excellence designed, and in the beginning of the year one thousand five hundred sixty five, with the advice of the Senate sent him into *Spain*. And Count *Egmont* willingly undertook the imployment, because (as he said to the Governes and she informed the King) by the opportunity of this publick Embassage he should dispatch his own private businesse with his Majestie. Having therefore received large instructions, with the consent and hopefull expectation of all, many of the Nobilitie for honours sake bringing him on the way, he set forward, the same day that *Francis Hallevine* Lord of *Zeeveghem* returned from *Germany*, whether he was sent by the Governes, in the name of King *Philip*, to the Emperour *Maximilian*, his Emperesse, and the Princes of *Germany*, to condole the death of his father, that religious Prince the Emperour *Ferdinand*, which the Emperour *Maximilian* took extreme kindly, and made great promises of service to his uncle.

At this time the Prince of *Orange* had, by Princessse *Anne* of *Saxony*, another sonne called, by the name of the Prince Electour her father, *Maurice*. This is the Prince *Maurice* whom we must often mention, not without the commendations of a valiant and cautelous *Generall*, who (being chosen by the States Confederate in the place of his father lately killed) after he had for two years commanded the *Hollanders* as a Prince, though by another name, which is commonly the end of long Governments, dyed of grief, conceived at the siege of *Breda*, when he saw, it must inevitably be taken. The Governes wrote to the King, that the child had all the Orthodox rites of Baptisme: but that which most troubled her was, on his Christening day they delivered him in tutelage to the Prince Electour *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony* and *Philip Landergrave* of *Hessen*, both Lutheran Princes: in whose names, two Lords, infected with the same heresie, were his Godfathers. For even in this likewise, the Prince of *Orange*, who alwayes acted two parts, had something Catholick and something Hereticall, to please both sides, still attending their severall fortunes as a neuter.

In the letters, the Dutchesse informed the King, what jealousies and reports were raised by the message which she had communicated to the Senate, touching the meeting, that was to be upon the borders of *Aquisaine*, between *Katharine of Medices* Queen-mother of *France*, governing that nation joyntly with the King, and her daughter *Isabella* Queen of *Spain*. For King *Philip*, by his letters, had commanded his sister to assure the Low-countrey Lords, that nothing more was intended by that interview, then the satisfaction of King *Charles* and his mother, being in their progresse come so near the confines of *Spain*. To the same purpose, he either wrote or sent Embassadours to most of the Princes of *Europe*, not so much as any Lord of *Italy*, or *Spain*, or any one Minister of State, but was by instructions from King *Philip* acquainted with the occasion of that conference. Yet all this took not away the Low-countreymens fears and jealousies, but rather increased them; many, especially Hereticks being apt to believe, that the Queen-mother did not this out of love to her daughter, but to lay the foundation of some great design against the hereticall factions, and the disturbances of both Kingdoms: which they suspected the rather, because it was

rumoured

1565.

Feb. 15.

The Lord of Zeeveghem sent to condole the death of the Emperour Maximilian.

The Princessse of Orange brought a bed of Prince Maurice.

Feb. 15.

Christened with Catholick rites by hereticall Godfathers.

Of the conference of K. Charles of France and the two Queens at Baion.

Feb. 3.

For which the King of Spain gave reasons to the Belgick Lords, And to the Princes of Europe.

For many were jealous.

Especially the Hereticks.

1565.

who were troubled the more fearing King Philip would be at the Conference.
Why the Governesse dissuaded his coming.

March 3.
Duke of Alva.

Why King Philip was not present.

Septemb. 17

Various reports touching the conference at Baion.

Septemb. 25

What they consulted of.

The Hereticks very much afraid Thuan. l. 36. Hist. An. Herrera l. 12. c. 1. in the Life of Philip 11. and others. The massacre at Paris thought to be designed at this meeting.

rumoured, King *Philip* would be there in person. And indeed when Queen *Isabella* moved him, to add to their contentment his presence, I find by his letters to the Governesse, that he was pretty well inclined to the journey: though she dissuaded him, and said it was below the Majesty of so great a Prince, to trust himself to the power of the *French*, at that time, when partly the *French* Kings minority, partly the condition of a Queen-regent, made the subjects so contumacious towards their Governours. Yet his Majesty replied, that if he were sure his presence were necessary for the good of Religion, he was resolved, for Gods cause, to decline no trouble or danger whatsoever. Yet consenting to the going of his Queen, and commanding *Ferdinand* Count of *Toledo* and Duke of *Alva* to wait upon her, and present, in his name, to the King of *France*, the Order of the *Golden-fleece*, he himself went not: either diverted by many cares, having then (as he wrote to the Governesse) received intelligence that the Turk besieged *Malta*: or else, to give his resolutions with greater authority at a distance; which, I suppose, was the cause why he left it not in his wife's power to determine any thing, before she had, by her letters advised with him. But at this interview, so highly celebrated in the writings of all Scholars, even of the Poets themselves, when in so great state and glory, King *Charles* and the two Queens met at *Baion*, the *French* sleighting the *Spanish* pride, with greater pride; all that was concluded, the more secretly it passed, onely in presence of the Duke of *Alva*, with the more confidence, do some writers (as if they had a blank before them) fill up the space with wit, and deduce from hence, strange secrets of State. Omitting such divination, out of the letters, which I have, written in King *Philip*s own hand, to his sister about that conference, this I know. The Queen of *Spain* for divers weighty reasons (no doubt by the command of King *Philip*) had desired her Brother, and Mother, whom it nearly concerned to preserve Religion then greatly endangered in *France*, and they, very well affected to the cause, had laid their designs; the Queen Regent by the by propounded some Marriages, wherein she would have ingaged her Daughter, but the Queen of *Spain*, and the Duke of *Alva* returned thereunto no absolute answer, reserving the finall determination of all things to King *Philip*. Lastly, upon occasion of an Embassadour sent from *Soliman* the *Turkish* Emperour to renew the league between King *Charles* and him, the *French* spake of renouncing the said League, and that their King should joyn with King *Philip* and the Emperour against the common enemy. But this, though it was opportune, took no effect, the Queen of *Spain* declining all overtures, but onely, concerning Religion: which she, at the Duke of *Alva*s earnest motion, again commending to them, after they had imbraced and kissed, they took their leaves. The Hereticks (that guessed at their intentions) exceedingly fearing, lest by the meeting of these Princes, as by the conjunction of malevolent Starres, was portended some fearfull storm that would fall upon their heads. And indeed that great massacre of the *Hugonots*, which seven years after was acted at *Paris*, was they say plotted at this meeting, which I will neither denie, nor affirm. Though I am rather inclined to believe, that the mutuall succours which since this time we see have been often sent, by the *French* into the Low-countries, and from thence into *France*, against the Rebels to Religion and their Prince, together with the marriage five years after solemnized by King *Charles* and *Elisabeth* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, were concluded at this conference. For King *Philip*, in the fore-mentioned letter, gives an intimation of mutuall assistance to be from thenceforth

thenceforth given, to expell heresie out of their Kingdomes: and plainly faith, the Queen had not directly declared her self against the marriage, but left a door open to a new consultation; since in regard of their tender years, the young Prince and Princess (he being but fifteen, and Princess *Elisabeth* eleven) might very well stay a good while before they married.

In the beginning of *March*, Count *Egmont* came to *Madrid*, contrary to the expectation and command of his Majestic, who would have had his journey put off; I suppose, because the *Governors* had informed him that the Count was willing to go, in hope of his private advantage. Yet the King received him very graciously, answerable to the quality of so noble a person, and so great a Generall, famous for many victories: and often with good approbation heard him move for relief to the publick necessities of his Countrey. Nay, when he descended to his particular affairs, the King granted his suit, almost in every thing. Finally, his Majestic gave him large instructions in writing for answer to the *Governors*, and that he might resolve upon more certain grounds he advised, in that which concerned Religion, with Divines, which to that purpose waited on him. In that Assembly of learned men, I have heard one that was present, say, The pietie of the King was admirable: For having summoned the greatest Schoolmen and *Cassuits*, and demanding their opinions touching the Libertie of Conscience which some Low-countrey Towns so earnestly petitioned for: when many of them considering the present condition of the *Low-countreys*, said, That for the avoiding of a greater evil, much to be feared, in Cities ready to revolt and shake off Obedience to their Prince, and to the Orthodox Faith, his Majestic might, without offending God, allow his subjects the free exercise of their Religion; He replied, That he sent not for them to instruct him, whether such a Permission were *lawfull*, but whether it were *necessary*. And when they told him, they saw no necessity; then the King, in their presence, kneeling before a Crucifix; And I, said he, pray and beseech thy Divine Majestic, thou King of all men, O God, that thou wilt please to keep me alwayes in this mind, that I may never care, that the men which deny thee for their Lord, may either be, or be called my Subjects: and then he opened his determination concerning Religion in those Letters, which I told you were delivered to Count *Egmont*. But before he had his dispatch, the King dealt plainly with him, That he was not a little offended at the last conspiracie of the Lords, when they gave the Coats and Cognizances, wherein they enigmatically threatened Cardinal *Granvel*, that especially *Egmont* (reputed the Authour of that invention) might therein have shewn, if not more fidelity, at least more discretion. But Count *Egmont* faithfully assured his Majesty, that it was mere mirth, and childish sport at table, to make a jest to laugh at in their cups, not to be feared by any man: that done, he omitted not to accuse the *Cardinal* as the principall cause thereof, because he daily mustered those of his faction against the Nobility, and therefore deserved to be requited with the like Assemblies. Yet in these meetings (and this he often confirmed by oath) they did not so much as think of any thing contrary to their sincere Allegiance to his Majesty: Nay, if he had found any of their party an Enemy to the King, he himself would have been first, though he were his own brother, that should have stabbed him to the heart. This Discourse having passed between the King and Count *Egmont* (of all which the King by a private Letter certified the *Governors*): Instructions were given to the Count thus indorsed; *Instructions of whose things which thou, Prince of Gavera, Count of Egmond, our Cousen, and*

1565.

C. Egmont arrives in Spain.

Feb. 15.

The Kings Answer and Commands.

April 2.

Having first consulted the Divines, In this manner.

His Majesty checks C. Egmont, for the Cognizances devised to affront Granvell.

Egmont excuses himself,

And accuses the Cardinal.

1565.

The Kings instructions delivered in writing to Count Egmont.

For preservation of Religion.

For destruction of Hereticks.

For regulation of the Council.

April 2.

For disposal of the moneys sent by his hand.

For signification of his Majesties intended journey thither.

Prince Alexander Farnese delivered by the King to Count Egmont, who is to conduct him into the Low-countries.

Counsellour in affairs of the Empire, art commanded in our Name, to communicate to Our Sister the Dutcheſs of Parma. The summe of his large Instructions was this: At his arrivall in the Low-countries, After he had saluted the Governesse from the King, and returned her his royall thanks for her good Government of those Provinces, and for sending into Spain the fittest man to negotiate for the Low-countries; he was to deliver her this answer from his Maieſty: That in the first place he was struck with unutterable grief, to hear of the growth of Heresie; and that he was firmly resolved, and would have the whole world know, that he would not suffer it within his Dominions, though he were to die for it a thousand times. Therefore he desired the Governesse to call a Senate extraordinary, to which divers Bishops should be summoned, particularly *Rythorvius* Bishop of *Ipres*, with the like number of Divines, and such Counsellours as stood best affected to Religion and their Countrey. The pretended occasion should be to examine the Council of *Trent*; but the real meaning to find out an Expedient, how the people might be kept in their ancient Religion; how their children might be virtuously bred up at School; how to proceed in punishing Hereticks, by some other course, that might take off the odium: not that he meant to pardon them (for that he neither resolved to do, neither did he think it would be acceptable to God, or safe for Religion;) but that he might in their deaths prevent all hope of glorying, which was the cause of their impious and wilfull sufferings. Moreover the Senate was to be so ordered, that the Council of Estate was to superintend the other two Councils of Law and the Treasury, but nothing to be concluded, before the Governesse knew their Resolutions and Reasons. This vvas the Effect of his Majesties Letters, delivered to Count *Egmont*. But he wrote others to the Governesse, wherein he gave her to understand, That it pleased him not, that the Authority of the Senate (wherein sate the principall Lords of the Low-countries) be enlarged, which both straitens the power of the Governesse; and might open a way for divers great men, enriched by the Treasury, to change (as from other hands was intimated) the present form of Government. He likewise commanded Count *Egmont* to let the Governesse know, That his Majestie remembered the necessities of the *Netherlands*, which she had so often moved him in: and therefore sent her, part in ready money, part in Bills of Exchange, 60000 Ducats to pay the common souldiers, and 200000 to be distributed among the Garrisons; and for the Governours of Provinces, and the Magistrates pensions 150000, and that he would have returned her more, for the fortifying of Towns, and disbanding of souldiers, if he had not been in many places to provide for his Fleet against the *Turk*. But some of this money could not be got of the Bankers, because they were not satisfied in *Spain*. Lastly, commending the integrity of his Judges and Officers, he put the Governesse and his Subjects of the Low-countries, in hope, that he would make a voyage thither, purposely to hear their Grievances, and in person to redresse them. The same day that his Majestie gave these Letters to Count *Egmont*, he called in *Alexander* (sonne to *Octavio Farnese* and *Margaret* of *Austria*, Princes of *Parma* and *Piacenza*) and delivered him to Count *Egmont* with these words; Among other things which thou art to carry to the Governesse, I trust thee likewise with this Touth: do him those services, which she Sonne to my Sister, and your Governesse deserves. Count *Egmont* kissing the Kings hands again for this speciall favour, departed the more pleased, because it would add to the Governesses joy, for the success of his Embassage, that he should bring her sonne, a happiness she had long desired. Indeed it rejoy-

rejoyced her very much; for when she saw her sonne *Alexander*, so well bred, so lively spirited, yet tempered with such gravity, as became one that had been educated in so great a Court, under his uncle King *Philip*; she received infinite satisfaction. Especially for that Count *Egmont*, together with her Sonne brought her the news of a Marriage intended him by the King. Whereupon the Steward of her House, the Lord *Theuloi*, was purposely sent into *Spain*, to give his Majestie most humble thanks, for his Royall favours conferred upon her, and her husband the Duke of *Parma*, by designing such a wife for their Sonne.

King *Philip* had been moved about a match for Prince *Alexander* four years before. His Father *Octavio* was inclined to marry him to the Sister of *Alphonso* Duke of *Ferrara*, Daughter to *Hercules* the second and *René* Daughter of *Lewis* the twelfth of *France*; because he thought it would be a great support to his Power, to joyn in alliance with Princes so near neighbours to him; and he said, (which I believe he had from *Charles* the fifth) That as in the Globe of the Earth and Sea, the Moon is more predominant then most of the Starrs, not because she hath a greater, but a nearer influence; so we should think of our neighbours. And he maintained this opinion, as I suppose, more fervently; because about that time *Pope Pius* the fourth challenged the Principality of *Camertio*, which he intended to bestow upon *Frederick Borromeo*, his Sisters sonne, lately married with his consent, to the Noble Lady *Virginia Ruveria Verana*. *Octavio* therefore, weighing, in case this dispute might beget a War, how much it concern'd him to be in amity with the Duke of *Ferrara*, held it very convenient to make up this Marriage. Nor did the Governesse disapprove of the designe, but in her husbands and her own name, wrote about it to the King. But he, either because he would have no affinity with a Duke of the French Faction; or because he had thought of another Wife for him, and had already shewed himself in it, answered the Governesse in these words. *ILLUSTRIOUS Princess*, long since when I resolved upon the Treaty of a Marriage for your Sonn and my *Alexander* (for I esteem him as mine own Sonn) with the Daughter of our Uncle the Emperour *Ferdinand*; I did assure my self, it would be very well received by you, Sister, and by the Duke your Husband. Nor have your Letters altered my Opinion, or what was said to me by *Ardinghell* in favour of the match with *Ferrara*. She that I have designed him, is Daughter to an Emperour, and our kinswoman. The Duke of *Ferrara*'s Sister and Prince *Alexander* are of years so disproportionate, that it may cause disagreement. Indeed I commend the Duke of *Parma*, that seeks the friendship of his neighbours, by desiring to match into this family, but he ought likewise to consider, that so long as he hath me for his Brother and Protector, no man dare presume to trench upon him. As he may well perceive by the late change of things, when *Pius* the fourth gave over his attempt. For after I had taken care to inform his Holiness of my resolutions, and how I am obliged in honour both now and for ever, to maintain the Rights of the *Farneses*: he answered me, He would not onely forbear to molest the Duke, but would be as much a Patron to his Family, as I my self. But though I have commanded *Ardinghell* to signifie this to the Duke, yet out of my brotherly love, I could not but acquaint you with it, that I might satisfy the near relation of our blood, and likewise desire you to insert this my determination in your Letters to your Husband: and with all possible speed to let me know both your resolutions. But while the Father and Mother remained in suspence, and knew not which of these matches they should wish: the one being more noble, the other more advantageous; the King upon second thoughts, pitched upon *Mary* Princess of *Portugall*, Daughter to

1565.

The Governesse
joy upon the
sight of her son.
And news of a
Match intended
him by the King
April 30.

Of Marriages
treated for
Prince *Alexander*.

Duke *Octavio*
would match
him to the Duke
of *Ferrara*'s
sister.
His reasons.

The Governesse
is of the same
mind.

Octob. 1.

1560.

The King dis-
sents.

1565.

and name: ano-
ther.

Decem. 9.

1560.

His Majesties
Letter.

1565.

The King upon
further conside-
ration proposes
Mary Princess
of *Portugall*.
The Offer is em-
braced.

1565.

Edward brother to Iohn the III. son to Emmanuel.

Her Nobility both by Father

And Mother.

Princesses Marries peculiar commendations. Her wit and learning.

Sanctity of life.

Childlike exercises.

Modesty.

Care to preserve it.

The Low-country Fleet sent to transport the Bride.

14 day. whole of Portugal nobly attended.

Prince *Edward* and *Isabella* of *Brigantze*, Niece to King *Emmanuel*; and by his Letters founding the inclination of the Duke and Dutches; the Match was at once propounded by the King, and approved of by all parties: For at that time, the name of *Portugal* was glorious, a great part of the Earth being discovered by their religious and fortunate Souldiers. And King *Philip* was not onely descended from this House of *Portugall*, by his Mothers side, being Sonn to *Isabella*, and therefore Nephew to *Emmanuel*; but he himself, almost twenty years before, married into this Family, to *Mary* Daughter to *John* the third, and Niece to *Emmanuel*. It was therefore thought an high honour to the *Farnese's*, that one of King *Emmanuel's* Nieces should be married to King *Philip*, and the other to *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*. Especially because She and King *Philip* were Brothers and Sisters children, and *Mary* of *Portugal* was in the same degree of blood, both to King *Philip* and his Queen: besides, by her Mother she was of the noble family of the *Brigantzes*, which had often match'd with the Bloud-royall of *Portugal*, and kept a House like a Kings Court. But Prince *Alexander* was farre more in love with the Beautie and Virtue of the Ladie, then with the Merits of all her Ancestours.

The fame of this Princely Virgin was spread through *Spain*, and most deservingly; for she had such an understanding that it was reported, there was nothing she did not comprehend. She spake *Latine* fluently, and very well. She was a pretty good *Grecian*; not ignorant of Philosophy, and excellent in the *Mathematicks*. So versed in Scripture, that she could readily turn to any Text in the Old or New Testament. But above all, she was admired for innocency and holiness of life. Nothing pleased her so much in her hours of retirement, as the contemplation of things Divine. And in her familiar discourse, she often quoted short Maxims out of the Bible, or the Fathers; wherewith in the day time while she was at work, she sweetly offered up her heart to God. Indeed she never put her hand to sowing, either needle-work or imbroyderie, but onely to adorn the Altar, and for the use of the poor, that she might in both, adorn and cover Christ himself. Touching her modesty, she was not onely careful but proud of it, and said, *Though women were to conceal their other virtues, yet they might glory in their Chastity*. Therefore she forbore all publick Shews and Entertainments: as often as her Parents and the King her Uncle would dispense with her absence. And in reading of the Poets, though she was very much taken with their wit, yet she looked upon them with great fear, lest she might encounter any amorous passages; and once, when she had took up *Francesco Petrarch*, and had run over a few of his Verses, she threw him out of her hands. For the same reason she could not be induced to let any Courtier lead her; or to lean upon their arms or shoulders, the common garb of great Ladies, either out of pride, or to be the better supported, going in high Chopines. These, and many other virtues, commended the Match with *Mary* Princess of *Portugal*. The Governesse therefore, loosing no time after her Sonn *Alexander's* coming: sent the Royall Fleet well manned to sea, and made *Peter Ernest Count Mansfeld*, a great Commander, Admirall, sending with a noble train of Lords and Ladies onely the Count himself with his Lady, *Mary* of *Montmorancy*, sister to Count *Born*, and his sonn *Charles Mansfeld*. Weighing Anchors from *Flushing* in August, about the beginning of September he arrived at *Lisbon*, and not long after, the Bride, attended by many of the *Portugall* Nobility went aboard, but would not suffer them to hoyst sail, till she had sent for the *Portugesse* a shipboard, and desired a Priest of the Society,

etic, who used to preach to her, and to hear her Confession, that he would arm her and the company with some Exhortations, as an Antidote to preserve them from Heresie, that had poisoned the *Low-countreys*, whither they were bound. Which being accordingly performed, by that eloquent and religious man, with a fair gale of wind they sailed out of the Port. But when they were upon the main, the billows on a sudden growing angry, swelled, they knew not why, and the storm increasing, the other ships being scattered, onely one fell foul upon the Admirall that carried Princess *Mary*, and having sprung many leaks, the poor ship was left a miserable spectacle, the sea almost devouring her in their sight, and within hearing. But Princess *Mary* moved with the piteous cries and lifted-up-hands of the wretched drowning people presently called the Admirall, Count *Mansfield*, and prayed him to vere to them, and take in as many men and women as he could possibly, before the Vessel sunk, and many Christians should be cast away, whilst she looked on. The Admirall told her it could not be done, without endangering her Highness, and the whole ship. The Marriners affirmed the same, particularly the Master, an excellent Pilot, but unskillfull in that Art of Navigation, which is directed by Divine hope. Then said the Princess: *But I, mark what my mind presages, do hope in God, if we do our best to help them, that he will so graciously accept our endeavours, as it will please him of his Goodness, to help us all.* And this she spake with such a sense of Piety, and so sweet a look, that the Admirall durst not oppose her, but gave order for the ship to succour them, which struggling and crowding through the furious waves, at last came near them, and putting out her long Boat opportunely saved them all; but the ship it self, out of which they escaped, having obeyed the Princesses command, a little while after sunk before their faces, onely one man being lost in her. Nay, the very hour that Princess *Mary* by Divine inspiration said, her mind presaged they should do well, the rage of the winds abated, and the scattered Fleet came together again. Though within a few dayes, a new storm rising, drave them upon the unhappy Coast of *Britain*, and forced them to put in at an *English* Harbour. Where whilst they lay for a wind, Count *Mansfield* thought it a fitting Civility, to send some Noble person to present her service to the Queen of *England*, in whose Dominions they remained. But Princess *Mary* would not, she said; hold any correspondence with the Enemies of the Church. And though others pressed her to it very much, affirming that she might safely, upon such an occasion interchange common courtesies, she was constant to her first resolve; adding, that it was safest for her self, and best for the example of others. Yet beyond all expectation, at the same time, she courted a noble hereticall Lady, that came, among a multitude of the *English*, to see the fleet. For Princess *Mary* casting an eye upon her, and two fine boyes, her sonnes which she brought with her, entertained her in a very friendly manner: and finding, by her discourse, that she was the Mother of many more children, she importuned the Lady to bestow these two upon her, promising that she her self would be such a Mother to them, as it should not repent her of the change. This she did, because (as she her self professed) she was not able to suffer such a pair of young Innocents, that looked like Angels; being corrupted with heresie, to be made Devils, and numbered among the slaves condemned to eternal torments. And although Princess *Mary* could not prevail with the Mother, in her suit for these boyes; yet a few years after, God gave her the same number of that sex: and it is probable that her desire of breeding up anothers children to be

1585.

Septemb. 21
Sebastian Morales afterwards Bishop of Japan.
She is overtaken with a storm at Sea.

She pities and helps the poor creatures ready to be drowned.

Another tempest drives her upon the coast of England.
She refuses to send her service to Queen Elizabeth.

She invites an English Lady.
Begs her two sonnes of her.

But is denied.

3565.

One of her ships
fired acciden-
tally.

Her care greater
for her Reliques
then for her
jewels.

For her soul
then for her
body.

She lands in the
Low countreys.

3. Day.

Is conducted to
Bruxels.

The Marriage
solemnized on
the Anniversary
of the Instit-
ution of the Or-
der.

Octob. 8.

1430.

Emmanuel K.
of Portugall
Paternal
Grandfather
to Princeesse
Mary Charles
the fifth mater-
nall Grand-
father to
Prince Alex.
The particular
joy of the
Knights of the
Golden-fleece.

The Bride and
Bridegroom
leave the Low-
countreys.

She is welcomed
into Italy with
great magnifi-
cence.

Gods servants, was recompensed by God himself with as many children of her own. Nor will I omit a memorable passage, that happened in the same Port, where one of the Kings ships, by accident was set on fire, not farre from the Admirall where the Princeesse was aboard. And while some strove to quench the flame, and some to save themselves, and their goods: she running out of her Cabin to the Prow, made a little stop, and said, Well, and shall I lose my box of sacred Reliques? presently the flame approach- ing near her, she ran back, and with a mighty courage plucked the box out of the Cabinet: either forgetting or despising the jewels it contained, to an infinite value. Presently returning again from her Cabin (for the furie of the fire was not yet asswaged) a Gentleman met her, and stepping in, with great reverence, took her by the arm, and beseeched her, whilst she might, to flie the danger. But she, casting a frown upon the man, said, Sir, you were best unhand me. As if she were more fearfull to be touched by him, then by the flame: so, unsupported, she went forward to the Prow, and the fire being presently extinguished, they set sail for the Low-coun- treys. About the beginning of November, the fleet arrived at *Utrecht*, where she was received, and attended, by such as the Governess had sent upon the sudden news of her landing: that train being augmented by the horse and foot of the severall towns through which she passed, till she came to *Bruxels*. Where all sorts of people welcomed her with greater joy and gratulation, because they heard she had so difficult and dangerous a passage. *Octavio* Duke of *Parma* being, a few dayes before, come out of *Italy*, pur- posely to be at his sonnes wedding, upon the next Saint *Andrews* day, ap- pointed by *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* for the Anniversary feast of the Or- der of the *Golden-fleece*, which he instituted, and commended to the patro- nage of that Saint; the Nuptials were celebrated at *Bruxels*, with such magnificence, as befitted the Neice to *Emmanuel* King of *Portugall*, and the Grand-sonne to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth; but likewise, with such Christian Pietie, as was expected, out of the opinion conceived of so reli- gious a Lady, and made good by her presence, beyond all imagination. *Maximilian de Bergen*, Archbishop of *Cambray* married them. The King of *Spain* was present by *Didacus Gusman à Silva* his Majesties Embassadour to the Queen of *England*; commanded, for this reason, to take the Low- countreys in his way: Embassadours of neighbour Princes were at the wedding to joy them from their Masters. All the Low-countrey Nobili- ty was there; the Knights of the *Golden-fleece* expressed a particular contentment, because about a hundred and fifty years before, their Order had been founded at the marriage of Duke *Philip* of *Burgundy*, with *Isabella* of *Portugall*, and now at the like marriage of this Princeesse of *Portugall*, they revived the memory of that Day in all kind of shews and pleasures, seem- ing to forget their present discontents and factions. So great was the gal- lantry of the Lords, and they so taken up with revells.

But after the nuptiall feast was over, and the Bride and Bridegroom de- parted from the Low-countreys: as if the Truce were ended, they fell to their differences again. The narration of which differences I shall wave a while, till I have, in reference to Princeesse *Mary*, related some passages no- ble in themselves, but rendered more illustrious by her royall Bloud: and because they equally concern her husband Prince *Alexander* and his po- steritie, which we must often mention in the progresse of this History, there- fore it will be the best, in this place to summe them up together. Princeesse *Mary* now come into *Italy*, was received with unusuall pomp and ceremo- ny.

ny. For drawing near to *Parma* she was met by two gallant troops, one of Lords, the other of Ladies, her husband *Alexander* being in the head of that, and this led by his Aunt *Vittoria Farnese*, wife to the Duke of *Urbino*. On that side, such a multitude of horses, and on the other, such a world of Coaches, vying bravery and rich Liveries; that seldome hath been seen a more magnificent and glorious Show. But the Princess, after she had been the second time thus entertained, applyed her self to serious matters, her example and endeavours, in a few dayes changed the face of *Parma*. And she her self many times having prayed to God for a Sonne to continue the name of the *Farneses*, accidentally conceived a hope, that if she took up some Orphan or beggar-boy, and bred him for Charity, she should compass her desire. She therefore took up one in the street and bred him in her Court: and nine moneths after, she was delivered of *Ranucio*. But her hope proving as fruitfull as her self, she resolved to beg of God another Sonne, that she might settle the house upon more pillars; and directing her prayer to our Lady, in the Church called the *Scala*, Prince *Alexander* by chance coming thither, she turned to him, and said, *Come, Sir, let us joyn our prayers to God, that in obedience to his Virgin-mother, he will graciosly please to give us another Sonne*. They prayed together with great faith, and within nine moneths after, she brought forth *Odoardo*; which was not the cause of greater joy in Prince *Alexander*, then it was of admiration and reverence towards his wife, at whose suit, God had given him both his Sonnes. From thenceforth, he more and more honoured her Sanctimonie; infomuch, as at the battle of *Lepanto*, boarding the enemy, with more valour, then caution, and afterwards being reproved by *Don John* of *Austria*, he replied, He had at Home the Cause and Patronesse of his confidence. Indeed she spent the whole time of that warre in devotion and penance for her husband. But for her children, because she knew they were granted her by Gods speciall favour, she bent her study, while she lived, to season their tender years with divine precepts: and when she came to die, was not so earnest with her husband for any thing, as to be carefull of their education, using that very prayer to God, which she heard was made by the Queen of *France*, Mother to Saint *Lewis*, *In this moment of time, which is my last, I pray and beseech thee, O Father of mankind, that if my children be inclined to commit any fouler crime against thee, thou wilt hasten their ends, and prevent their treason against thy Majesty*. A prayer worthy all mother-Queens, that would have no children, but such as will acknowledge God, the Lord of all, to be their father. And so the eleventh year after her marriage, dyed Princess *Mary*, no lesse admirable in her death, then in her life. For as in this, she was most nobly active, so in the other she was most undauntedly passive, the onely glory that remains for dying persons. Her patience, and the strong assaults of the Devil, divers, then present, have set down in writing. A little after her departure, in a private box within her Cabinet, was found a short Diary written by divine instinct with her own hand, containing the heads of her actions, every day, and almost every houre of her life. In which may be seen (for it is printed, and bound up with her life) what her judgement was, concerning Christian perfection; and how she applyed her self to that progressive rule, indeed so exactly, as the Houses of *Portugall* and *Farnese* may glory in the beauty of her mind: and the example of Princess *Mary*, may be set for a pattern to all princely maids and wives.

And now, to proceed with the businesse of the Low-countreys: The Governoresse had begun with great industry to execute the Kings commands, brought

1565.

Her example reforms Parma.

Her pious design to beg a Son of God.

She prays for and obtains another. Ranucio Duke of Parma and Piacenza.

Cardinall Odoardo.

Prince Alexanders confidence in her prayers.

The education of her children.

Which she dying commends to her Lord. Qu. Blanch with an excellent Prayer.

1577.

Her patience in the pangs of death.

The Form of her dayly exercise penned by her self.

The Low-countreys in new trouble.

1565.
June 2.

Count Eg-
monts com-
plaints.

July 22.

Octob. 2.

His Majesties
Letter touch-
ing the punish-
ment of Here-
ticks.

The Inquisi-
tours.

And the Coun-
cell of Trent.

Out of which
Heads the Go-
vernesse con-
ceives an Edict.
Novemb. 9.

And sends it
to the Gover-
nours of Pro-
vinces.

Decem. 18.
A copie of the
Edict.

brought by Count Egmont out of Spain; but receiving new letters from his Majesty at Validolid; wherein he seemed to command the quite contrary to what he wrote by the Count; the Governesse, amazed, was at a stand: and Count Egmont exceedingly troubled in his mind, complained, *That his au-
thority & esteem would be lost among his enemies by that change of the Kings Coun-
sell; as if he had delivered one thing, and the King enjoyed another; that it
seemed the Kings Counsellours were in a way, if they held on, to force the Low-
countreys into the receiving any form of Government, rather then the present,
though it were to put themselves in the power of the Germans, the French, or of
the Devil himself. For his own part; he was resolved; if the King would not
make good his determinations; to retire to his own house: and leaving his Go-
vernment of Flanders, to rest to the world by his absence; that Egmont had
no hand in the troubles of his Countrey.* When the Governesse had writ this to
the King as she had it, from the mouth of Count Egmont: three moneths
after, she received an answer from his Majesty dated at Segovia, in these
words. *That it was a false allegation of those men, who affirmed he had com-
manded any other thing in his dispatch of Count Egmont, then in his late letters
from Validolid, therefore to expresse himself more fully. In the first place, he
would have the Anabaptists and other Hereticks put to death, of what families
soever they were descended, and their punishment, neither remitted, nor them-
selves reprieved. Since experience had sufficiently demonstrated that a violent and
volatile disease, was but ill cured by indulgence or delay; Then, That he com-
manded the Inquisitors of faith (a judicature neither new, nor unnecessary for the
Low-countreys) to be every where with reverence retained, and assisted with all
the power of the Duchesse her self, and the Governours of the respective Provin-
ces. Lastly, because the Council of Trent was now established in the Low-count-
reys, it was their duty to obey the Decrees of the said Council, and likewise the
Imperiall and Royall Edicts. Moreover, he desired the Governesse that in the
execution thereof, she would use her greatest care and industry: forasmuch as no
one living could do any thing more acceptable to himself, or more advantageous
to the Provinces. This was the summe of those letters, which the Prince of
Orange charged with all the calamities that befell the Netherlands. And
though the Governesse thought it a work of danger, to undertake so many
things at once, and therefore wrote many letters to beseech the King to ex-
cuse her; yet she attempted it, and by her Proclamation, commanded all
the King had enjoyed her; and advised the subordinate Governours, in
these words, as appears by her Edict speedily sent to Ernest Count Mans-
feldt, Governour of Luxemburg, the rest being onely transcripts of the same.
*Forasmuch as nothing is dearer to the King, then the peace of these Provinces;
and that his Majesty desires to prevent the great evils wherewith we see many
nations afflicted that change their Religion. Therefore it is his Royall pleasure,
that the Edicts of his father Charles the fifth, and his own, with the Decrees of
the Council of Trent, as likewise of Provinciall Synods, be kept intirely. That
all Favour and Assistance be given to the holy Inquisitors, and the Cogni-
zance of Heresies left to them, unto whom it appertains both by divine and hu-
mane Laws. This is the Kings command, who respecteth onely the Worship of
God, and the good of his people; and hereof I give you notice, that you may, with-
out exception, imbrace it your self, publish it to the Magistrates of your Province,
and take speciall care, that no man, upon any pretence whatsoever, slight its due
observation, you terrifying the contumacious with those punishments specified in
our letters annexed to the Edict. And that you do this with more facility; you
shall chuse some one out of the Senate, to visit and superintend your Province,
whether**

whether the Edict be punctually and justly observed by the Magistrates and the People: you your self, together with the Magistrate you make choice of, every quarter of a year, giving us an exact account of the premises. And it shall be our part to endeavour that your pains may receive due recompence and advancement. In short, partly the care of these Edicts, partly of the late Marriage ended this year; which was the last of peace and happinesse that ever the Netherlands enjoyed.

The End of the fourth Book.





The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The fifth Book.

1565.

What the Governours of Provinces conceived of the Edict proposed.

January 9.

Brabant first refuses to obey the Edict.

Bolduc.

Some condescension made, but it gives no satisfaction.

NOW comes in a year, memorable for the open conspiracy of the Gentry, seconded by the mutiny of the people, and the turbulent counsels of the Lords, the furious incursion of Hereticks, Sacriledge; with ruine of Religion, and no lesse ignominy to the Authours. The Edict formed by the *Governess*, was sent and published in the Kings name, by the severall Governours of Provinces, but some of them first complained to her Excellence, protesting they were not able to govern the people with that severity enjoyned by the Edict. Nay, divers plainly told her, they would not be guiltie of burning five or six thousand men in their Provinces; whereof the *Governess* advertised the King, warning him of the storm which she foresaw. The first signe and terrour of the Tempest lightened out of *Brabant*. For when the Chancellour of that Province had propounded the Kings Edict to the *Brabanters* (who have no other Governour but his Majesties Lieutenant over all the Low-countreys) immediately the chief Cities of the *Netherlands*, that is, *Louvain*, *Bruxels*, *Antwerp*, and the *Burgh*, assembling the Senate, and petitioning the Chancellour, very violently and angerly, desired that their Priviledges might not be violated, to which in regard the Judicature of the Inquisitours, and the Emperours Decrees were repugnant, they ought not to have been so easily proposed by the Chancellour, nor could they possibly admit them. The *Governess* having notice of the Petition, commanded it to be brought and read at the Councel Table. And though some held it a bold request, yet it was her pleasure, the Annals and Records of *Brabant* should be searched, especially the Commentaries of *Francis Hulst* a *Brabarter*, who first executed the Office of Inquisitour in that Province. Upon sight whereof, answer was made. That because from the year 1550, this kind of Inquisition was not used in *Brabant*, and that the King had declared his resolution, to innovate nothing, therefore it pleased his Majestie there should be no change within their Government; but onely that the Decrees of *Charles* the fifth should be in force, till it was otherwise ordered by the King. Which moderate Answer neither satisfied the *Brabanters*, that promised

misd themselves all their desires: and yet encouraged those of *Flanders*, to present such another Petition to the Governes. But her Excellence was by a speciall Messenger, ingaged in busines of higher concernment. For she received fearfull intelligence from a man, till then unknown, but by the endeavours of *Christopher Assonvill*, a worthy Senatour, privately admitted to her presence; That many noble persons of *Brabant* had entred into an Association, in case the King should by force impose the Inquisitours upon their Province, that they would by force defend themselves: which confidence was built upon a privy confederation betwixt them and certain forreiners, principally *Gaspar Colligny* Admirall of *France*. Some such thing the Prince of *Orange* a little while after wrote from *Lejden* to the Governes. And the same was discovered to her by the Counts of *Egmont* and *Megen*, who said, The Conspiratours had privately issued out Commissions to Captains and Colonels; and that if need required, they had in a readines above twentie thousand men: But what manner of Conspiracie this was, and the Original of it, I shall now demonstrate out of the Letters, which are in my custody, written by some that were purposely appointed to examine the matter of fact. For when the Governes, the year after this, by the Kings command sent certain persons, hastily to inquire in the respective Provinces, who they were that had raised or fomented this years tumults: they seized upon the Letters, Books, and Notes of many men, out of which compiling a Treatise, they informed his Majesty and the Governes, of the beginning and progress of this designe. And in discharge of what I have undertaken, partly from thence, partly from other Records, I borrowed this which in short I shall deliver to you.

Long before the bloudshed of this year 1566, some of the Nobilitie of the Low-countreys, in particular some young Lords (none of which I can readily name, but onely *Lewis* of *Nassau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*) sojourning for a long time at *Geneva*, and such like Towns, were easily intrapped by the Hereticks. For they had onely been so far instructed in Religion, as might serve to keep them Catholicks at home; but not abroad to teach them, if they should be circumvented, how to distinguish truth from falsehood; and truly no man ought to come near infected persons, without a Preservative about him. These young Noblemen therefore having been new-catechized by Hereticks, when they returned to their Countrey, often spake in commendation of forrein Religions, and libertie of conscience: and found the people intente and inquisitive after new Doctrines. Nor did many of the Merchants with a greater happines, then this Liberty: for themselves were inveigled with the like strange opinions, and consequently would have no one for Religion to be barred free Traffick. These joyning their Counsels, plotted, for which they had divers examples, by degrees to shake from the shoulders of their Countrey, the yoke of the Catholick Faith, that would not suffer any other doctrine to predominate within their Cities. This designe, I collect, was laid in the year 1559, when King *Philip*, resolving to return to *Spain*, commanded that his Fathers and his own Edicts (which during the Warrs could not) should now be strictly observed. Which happening in that conjunction of time, when the Prince of *Orange* advised the Low-countrey men, to petition for disbanding the *Spanish* souldiers, left by their means the *Spanish Inquisition* should forcibly have been imposed upon them (as he himself hath left recorded in his Apology) I do not think it improbable, that the Prince of *Orange* might be privie to matters then in agitation: Yet I believe not, that upon the first conference

1565.

Intelligente of many persons of quality in Brabant, that were to enter into a League against the Edict.

March 29.

1550.

The Originall of the Low-countrey mens conspiracy, some Noblemens sons bred up Hereticks abroad.

which coming home wish for liberty of Conscience.

The Merchants are of the same mind.

They consult together.

When they first set afoot their Designe.

Falling just upon the point of time, whilst the Prince of *Orange* endeavoured to expell the *Spanish*.

1581.

3566.

For a long while
they are quiet.
Upon occasion
of the Council
of Trent, they
show themselves.

1564.

And have re-
course to the
Princes of Ger-
many,

About the be-
ginning of 1565.

After Promul-
gation of the
Edict they grow
tumultuous,
Printing Libels,

April 3.
And Books a-
gainst the Inqui-
sition, to stir up
the people.

They are trou-
bled with fears
and jealousies.

Brunswick.

K. Philip.

They threaten-
ly inveigh a-
gainst the Kings
Edict.

which matures
Rebellion.
The Governes
to the King.

March 25
An Inuagament
signed.

of the Nobility and Merchants, any thing was certainly pitched upon, or the form of a Confederation conceived in writing. Nor is it likely, that a Conspiracy of many persons, should for six years lie undiscovered. But then the seeds of Rebellion were onely sown, which afterwards in the year 1564, when Cardinal *Granvelle* went into *Burgundy*, sprung up by occasion of the Council of *Trent*, as I am well assured out of the said Notes and Letters. Moreover, in that year 64, those Gentlemen and Merchants which met about it, knowing that so great a weight could not be supported without arms, determined to try the Hereticall Princes of *Germany*, either to get their assistance, or at least to have some colour for using of their names to aw the Governes and her Party. For this cause they sent Agents into *Germany*, which had secret conference with the Prince Electour *Palatine*, and brought all their transactions to *Egidius Clerus*, a Lawyer of *Tournay* imployed by *Lewis* of *Nassau*, and lying at *Ausburg* onely for this purpose, as appears by many Letters and Pamphlets of his writing. Whence it may be conjectured, that Prince *Lewis* himself was at the same time in *Germany*, soliciting the same business. Which though it was concealed with wonderfull silence, till the end of the year 65, yet in the beginning of 66, when the Edicts concerning the holy Inquisitours, with the Decrees of *Charles* the fifth, and of the Council of *Trent* were Proclaimed, which were by many accounted great grievances, then the Conspiratours, pretending to maintain the Liberty of the Subject, with incredible dexterity scattered Libels over all the Provinces (to the number of five thousand, as the Governes afterwards wrote to the King) jeering, cursing, and railing at the *Spanish* Inquisition, and advising the people; Not to enslave themselves to Tyranny, which all Nations, and as it were the generall consent of Mankind resists. That the Inquisition was not introduced at Rome without a tumult; what then should be done in the Low-countrieys, armed with so many Priviledges against any Innovation whatsoever. Fears and Jealousies were increased by preparation for a war, made in *Spain* by the King: wherein the Duke of *Brunswick*, Pay-master-generall for his Majestie in the Low-countrieys, was very active. The design was commonly reported to intend the establishment of this new Judicature in the Low-countrieys. Though the Duke (as afterward it was evident) levied men onely to defend his own towns amidst the tumults then threatening the Low-countrieys; the King, to supply *Malta*, and to oppose the *Turk* in other places. Yet when the Governes went about to perswade the multitude, they found it Labour in vain; the Hereticks disputing against her, and affirming That it was the ordinary trick of State, to pretend war for one place, and fall upon another. So that many men openly professed, they would sell their houses and land, and seek their Countrieys lost Libertie in forrein Nations. At publick meetings, in the Market place, and upon the Exchange, divers men were heard boldly to say, that against the crueltie of the Kings Edict, they onely wanted a Generall, which if once they should have, they would make the King leave meddling with the Priviledges of the Low-countrieys. The multitude thus storming, the Lords neutrall or wavering, and the Hereticks, that were in danger of the Edict, stirring them up to mutinie, the Conspiracie was ripened.

Nine Lords, that were not Officers of State, at *Breda*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Orange*, subscribed and propounded unto the rest a confederation penned by *Philip Marnixius* Lord of Saint *Aldegund*, long since corrupted and now a corrupting Calvinist. In the Preamble, they inveighed against the Inquisition, which being contrary to all Laws divine and hu-
mane,

maner, farre exceeded the cruelty of all former Tyrants. The Lords declared their sense of this indignity, the care of Religion appertaining to them, as Counsellours born, and protested they entered into a league, to prevent the wicked practices of such as by these sentences of banishment and death, aimed at the fortunes of the greatest persons: they had therefore taken an holy oath, not to suffer the Inquisition to be imposed upon the Low-countreys: and prayed, that both God and Men might forsake them, if they ever forsook their Covenant, or failed to assist their Brethren suffering for the Cause. Lastly, that they called the Lord to witnesse, by this agreement they intended nothing but the Glory of God, the Kings honour, and their Countreys Peace. This is the summe of their League, which either for the interchange or multiplicite of their promises was called the Covenant, and was afterwards printed, that it might be every where published, in divers languages: with this Title (according to the English copy) *A transcript of the Covenant signed by the Lords and Gentlemen of the Low-countreys, by reason of an attempt to impose upon them the Spanish Inquisition. Their Emisseries were forthwith dispatched to the severall Provinces, to acquaint them with what was resolved, and to court the people, which took exceedingly. For at their Assemblies, many were so violent, as when they but heard the Spanish Inquisition named, not knowing any more of the matter, they set to their names. The first that subscribed were Nicholas Hame, Herald to the Knights of the Golden-fleece, commonly called Tofand or, a principall instrument in the Conspiracy, Baronijs Glibertius Lesdal servant to Count Egmont, John Marnixius Lord of Tholose, Ghisell, Meinser, and Olhain, as Anderlech steward to Count Megen wrote to the Governesse. The number and quality of the rest cannot easily be described: they that took Catalogues of their names, varying them, as they supposed it would conduce to the augmentation of the same, or extenuation of the fact. Indeed Hame bragged to Anderlech, whom he indeavoured to bring into the faction, that he had a roll of above two thousand noble persons names subscribed: But Anderlech abhorring the treason, not onely refused to subscribe, but thought it the duty of a good Subject, to discover their proceedings to the Governesse. And though he found her not ignorant of many of their names, and curious to know them all: yet he opened some things to her, wherewith as his familiar friends they had privately acquainted him. That, among others, the Duke of Cleve had signed the Covenant, with the Princes of Saxony, Count Snaerxemberge, Gasper Colligny, and many others. Besides some Abbots of the Low-countreys, and certain Lords of the Order of the fleece. I cannot tell if this were given out to countenance the faction, but I am sure the Rumour of the Duke of Cleve's Revolt soon vanished, as that of the Companions of the Order increased; and Count Megen that was one of the Colledge, told the Governesse, that two of his Colleagues (whose names he knew not) with divers other Noblemen were joyned with the Conspiratours. But one of them might be well suspected; and the Prince of Orange, exprest himself very sensible of mens opinions, for he complained in Senate, that he was commonly reputed one of the number of the Covenanters; the other must be either Count Horn Admirall of Flanders, or Anthony Lalin Count Hochstrat, as appeared by their conversation, out of which men ordinarily draw conjectures. Nor doubt I but many others were reputed Abettors of the faction, (as, besides the above named, it was thought Elisabeth Queen of England might be one) thought upon no other argument, but onely their severall interests in the troubles of the Low-countreys. For every one will allow of *Cassims Maxime; That we**

The summe of
the Engagements.

which they called,
the Covenant.

Its Title or In-
scription.

Many take it.

These first.

March 24.

They bragge
of more.

Some do it se-
cretly or are but
supposed to in-
gage.

Of which num-
ber was the
Prince of O-
range.
Count Horn.
Count Hoch-
strat.

The Queen of
England.

Onely 400.
Gentlemen de-
clare.

which had few
Protectors.

All these Con-
spirators had
not one aim.

March 15.
The Governesse
diligence to
frustrate their
designs.

She hath intel-
ligence of their
resolution to
come to Bru-
xels which
frightes her ve-
ry much.

She summons a
great Council.

may justly suspect these for Authors, that are advantaged by the design. But, it were superfluous to inquire after dubious or concealed persons, when enow declare themselves, no fewer then four hundred of great quality, giving in their names: whereof almost one hundred were Hereticks, as Count *Megen* informed the Governesse: besides Merchants, and others of the vulgar sort, not to be numbered. The chief of the Conspirators were, *Henry Count Brederod*, *Lewis of Nassau*, Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, *Florence Pallantius Count of Culemborg*, a town in *Holland*, he himself being a *Burgundian*, and *William de Bergen Count of Bergen in Gelderland*, all of that youth and courage as animated them to high attempts; *Brederod* especially, who took place of them all: either for his antient Nobility, being descended from the old Earls of *Holland*: or for the sharpnesse of his wit, which he used with great freedome against such as were in authority; and it was therefore applauded by the people, and very usefull for the Mutincers. But the nobler and baser sort of the Party were not all of the same mind, nor had the same ends, as it is usuall in actions of this nature, For some would rest quiet if the Pontifician Inquisitors were outed, and the penalties of the Edicts qualified. Others had yet a further design, for the Liberty of Religion. Many cared neither for Religion nor the Edicts, but onely desired spoil and pillage. Lastly, there were some that had yet an higher reach, and aimed, by these troubles, to shake off their old Prince, and set up a new Government. But all of them pretended and petitioned for the taking away of the Inquisition, and a gentler execution of the Emperours Edicts against the Hereticks. And this Petition was presented in all their names to the Governesse, who by her letters certified his Majestie, as well of the publick as private carriage of the conspiracy. Moreover, as she was ignorant of nothing that passed among them (for in their Cities and private houses her Spies, which are the ears and eyes of Princes, knew all they did, and gave her intelligence) so, making no shew of fear, she thought it best to strengthen her self, in case they should break out into Rebellion. She therefore minded the people of their duty by her Edict, the Magistrates by her letters, and she had her private Confidants that viewed the towns and their Fortifications. She caused it to be reported that the King would shortly come in person. She sent Expresses post to the *Spanish* Embassadours residing with the Emperour, the King of *France*, and Queen of *England*, to let them know what a conspiracy was set a foot in the Low-countreys, whereunto, as it was said the *Germans*, *English*, and *French* were the Incendiaries. Shortly, she omitted nothing, that might either expresse her knowledge of what was then plotted, or her courage to oppose it. At this time she had intelligence given her by Count *Megen*, That about the beginning of April, some five hundred Gentlemen intended to come to *Bruxels*, and present her a Petition against the Inquisition, and the Emperours Edicts. Others told her (as commonly true reports are mixed with falsities) that the conspirators were resolved, unlesse she gave them audience, to bring their forces into the Town, and carry away the Governesse to *Vilvorde*, there to detain her prisoner, till she had granted their desires. Which though at first she laughed at, yet in the end (as it may be gathered by her letters) she doubted, whether it would not be safest for her to leave the Town, and retire to some place of strength. In the mean time, she summoned a fuller Senate then ordinary, to meet upon the twenty seventh of March: not so much to hear their advices, as to sound their affections; and lest they might turn her enemies, whom she did not acknowledge to be her friends. Then

writing

writing new letters into *Spain*, she represented to his Majestie the present condition of the Low-countreys, complaining, that she had often foretold it, but never could be heard.

The Governours of Provinces, the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, and the Lords of the privy Councell, met all upon the day appointed, and sate in Senate next day; where by the Senatour *Filibert Bruxellius* divers letters were read-containing, whether true or false, the conspiracie of the Lords, and the Hereticks designs. The Governesse making a short speech, That she had called that noble Senate, to prevent by their counsels and indeavours the impendent evils, in the first place, asked their advice, whether it were safe to admit those that were shortly to come to *Bruxels* led By *Henry Brederod*. Then, what answer she should make to their demands, which Fame had then divulged. Lastly, what course should be taken to dissolve that confederation, and how the new motions of those turbulent men might speedily be composed. The Lords came thither severally affected, many hated the Inquisition, others had secret projects, and few but preferred their private interest before the publick. *Philip Crai* Duke of *Areschot* and *Charles Count Barlamont* were of opinion, that the Conspiratours should not be suffered to enter the citie so many at once, For what need of five hundred men to deliver one Petition? that they could not think such pomp fit for suppliants: that they might send, out of their number, some one of quality, to present their desires with lesse ostentation and envie. Lastly, that either the Ports should be shut, which they rather inclined to; or that, in the next place, there should be many eyes upon their behaviour, and such as carried themselves contumaciously to be forthwith punished. Contrarily the Prince of *Orange* (that hated those Lords as *Cardinallists*, and especially *Areschot*, for the old contest of the Houses of *Croi* and *Nassau* about Precedency) affirmed those fears to be vain, that were conceived against persons not unknown to him, many of them being allyed to him in friendship, some in blood; that it would be a great indignity, if that were not permitted to Noblemen which is lawfull for the poorest peasant, to petition. To the same effect, that no danger could be in their coming, spake Count *Egmont*: Especially since, if they were to be resisted forcibly, or by the sword, he did not see how the Governesse was prepared to encounter men already armed, and likely, by such a repulse to be exasperated: That it was not safe to affront those we have not power to destroy. But though Count *Mansfeldt* liked not the Popes Inquisitioners in the Low-countreys, yet he said, it was ill done of those that by such mutiny and tumult behaved themselves more proudly then became petitioners; and added, that he had schooled his Sonne *Charles*, who he heard was one of the Conspiratours. And indeed I have a letter of his, wherein with great fury he disclaims him for his sonne, unlesse he presently renounce that league, and bids him otherwise never hope to recover his fathers favour. But the youth being of a fiery nature, slighted those admonitions and threatenings, belike he thought his Father was not in earnest, and therefore would not leave his party for the present. The Counts of *Arenberg*, and *Megen*, had the same sense of the conspiracy and Covenant, as if by such ostentation of their forces, they came to compell, not to intreat their Prince: and concluded, That a Treaty of this kind should be rejected, or, to use milder terms, put off. Nor could such a sudden confederacy last long, but in a little time must necessarily fall asunder, for no Mutineers were ever constant to their Principles, or to one another. The rest of the Senatours spake doubtfully and moderately of the Covenanters, violently and plainly against the Inquisition. The

April 3.

The Governesse asks the Senatours advice whether the Covenanters were to be admitted.

Duke Areschot and Count Barlamont answer negatively.

The Prince of Orange is for their admission.

Count Egmont consents with him.

Count Mansfeldt is against their coming.

March 26.

So are the Counts Arenberg and Megen.

How the rest voted.

same

Many of them
complain of the
King.
The Prince of
Orange parti-
cularly.

In these words.

For the money
was lost, as we
have told you.

Her Excellence
endeavours to
give him satis-
faction.

At first in vain.

But at length he
and all seem
better contented
and the Councell
proceeding re-
solves to admit
the Covenanters

At the Senates
next meeting,

The Governes
speaks to them
in this manner,
April 3.

same arguments, though in a more obscure and remiss manner, were made against the Emperour's Edicts. By degrees, they fell to complaints against the King, and pressed them with more confidence, because they knew he had then more use of their services. The Prince of Orange said, he could add to those old Grievances (but perhaps he feigned new ones, that he might have the more colour to desert the Kings interest, and to pursue his own) because he was lately informed, some enemies to the House of Nassau, had moved his Majesty to take off his head, and confiscate his estate: and that the King only expected an opportunity to sign the warrant. *Was this the reward of service done in the late warres by the Low-countrey Lords, for defence of his Authority in the Netherlands? though he had now sufficient experience, that King Philip looked not upon the Low-countreys with the eyes of his Father Charles the fifth. That the King had sent forty thousand Ducats to the Queen of Scots to pay her souldiers, whilst the Low-countreys were greatly distressed for money, which his Majesty never thought of. That he taxed not the King for the unseasonableness of that assistance, nor the unfortunate success it had, but he feared the English, whose throats were to be cut (if report were true) for that sum of money, would revenge it upon the Low-countrymen. Especially since the money was come into the Q. of Englands hands, driven upon that Island by a tempest.* The Governes to break off his speech, intreated him to forbear his private expostulations whilst the publick business was in agitation: & that he would not wrong his discretion so far, as to have such thoughts of the King, who was the mercifullest of all Princes. That she knew for certain, what was reported of that money, was the mere invention of some seditious persons, intending, by such lies, to bring an odium upon his Majesty, as well with his subjects of the Low-countreys, as with forrein Princes. For all this, the Prince of Orange would not make an end, though he was at other times a rare dissembler, and had power over his passions. But it may be, he thought it concerned him to speak on, lest it should be imagined he begun without a cause. As if it were an argument of just anger, not to be friends upon the sudden. Following his example, neither Count Horn, nor any of the rest were silent, but every one made his complaint. Nevertheless, qualifying them with gentle and gracious language, and putting them in hope of his Majesties royall favour, the Governes called them into the Senate; and by the major-vote it was resolved, that the Covenanters should be admitted, but without arms, and upon promise of their good behaviour. And the Governours of Provinces (through which it was supposed they would pass to Brussels) were commanded by their Letters, to acquaint the people with this resolution of the Senate: Courts of guard were likewise appointed through the Citie, Centrees to keep the gates, and a Garrison put into the Tower, lest there might be a tumult among the distracted people. It being now almost night, the Senate was adiourned till the next morning. At which time, the Lords and Senators meeting in the House, the Governes fearing they would fall upon private differences, and obstruct the business of the day, prevented them with a speech, which I give you, as she wrote it to the King. *If the approaching Evils could be cured with quarrelling and complaining, I should not have desired you to take the pains of coming again this day to Council, since we had complaints enough yesterday: scarce any thing being spoke in publick by the most of you, but what related to your private discontents. But admit they were just, yet they loose part of that Justice if they be importune, at least they avert the minds of the Councell, and provoking their spirits, hinder their discovery of the Truth. Brederod intends to petition Vs, in the name of his Confederates, for abolishing the Inquisition*

on, and mitigating the Penalties inflicted by Edict for the cause of Religion. I now desire Advice from you, (of whose fidelity and discretion I have had so good experience) what Answer I should return them. But before you declare your selves, I think it will be neither troublesome to you, nor improper for the business in debate, to prepare you with a few words. I hear there are many that presume openly to cavil at the Edicts of the Emperour my Father (for to the Inquisition I will speak anon) as if it were a barbarous tyrannie, not to be endured by Subjects. Truly whosoever says it, not onely injures the memory of that wise Prince, and most affectionate to his Countrey, but wrongs your Order of the Fleece, this Senate-house, and the States Generall of the Low-countreys: for by all your approbations and consents, the Emperour passed these Laws, as no doubt but some of you remember, and all may read in the Edict published the year 1531; upon which, all the rest of his Decrees are grounded. Why then do they now accuse the severity of the Emperour? Why do they condemn those Acts which they did once approve: and which they know were established by the suffrages of all? What? because the disease is more violent, must the remedie therefore be neglected, and that which reason perswades? When the Gangrene of Heresie daily creeps upon new parts of the Common-wealth, should we remissely use fire and incision? Nor was the Ecclesiasticall power of the Inquisition against Hereticks, delegated for any other cause, but that the impudence of wicked men might be abated by fear, or extinguished by punishment. I know there is a generall hatred against this Court of Justice, which for the present my meaning is not to contradict or confute; yet you know, this Tribunall is no innovation in the Low-countreys: It is now sixteen years since my Father settled it in these Provinces. But I pray, what severitie is in this Censure of the Inquisitioners, that is not in my Fathers Edicts? Nay, if you will rightly consider it, they were much more severe; so that his Majestie in his Letters, which three years since I read to many of you, justly admires how the Low-countrey men could be so terrified with the Spanish Inquisition; they being for the same causes of Religion, liable to far more and greater penalties, comprehended in the Edicts of Charles the fifth. Which Edicts, if they were wisely drawn up and passed, by the Consent of the Estates; I see no reason why men should so bitterly and violently inveigh against the Inquisition, that relates to the same thing in a more gentle manner. Nor have I spoken this to controll the freedome of Your votes, they had and shall ever have their full libertie for me: Be you carefull that neither discontent nor faction may deprive you of that Libertie. So proceeding to suffrages, many voted that nothing in the Emperours Edicts should be altered. Lawes before they passe should be debated: after they are passed, obeyed. Nor can a State be more indangered, then by the altering of their Laws: especially since it concerned them in point of honour at this meeting, to make no concession to the Hereticks, who, if they prevailed in their first suit, would never make an end of petitioning. Divers others argued against it, very passionately shewing, That it plainly appeared those Imperiall Edicts neither provided sufficiently for Religion, which every day was lesse observed, nor for the security of the State, which they saw was disturbed merely upon that occasion. And yet the end and intention of Laws is, to preserve Religion and Peace, but neither was effected by these Edicts. Why therefore should it be thought unlawfull, that some penalties should be remitted, some changed? The Edicts by that means rendered more moderate, and the Subjects more obedient to them. Truly it was more dishonour to a Prince to keep Laws in force, which his Subjects will not obey; then to apply them unto their natures, and so keep his people in obedience. But for the Inquisition, it was apparent, that none of any condition whatsoever, would receive it: insomuch that the meanest tradesman of Antwerp, can shew either a Musket or a Pike, which he threatens to use upon them, that shall

1566.

Of the Edicts.

Of the Inquisition.

Which she proves to be neither new, nor more severe then former Edicts.

Then leaves them to the freedome of their Votes.

Some approve the Edict, and would not have the Laws altered.

The major part dislike it, and would have a temporary alteration.

Rayling at pleasure against the Inquisition, as basefull to all sorts.

Injuries to the
Bishops.

And opposed by
the Covenan-
ters.

And they pre-
vail.

The Resolution
of the Councell
upon both the
points.

To put down the
Inquisition.

So the Cove-
nanters are to
be answered.

Pius V.
And to qualifie
the Emperours
Edicts.

Why the Gover-
ness rather re-
ceives then ap-
proves this
Decree.

endeavour to bring in the Inquisition. Nay, it was no little injury to the Bishops to have the cause of Religion, which by Law appertains to their Jurisdiction, transferred to this late Judicature of Inquisitors. But it is to no purpose any more to dispute this point, when the Covenanters are at the gates, before whose Requests be denied, it must be considered, in case the Hereticks joyning with them, should offer to storm the Town, whether we have sufficient forces to resist the people and their Confederates.

Lastly, the opinion, number, and faction of these men carried it: For though there wanted not some that easily refuted all that was pretended in behalf of the Bishops; yet hardly any one of the Senate thought this kind of Judicature seasonable for the time: therefore after many heats, the business was thus composed. Forasmuch as the Emperours and the Kings designe reached no farther in these Edicts and Questions of Faith, but onely to preserve Religion in her ancient purity; those remedies were onely so far to be made use of, as might conduce to its preservation. Besides, there was a twofold Inquisition, the one annexed to the function of Bishops, the other granted by Commission from his Holiness to certain Judges Delegates. Now the odium onely fell upon the Popes Inquisitors; which though brought into the Low-countrys by Charles the fifth, yet he was enforced thereto, by reason of the small number, and great negligence of the Bishops. This being no longer a reason, and men so much abhorring the name of this forrein Inquisition; so violent and impolitick a Remedy ought not to obtrude upon refractory people. Therefore without prejudice to Religion, some part of the Covenanters petition might be granted. But lest they should seem to be over-awed by the Hereticks, or to passe any thing in favour of them, this answer was to be returned: *That they had no cause to trouble themselves about the Inquisition, which was out of date; the Inquisitors themselves forbearing to exercise their authority, having not renewed their Commission from the new Pope, which they use to do, for the better confirmation of their power. Touching the penalties which by the Imperiall Edicts were to be inflicted upon Hereticks, they should not be repealed; but whereas most of them were capitall, they should be hereafter qualified, for the Bishops, the greatest Divines and Lawyers, and the Inquisitors themselves had so advised: which Charles the fifth would have consented to, if he were now living, who himself upon the like difficulties, in the year 1550, at the request of his Sister Mary Queen of Hungary, thought it not unnecessary nor unbecoming his Imperiall Majesty, to rectifie and moderate the Laws he had formerly decreed. Thus, for the present the Conspirators being graciously received, in a little while their meetings would be dissolved (a work of great consequence) and in the interim, time might be gained to agitate the publick business without Tumults, and therefore with more Authority.* The Governess, though she wished better, yet approved the Counsel given, because she knew that in this juncture of time, she must either grant something to the Conspirators, or else forcibly resist them. But this she durst not attempt, being unprovided of a Generall, for she trusted not the Prince of Orange: and putting the question to Count Egmont, he denied to draw his sword against any man for the Inquisition, or the Edicts. For the rest of the Nobility, they either had not much more loyalty, or had far less abilities. Her Excellence therefore told them, she would follow their advice, and so answer Bredero and his Companions, that she might at once both satisfy them, and withall reserve the Judgement entire to the King, without knowledge of whose pleasure, nothing could be done in a matter of so great importance.

Every

Every one of these particulars she wrote to his Maiestie by speedy messengers, beseeching him presently to resolve her what she was to pitch upon. The same day about evening, the Covenanters came into *Bruxels*. They were full two hundred horse, apparrelled like forreiners, every one a case of pistols at his saddle-bow. *Brederod* their Generall, rode in the head of them, next him *Lewis of Nassau*, for the Counts of *Cuilemburg* and *Bergen* arrived not till three dayes after. *Francis Verdugo*, a Gentleman that followed Count *Mansfeld*, told the Governels, that *Brederod* bragged at his entrance into the City, in these words: *Some thought I durst not come to Bruxels, behold I am come to see the Town, and will shortly make another visit, but upon a new occasion.* Then *Brederod* and *Grave Lewis* went to his Brother the Prince of *Oranges* house, where the Counts of *Mansfeld* and *Horn* were come to wait upon them. That night, no body being present but Count *Mansfeld*, Count *Horn* used many arguments to perswade the Prince of *Orange* to send back his Order of the Fleece into *Spain*, and thereupon *Verdugo* was commanded to bring the Statute-book of the Order, that they might see in what words they had obliged their faith to the King, as supreme Master of their Society. But Count *Mansfeld* interposing, nothing was determined. The same was moved another time, as *Anderlecht* informed the Governels. The next day *Brederod*, staying for the Counts of *Cuilemburg* and *Bergen*, in *Cuilemburg*-House at *Bruxels* assembled his Confederates, to encourage them in the enterprize they had undertaken. First, he shewed them a Letter, writ in *Spanish*, lately sent him, as he said, out of *Spain*: unless the man, who wanted no subtiltie, had peradventure counterfeited it, as he suspects that wrote all these passages in cypher, to the Governels. In which letter it was certified, that one *Moro*, a man known in the Low-countreys, was with a soft fire burned alive in *Spain*, which infinitely exasperated and enflamed the minds of his Associates against the cruelty of such sentences. Then taking his hint to come to the matter, as if he were to make a generall muster of his Army, he produced the Roll, signed by all the Conspiratours. Which he and *Lewis of Nassau* reading unto the people, they answered to their severall names, professing constancy to their resolutions: For those that were absent (being to the number of two hundred) they that were present being almost as many, engaged themselves. Then he required them, in confirmation of the Covenant, every one to joyn his heart, and set to his hand again. Which was accordingly done, and they all now the second time took the Covenant, their Oath being this in substance; *That if any of the Covenanters should be imprisoned either for Religion, or for the Covenant, immediately the rest, all business laid aside, should repair to both or one of those that were to tender the Covenant in the severall Provinces, and that all of them, if need were, should presently take up arms to assist their brethren.* So he dismissed them full of courage and alacrity, resolved next morning to attend the Governels; Which day being the fifth of *April*, the Conspiratours to the number of about two hundred, met again at *Cuilemburg*-House, and from thence took their way directly to Court, marching through the high Street, the whole City beholding the spectacle with amazement, and many not well knowing by what name to call that new kind of Embassie. For they looked not like Petitioners, that came to make demands in so confident and imperious a way; especially being led on by *Brederod* and *Nassau*, that did not use to supplicate: nor did they seem to be a Faction, or to pretend force, coming with such appearance of simplicity, that rather shewed like Fryars going in Procession. They rode two a breast, most of them marched in years: *Brederod* and *Nassau* brought

April 3.

The Covenanters enter Bruxels,

Led by Henry Brederod.

Publicly vanishing.

They alight at the Prince of Orange's, where with other Lords, they fall upon turbulent Proposals.

Afterward Brederod assembles the Covenanters at Cuilemburg-house.

An additionall Oath taken.

The form of the Oath.

From thence they march to the Court.

1566.

Brederod in
the name of
them all, speaks
thus to the Go-
verness.

And presents her
a Petition con-
sisting of three
Heads.
Subjoyning these
Complaints out
of his Papers.

To part she an-
swers.

Part she takes
no notice of.

Put to the que-
rion, whether
the Covenanters
should be requi-
red to set their
names to the
Petition present-
ed to the Go-
verness.

up the Rere. The Town took notice that one of the Generalls was lame, which many looked upon as an evil Omen, and not without much laughter. Entering the Court, they found the Governess, (the Senate then newly risen) speaking with some of the Lords; Brederod coming up to the chair of State, after he had done his duty with the Ceremonies due to the Governess, spake in this manner: *These Gentlemen of the Low-countries, now standing in your Highness presence, and others of the same quality that will shortly follow in great numbers, are come with me to let Your Highness know by their multitude, how earnest they are in their demands, expressed in this humble Petition: and whilst you read it, I beseech your Excellence to believe, that these honest men propound nothing to themselves, but obedience and honour to the King, and safetie to their Countrey.* When he had spoken this, he presented the Petition, and said that he had something else to offer to her Highness in the names of his Confederates, but lest he should mistake their sense, if he might presume so far, he desired leave to read it out of his own Papers. The Governess was pleased he should read his Notes, the summe whereof was, *That the Gentlemen were much aggrieved, because her Excellence had writ to the Provinces of their League, as if it were made by a concurrence and association with the French and Germans, pretending indeed the safetie of their Countrey, but intending onely spoil and plunder. Which information given unto the Governess, as it was an insufferable injurie to the Low-countrey Gentlemen, so they humbly and earnestly beseeched her Excellence to declare the Informers names, & compell them to bring in their impeachment publickly, in a Legall way. That if their Confederates be found guilty, they may be sentenced; or if they be cleared and acquitted of the Crime, those informers, by the Law of Retaliation, may have the punishment of Traitors.* The Governess suppressing the trouble and indignation of her mind, as well as she could, with a chearfull look received the Petition, wherein it was prayed, that the Inquisition might be abolished, the old Edicts repealed, and new ones made by the Estates of the Low-countries. Her answer was, *She would consider of their Petition, and since it related onely to the Kings Honour and their Countreys safety, they need not doubt but she would give them satisfaction. But whereas they complained of her Letters written to the Provinces, they had no reason for it: she did but what her place required (having received intelligence from many hands, of a certain League made with forreiners) in advising the Governours and Magistrates to be vigilant, lest upon that occasion, their Provinces might be troubled, not so much by the Low-countrey men, whom the King ever found loyall; as by the Borderers that resorted to them.* Without more words, she dismissed the Gentlemen, not naming her Intelligencers, which they exceedingly pressed, her Highness letting such questions pass, as she had not minded them; or rather seeming offended, that they should press her to reveal secrets of State. Nay, the same day at evening, when a Senatour in the House perswaded her Excellence, to give in to the Covenanters the names of those Intelligencers, she answered somewhat angrily, *That she admired, that he, who refused to name his Authour for things which he himself a little while since had discovered, should now perswade the contrary, that might be prejudiciall to so many.* In that Senate the Governess read the Petition of Brederod, and asked them if they had not altered their opinions. But when they had debated it, they voted the same again, in other words. It was then disputed, Forasmuch as the Covenanters had writ in generall, *We his Majesties most humble Subjects*, whether it should not be required that every particular person under-write his name, whereby the King might know, whom to thank, or rather whom to be revenged upon. But it was carried by most voices in the

the Negative: left upon occasion of getting the names of such as were absent, the Petition should be sent to the great Towns, and more drawn in. The next day, the Confederates returning in greater numbers (for the Counts of *Cuilenburg* and *Bergen*, were yet in time come post) the Governesse returned the Petition, which she had received the day before, together with her Answer writ in the Margine; wherein she gave them hope, that the Inquisition should be taken away, and the Edicts moderated, onely she must first acquaint the King with their desires. But because this did not satisfie them all, they withdrew to consult together, and having passed their votes, came back, and in all their names *Eustachius Fiermes* Lord of *Esquerd* (for *Brederod* durst not speak in publick, unless he had con'd his Lesson, or that he read it out of his Book) giving her Highness humble thanks for that Answer, desired, that she would please to certifie, whatsoever had been done at this meeting of the Gentry, was out of their dutie to the King, and for his Majesties advantage. But the Governesse expressly denying it, replied, Time & their Actions would testify that sufficiently to all the world; and so left them.

The same day *Brederod* entertained the Covenanters at *Cuilenburg-house* and made them a great feast, but unfortunate to the very House where they were feasted, which for this onely cause was afterward pulled down and levelled with the earth. The invited were about three hundred, and therefore more confident, especially at the table in their jolliey: Among other passages, they put the question, how that Society should be named, and it pleased them to give it the title of the *Noble Concord*: and they called their *Generall* the *Restorer of lost liberty*. But these denominations after this feast were never heard of. Perhaps, because they were of another mind when they were sober, and rejected those titles, as lyable to envie and offence: or perhaps, because a new and accidentall *nickname* was received with greater successe, and easily cancelled all those former appellations. For *Brederod* told *Cuilenburg* and *Bergen*, that he himself, and divers others which yesterday stood near the Governesse, heard *Charles Count Barlamont*, whispering in her ear, scoff at the assembled Nobilitie, and call them in *French*, *Gheux*, or as they pronounced it, *Gheuses*, using that word of disgrace to encourage the Governesse, as if she needed not fear Beggars and Rogues. But signifie what it would, they willingly accepted of the name, and for their King and Countreys sake seemed content in good earnest to be *Gheuses* and *Beggars*. Count *Cuilenburg* stomacked this exceedingly; and so did many more, that either were not in the presence, or else heard not *Barlamont* when he spake it. Notwithstanding they were pleased to call themselves by that name & from thence to take the Arms or distinctive Mark of their Parry. Therefore drinking hard (Count *Hotchstrat* by chance coming in) they animated one another by the name of *Gheuses*, and then calling for great bowls, drank a health to the name, and happiness of the *Gheuses*, crying *long live the GHEUSES*. Lastly, when they were rising, *Brederod* took a wallet that lay in the room, casting it over his shoulder as beggars do: and holding a wooden dish in his hand, full of wine, drank to all the company; and gave them thanks, for following him to that day with such unanimous consent, and therefore, he doubted not, but they would for the future continue in the same intentions and desires. For his own part, he would never be of other mind. Nay he took it upon his honour, that he would die, if need should be, for the generality of his Confederates, and for every particular person. At these words, they doubled their acclamations, of, *Long live the GHEUSES*. Then *Brederod* having taken off his dish, gave it and the wallet to his next neighbour, and

1556.

Resolved, that they should not be required to subscribe their names.

The Governesse returns the petition, with her Answer answered.

Florence Palantius C. Cuilenburg. William C. Bergen.

Brederod treats the Confederates.

In their cups, they would have a title of honour given to their Association, and the like to their Generall.

What *Gheuses* signifies.

The Covenanters much taken with the name of *Gheuses*.

Ensignes fit for the faction.

1566.

*Their mutuall
devotement.**They take ano-
ther touch.**And being foxed**Own the style
of Gheuses,
proper for
Low-countrey
Hereticks.*

1568.

*The Gheuses
walk the streets.**Accounted like
beggars.**But with gal-
lant Medals.**Arnol. Haven.
de novis Episc.
& Franc. Har-
zeus in An.
Belg. Fide-
les au Roy
Jusque a la
beface. & An.
Societ. Jesu
in Belg.
and shaved like
Turks.
The citie upon
this occasion di-
versly affected.
Some good
springs from
this evil.*

so when it was gone round, and every one had drunk *Brederods* health, and repeating his words, had devoted their own lives for the rest of their companions, they rose from the table, and when the dish and the wallet were come again to *Brederod*, he nailed them to the wall: and the rest following his example, every one drave in his nail, and removing them, in a frolick, round about the room, they were initiated with these ridiculous Ceremonies. At which time the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and Count *Horn* coming in from Count *Mansfelds* house, where they dined, they fell to their cups afresh, & as they drank about, the same wishes for the *Gheuses* were with great shouts renewed. The particularities of this feast I had, out of private letters and notes, which, upon this occasion were speedily conveyed to the Governesse, by those that heard most of them from *Sarnapulus*, Husband to *Brederods* sister. Some say that these good-fellows after they were well fuddled, to make their clothes drink with them, cast wine upon one another; changed hats, and put them on, the crown downward (being turned the wrong way like their brains) with many such like Gamebols, which may easily be supposed in a multitude corrupted with abundance of friends and wine. This was the Originall of the *Gheuses*, a name given in contempt to the petitioners, as to a company of prodigall fools and rascals, which they took upon them in their drink, and so styled their faction, with beastly clamours, and such tricks as boyes would be ashamed of. Afterwards, it was translated from their faction to their heresie, the next neighbour to it: and made the proper name of the hereticall Rebels in the Low-countreys. And as in *France* the hereticks are called *Hugonots*, so in the *Low-countreys* they are known by the name of *Gheuses*. Nor did the drunkards so leave off, but the same day, about evening, Grave *Lewis*, supping with his Brother the Prince of *Orange*, where *Brederod* was, with Count *Horn*, and many more of the Covenanters, the whole house made the same wishes for the *Gheuses*; as two years after, Count *Horn* confessed, upon his examination taken by the Duke of *Alva*. Thus growing confident, they resolved, with great pomp, to carry the name of *Gheuses* out of doors, to trie if the people would be taken with the novitie. Perhaps they observed, that some of the Lords approved of their proceedings: or perhaps, they hoped, what they had done in private, would be commended, it may be applauded, if they did it publickly, inserting the Kings name. Therefore the Covenanters, for some dayes next following, walked the streets in ash-coloured cloth-suits. Some of them wore little wooden cans, cups, or saucers (the beggars household-stuff) in their hats: some had this Impresse stamped in wax or wood, afterwards cut in gold or silver, which they hung like Medalls about their necks; on the one side whereof was the King of *Spains* picture, with this circumscription, but in *French*, *Faithfull to the King*; on the other, a wallet in an hand with this inscription, *down to the wallet*. Lastly, they began to cut their beards, leaving onely great mustachios, turned up like *Turks*; I suppose their meaning was, to take away the contempt of their beggars clothes, by the terrour of their upper lips, and to shew themselves at once both humble and formidable. In the mean time, the City was full of doubts and news. Many being glad the conspiracy went on, and hoping, by those tumults, and the assistance of the Lords, to free themselves from the fear of the Inquisition. Many onely looked on, as at a play, and were glad they had seats upon the stage, not caring what became of the actours; few there were, which foresaw the mischief that ensued.

One thing of great advantage to the Christian faith, I finde at this time

to

to have happened ; which, the place minding me of, I give it in a word or two. At Hall a Town of *Haynolt*, there is a rare and farr famed Image of the blessed Virgin Mary. Thither went *Philip Croi Duke of Areschot*, out of that devotion to our Lady of Hall, which was hereditary to him from his Ancestours, for the Low-countrey Annalls attribute to his family the discovery of that Image. There he caused certain silver medalls to be cast, representing the Queen of Heaven with her Son *Jesus* in her armes ; and these, in opposition to the faction of the *Gheuses*, he himself and many Gentlemen, that followed him, stuck in their hats, as an embleme or cognizance of their holy pilgrimage, and Catholike Nobility. And when *Duke Areschot* appeared in *Bruxells* with this gallant distinction, many of the Gentry, either out of devotion to the Mother of God, or in imitation (as it often happens) of a fashion brought up by a great person, wore the like medalls in their hats. They say the Governesse much pleased with it, among other things which she wrote to *Pius* the fifth, exceedingly commended this piety of the Low-countrey men, especiall in that point of time ; and Pope *Pius*, who received no less contentment, to encourage the Low-countrey mens Religion, consecrated those Medalls, and (as he wrote to the Governesse) out of his *Pontifician* power, gave to them that should have such Medalls, stamped with the Image of any Saint, indulgence and pardon for their sinnes. It is reported that (the devotion towards these kinde of figures increasing in the *Netherlands*, and other orthodox countries, striving to follow the *Low-countrey mens* example) the use of Medalls was upon this occasion, brought into the Church, or at least, from hence they received their first fame and lustre ; if it be so, this likewise ought to be recorded in the book of Honour, that registers the acts of the Low-countrey Nobility, and particularly placed among the Monuments of the house of *Croi*. But *Brederod*, before his departure from *Bruxells*, returned to the Governesse, two daies after his last address, to get his petition signed. There came along with him the Counts of *Bergen*, *Nassau*, and *Cuilenburg*, heads to the faction of the *Gheuses*, and they delivered a new petition, containing their old demands, onely with these additionalls, That the delay of expecting the King of *Spaines* resolution, would be dangerous, in respect of the incensed and furious disposition of the people. Truly they themselves, out of that affection they owed unto their Country, could not but acquaint her Highness, that the Low-countrey mens violent desires, would questionless break out into insurrection. Howsoever, if her Excellence were resolutely bent, to apply to such an imminent danger, so slow and so remote a remedy, they called God and men to witness, what mischief soever came of it, the Low-countrey Nobility should not hereafter bear the blame. But the Governesse, nothing moved withall this, promised to cut of all delayes, by sending speedily to *Spain* ; and all occasions of tumults, by giving instructions to the Inquisitors and Magistrates of Towns, to proceed with greater moderation. Onely she seriously desired them, that since they conceive they have in this employment done their duty, they will stop here, invent no new designs, draw in no new partisans, nor meet any more at private conventicles : otherwise she resolved to do her duty, in maintaining the Antient Religion, and the Kings authority in those Provinces. Having received this answer, many of the conspiratours took leave of the Governesse, and presently departed from the City, leaving spies behinde, to give intelligence to the Covenanters, of all that passed at *Bruxells* ; *Brederod*, *Cuilenburg*, and *Bergen* going out together with 150 horse, for a military farewell, discharged their pistolls

1566.

J. Liplius in *D. Virg. Haev. de init. lib. 2. & Mich. ab Iffcl. in H. st. sui temp.*

Duke Areschot having done his devotions to our Lady of Hall, stamps hers and her sons figure in a Coine and weaves it in his Hat.

Many imitate him.

The Governesse commends him for it, to the Pope *J. Ant.*

Gabutin the life of Pope *Pius* lib. 6. cap. 2.

who gives indulgences to all that weare those Medalls.

Thus came Medalls into the Church.

To the great honour of the house of *Croi*.

The *Gheuses* present a new Petition.

April 8.

Angered at the Governesses delay.

She treats them with fair language.

And minding them of their duty dismisseth them

Brederod goes to Antwerp.

April 10.

1566.

May 14.

where the people
come to him in
multitudes.

He offers him-
self to be their
Generall.

And is accepted.

The subtilty of
the Gheuses
flandering the
Knights of the
Golden Fleece
with the pa-
tronage of their
faction.
In a printed
Declaration.

The Governesse
is at first af-
fraid of this
kind of Artifice.

April 13.

which before it
can come to be
confuted leaves
the impression of
a wound.

To which end
such things pub-
lished.

pistolls before the City gates ; and so, the first of them went to *Antwerp*, and the other two into *Gelderland*. But there was a post dispatched from the Governesse, to the Magistrate of *Antwerp*, to let him know of *Brederod's* coming, and to be a spy upon his counsels and actions. And though the Magistrate certified the Governesse, that *Brederod* carried himself with great civility ; yet afterwards she wrote to the King (having it seems better intelligence from another hand) that about 4000 of the common people of *Antwerp* flocked to the Inne, where *Brederod* alighted with 43. horse, and when he heard that such a multitude were come to the house, he rose from dinner, and looking out of the window, with a great bowle of wine in his hand, saluted them standing below in the yard, in these words, *Tou of Antwerp, here I am, that will, with the hazard of my life and fortunes, protect your selves, and free your children from the tyranny of the Inquisition and the Edicts. If your consent goes along with me in this glorious action, come on, and as many of you as would have your liberties preserved, and mee for your Generall, pledge me this bowle with a good heart, and hold up your hands, in token that you accept of my good will.* Then he drank it off, and first held up his own hand, instantly the most of them did the like, and lifting their hands with an odd kinde of hum, signified, that they took it as an argument of his love ; and when he departed from the city, the same rabble brought him on his way.

The rest of the Covenanters were but newly returned to the towns from whence they came, yet (lest they might seem to have carried their petition to no purpose) they made it be reported through the Low-countreys that their businesse was dispatched. And to that end, they counterfeited a Declaration, subscribed by the Knights of the *Golden-fleece*, either to induce the world to believe, that they were protected by the Knights, or to make the Governesse jealous of the Order. The Declaration was thus penned. *The publick faith concluded upon, at Bruxels, by the Gentlemen of the League, and signed by the Knights of the Order, the seventh of Aprill 1566. We Lords whose names are underwritten, having sworn by our Order, do promise to the Gentlemen chosen by the Estates and legally sent into the City, that the Ecclesiasticall Inquisitioners, and the other Magistrates shall, from this day, punish no man for his Religion, neither by Imprisonment, Exile, nor death ; unless it be joyned with a popular tumult and the ruine of our Countrey, of which crimes Be the Covenanters the sole legall punishers. But this power of theirs onely to be in force till the King with the consent of the Estates of the Low-countreys shall otherwise determine.* The news of this Declaration at first startled the Governesse, then she sent for the *Manifesto* it self, and read it. For though she rationally conjectured, that it was an impudent lie, invented by the Covenanters : yet she very much feared it would be such a bait as might easily catch the people, prone to believe what they desire : or making a shew of believing, to colour their delinquencie with an handsome excuse. At least she knew, that before the trick could be discovered, many insolencies might be committed against Religion, and the Kings Authority, which afterwards could never be revoked or rectified by any means or industrie. And truly many do spread abroad such forgeries, not out of hope they will continue long concealed : for they have their ends, if they last but till the people that are fooled with them, begin to pull the frame of the State in pieces, the Result whereof will be, that when they come to see their error, at the same time despairing of their pardon, licentiousnesse and love of sinne likewise increasing, they raise one tumult upon the neck of another, cruell but cowardly : and ima-

gining

gining danger it self to be the best remedy for danger. Many indeed make use of lies, as builders do of buttresses and scaffolds. For as they are usefull whilst Arches are in making, but when they be finished are cast away; so the subtiler sort of people devise falsehoods, to no other end but to support their Architecture a while, which if compleated and able to stand alone, then they easily suffer their fictions to grow out of date, to be pulled down and cast away, like props and scaffolds when the building is brought unto perfection. And the Governesse knowing it was now no time for delayes, sent for as many of the Order as could conveniently attend her (for it was Passion week, and the major part had retired themselves to make their Confessions in the Monasteries of their own Towns, according to the custome of the Nobility) and shewed them the Declaration; upon sight whereof, Count Egmont and Count Mansfeld, who were the first that came, protested, that no part of it was either done or said by their Companions of the Order. It was therefore resolved, that expedition should be used whilst the multitude had onely a taste of the Errour, but had not as yet swallowed down the Falsehood; and that they should not expect till the wooll dipt in Ink, were made incapable of another die. That the Governours of the Provinces, and the Magistrate of every City and Town, should be immediately informed of the truth, and a copy sent them of the Petition presented by the Covenanters, with the Governesses marginall Answer. They were likewise to take notice, that if any thing else were published by any whatsoever, it was to be reputed as the Invention of some seditious persons, endeavouring to beger domestick Tumults, and accordingly by the Kings Laws, and Authority to be punished. These Letters, though presently sent into the Provinces, yet failed to undeceive the people: which in many places had already heard and believed the untruth, to the great prejudice (as I shall presently shew you) of the ancient Religion, and the Publick peace. Which forced the Governesse to hasten the Embassage into Spain, that was lately voted by the Senate. John Glimè Marquess of Bergen and Governour of Haynolt was named for the employment. But he, whether his guilty conscience could not brook the Kings presence, or whether the trouble of the voyage frighted him, at first refused to undertake it; then was willing, so that another might be put in Commission with him; Florence Momorancie Lord of Montiny was therefore joyned with the Marquesse. Both of them, because they doubted their business would not please the King, were suiters to the Governesse, to dispatch away a Messenger into Spain, that should prepare his Majestie with the knowledge of their coming: in the interim, they resolved so to order and spin out their journey, that the Messenger should meet them upon the way, with the Kings Letters: wherein they might perceive if his Majestie approved of their employment. Notwithstanding all this caution, which their ill-presaging minds rather used for their security, then for their Honour, they escaped not, but this Embassage cost them both their lives. They had yet other unlucky Omens; for two dayes before they set forth, the Marquess of Bergen, as he walked in the open Court of the Governesse's Palace, was hit upon the thigh with a Ball of wood, by some playing at Pall Mall; and being very grievously hurt, kept his bed; and was constrained to deferre his journey. You would think, this good office was done him by his *Genius*, who not contented by other warnings to have pulled him by the ear, now laid him by the heels, and kept him locked in fetters to hinder his unfortunate voyage. But what Fate hath ordained for every man, is not so easily prevented, as fore-

1566.

And serve the
turn like tempo-
rary scaffolds till
the building be
up.

Atlast the Lords
denying that any
of their Order
was engaged.

She gives notice
of the deceit to
the Provinces.

April 25.

But not timely
enough to all
Places.
Whereupon she
dispatches an
Embassage for
Spain, nomina-
ting the Marq.
of Bergen,

And the Lord
Montiny.

March 1566.
The King
and Queen
at Madrid
received
the Marq.
of Bergen,

and Governor
of Haynolt
and the
Countess
of Montiny.

of Bergen
and
the
Countess
of Montiny
were
sent
to
Spain
to
prepare
the
King
for
their
coming.

and
the
Countess
of Montiny
were
sent
to
Spain
to
prepare
the
King
for
their
coming.

Montiny sets
forth.

A Messenger,
with private in-
structions, goes
before him.

The King gives
no dispatch to
the Embassa-
dour.

The Pope mo-
ving him to
revenge the As-
sault offered to
Religion.

who likewise
sends his Legate
to the Gover-
nesse.
That should
extoll her and
promise assi-
stance from his
Holinesse.

Delivering his
letters to Count
Cuilemburg
and the Prince
of Orange.

She advises
him not to give
the letter to the
Count,
But to let the
Prince have
his, whom she
undertakes to
prepare.

Decem. 15.
1563.

seen. In the mean while, the Governesse (it concerning her to loose no time) got the other Embassadour, though against his will, to go before the Marquesse of *Bergen* (who should follow as soon as he recovered) and to acquaint his Majestie with the state of affairs in the Low-countreys, after the Gentlemens petition was delivered. To this purpose, besides letters, instructions, and other appendents to an Embassage, her Excellence gave him a Book containing in eighteen chapters the principle actions of that year, which she left to his Majesties consideration; and concluded, that onely his presence would, with the least hazard, settle the Low-countreys. Yet before his departure, the Governesse (as she had promised her two Embassadours) sent away *Fabius Lembus* a *Neopolitan*, an old Courtier, and faithfull; with private commands, and notes, wherein she interpreted most of that which she had given in charge to *Montiny*. She sent likewise a copy of *Charles* the fifth's Edicts somewhat qualified in the penalties against Hereticks, by advice of the Senatours and Divines; likewise signifying, that she had shewed that qualification severally to the Estates of the Low-countreys, and that by most of them it was approved of; yet that she would not publish it, nor propound it to the People, without his Majesties consent: but she earnestly beseeched him, to command it; and to deferre his intention of establishing the Popes Inquisitours. So on the seventeenth of May, she dispatched *Fabius Lembus* thus instructed. In ten dayes after, *Montiny* followed, and the seventeenth of June was by the King graciously received at *Madrid* and divers times had Audience. Yet before he could get a determinate Answer, he was commanded to expect his fellow Commissioner, the Marquesse of *Bergen*: nor found he the King inclinable to, or well pleased with his Embassage. Indeed to divert his Majestie from consenting to the Low-countreymens desires (though he was of himself sufficiently constant both to Religion, and his opinions) *Pius* the fifth interposed his authoritie: by whose Nuncio, *Pedro Camaione* Bishop of *Asculum* (who had an eye upon that Embassie from the Low-countreys) his Majestie was continually solicited not to suffer the Catholick Religion to fall in the Low-countreys; but that he would personally by force of arms, punish the disloyaltie of that turbulent people. And for this cause, his Holinesse commanded *Julio Pavesia*, Archbishop of *Surrentum*, whom he sent Legate to the Emperour *Maximilian*, to take the Low-countreys in his way: and in his name to set a high commendations upon the Dutchesse of *Parma*, for her zeal to Religion, manifested in her Government of the Low-countreys; wherein he should encourage her, by promising supplies of money from the Pope, with his utmost assistance. For now a Cause was controverted, for which he would not fear to stake his triple Crown. Moreover, he was to advise with the Governesse, about delivering the Popes letters to the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Cuilemburg*, exhorting the Count to forsake the Hereticks, unto whom it was said, he adhered, and to reconcile himself to the old Religion: and admonishing the Prince not to suffer with impunity so many foul things, as were committed by Hereticks in his Principality of *Orange*, to the great damage of all the neighbouring Cities, especially *Avignon*. But the Governesse, whose counsell the Legate was commanded to follow, did not approve of the delivery of the Popes letters to *Cuilemburg*, least, as he was a youth of a weak and fantastical brain, he might not value or receive them with due reverence. She said, he might safelier treat with the Prince of *Orange*, in regard the like admonition, formerly sent from *Paul* the fourth, had struck him with a fear of losing his Principality, nevertheless she would prepare

prepare him for the Legate. But for his liberall offer of assistance from his *Holiness*, she acknowledged her obligations to the great *Bishop*, and desired *Pavesio* to represent her, for that favour, kneeling at his feet, and humbly kissing them: though she had not power to admit of his promised supplies, unless the King would please to give her leave. But she assured his *Holiness*, that the Cause of Religion should be alwayes to her, as it had ever been, dearer then her life. Lastly, touching the nature and industry of the Low-countrey *Bishops* (for *Pavesio* intreated her to instruct him in that particular) she very graphically discoursed their lives and manners, and gave him their severall characters, telling which deserved Rebuke, which Praise or Pitie. The Legate, finding all she said to be true, and the Prince of *Orange* the easier to be wrought upon, (belike her Excellence had prepared him, as she promised) admiring her industrie and pietie, professed that he would publish in the Court of *Rome*, how Religion standing now in the Low-countreys on a dangerous precipice, was supported onely by her Highnesses vigilance and prudence. But the Factions and Tumults ceased not for all this. The Covenanters being returned (as I have told you) into their respective Provinces, and giving it out, that they had the publick Faith of the Knights of the Golden Fleece for their indemnitie, all those that had been banished for heresie came back from the adjacent Countreys, and such as had lyen concealed at home appeared again, magnifying the name of the *Gheuses*, calling them the Assertours and Champions of their libertie, and putting themselves under their protection. Thus the number of the Covenanters was much increased, especially in *Antwerp*, even the Merchants themselves began to wear the *Habit* and Cognizance of the *Gheuses*. Nay there sprung up a new brotherhood of the Common People, wearing in their hats, besides the wallet stamp in silver, a wreathed pilgrims staff, the ends bowing acrosse, signifying (as I suppose) that they were to go a pilgrimage out of their Countrey, and seek libertie in another Climate. This conspiracie was spawned out of the other, it being the off-spring (as the Governesse wrote to his Majestie) of that two years before, raised by the Lords against *Cardinall Granvel*, where they first wore hoods, and then Darts. But that which at the beginning was onely private difference at Court, and the ambition of a few, afterwards turned into the publick mutiny of the Provinces. Great men, it seems, never can offend alone, and vices, whilst they passe from hand to hand, are soyled with being touched, and grow still fouler. Neither did the Governesses letters to the Magistrates, concerning the counterfeit Declaration in the Lords names, do any good: nor the Kings letter to the Governesse and the Provinces, about that time received, wherein his Majestie promised, That having now secured himself from the *Turks* and *Moor*s, he would presently make a voyage into the Low-countreys, and in person moderate the severitie (if any such were) of his fathers Edicts. In the mean time, he rested confident that the troubles would be quieted by the Lords endeavours, whereupon formerly relying, both his father the Emperour and he himself never feared what their enemies could do: and now, he doubted not but their old loyalty would easily compose a sedition raised by a few private men. Onely the pardons which the Governesse in her letters to the King, desired for certain persons, were by his Majestie, more resolutely then seasonably put off till another time. In the interim, the evil increasing, and the opportunitie of applying a fit remedie being past, his Majestie lost the Grace and favour he intended.

And truly mischiefs sprung not up severally, or by intervals; but com-

In the mean time excuses her self for not receiving the money offered by the Pope. Her Excellence gives the Legate a true description of the Low-countrey Bishops. who is amazed at her Pietie and Prudence.

The impudence of the Gheuses encouraged by hope of impunity.

Their new Conspiracy.

And new fashion.

The Originall of these kind of confederacies. May 17.

Not cured either by the Governesses care. 6. or 21. of May.

Or by the Kings letter gracions indeed.

March 15. But unseasonably protracting the Grant of Generall Pardons to some great ones.

1570. The Low-countreys overflowed with Hereticks.

1566.

Privately at
first,Then openly
preaching.Three Sorts or
Classes of them.
Calvinists.
Lutherans.
Anabaptists.

Catholicks.

What they were
that came in.
Infinite Resort
to hear them.And to the Sa-
craments after
the hereticall
way.Why the people
are so fond of
sermons.Some out of
zeal to heresse.Drivers taken
with the Ra-
rity.1565.
Many delighted
with singing
of Psalms.

pleated, and in a knot, breaking forth all at once. For in the bordering Countreys the Master-hereticks watching how discord prospered in the *Low-countreys*, that they might take occasion to vent their outlandish wares and sell them the new Gospel; flocking in erouds, the *Calvinists* out of *France* and the *Lutherans* and *Anabaptists* out of *Germany*, invaded, and as it were attached their nearest neighbour-towns. First, they held their Conventicles in the fields by night, then, successfull smiling upon them, fearing likewise that if differences chanced to be composed, they should fail of dispatching what they came for; they thought it best, by way of prevention, to shew themselves in the light; and before the people (that ran to meet them out of towns and villages) boldly to preach against the *Spanish* tyrannie, against Religion corrupted by the Bishops, and for the pure and sincere light of the Gospel. Emulation made them more insouciant, lest the *Calvinists* (that had indeed fewer great persons of their faction, but more Profelytes and applause) should be lesse powerfull then the *Lutherans*. And the *Anabaptists* being farre more in number then the *Lutherans*, scorned to be worsted by the *Calvinists*: or that the *Lutherans* should have more great Protectours then both the other Sects. Therefore they made haste in zeal of spirit to seiz upon Cities and Towns, as if they were to make new plantations; every one being for himself, and all against One. Miserable and calamitous at that time was the condition of the *Low-countreys*, many of the noblest Provinces being suddenly hurried into factions, and running upon the rocks of error. Whilst impure men, Apostates both from divine and humane faith, whilst the scumme of their own nations, the Refuse of *Germany* and *France*, promised themselves a kind of sovereignty in the *Low-countreys*, and ran up and down as if hell had been broke loose, filling all places with turbulent sermons, infamous libells, hopes, fears, and jealousies. Whilst such a multitude; first out of the next villages, but at last out of great towns, came, with incredible desire, to hear these trumpeters of the new Gospel; that once, in the fields of *Tournay* above eight thousand men were seen at a sermon. Near *Lisle* they appeared in greater shoals. At *Antwerp*, in one day, were gathered together thirteen thousand, next day fourteen thousand, a while after sixteen thousand men. Lastly, taking more freedom in many places, especially at *Valenciens* and upon the borders of *Flanders*, they married people in the fields, and baptized infants after the *Calvinisticall* manner. And that all this might be done with safety, they meet at these Conventicles and Sermons, armed with pikes and muskets. I know the Reader will not a little wonder to hear (what they say the *Low-treymen* themselves were amazed when they saw) how the Peoples zeal of hearing sermons came to such a height, that neither the Magistrates by authoritie, nor their Officers by force, nor the Laws by reverence, could contain them, but that men, women, and children left their houses, and ran like mad, to these Teachers in the fields. But all the Auditory were not drawn by the same motive. For many that had long ago banished the Catholick Religion out of their hearts, went chearfully to imbrace the opinions of Hereticks, and to joyn in Communion with them: and in their violent motion, took others along, that knew not well whether they wandered, but half against their wills, shoyed on by the croud, like swimmers by the stream, I cannot properly say they went, but were carried. Many were taken with the noveltie, and a longing to see what kind of Religion those forreiners had brought from *Saxony* or *Geneva*; out of which Countreys, as it was reported, they had at a distance wrought so much upon the rest of the Provinces.

ccs.

ces. A great fort were drawn in, with the tunes set to the *Psalmes*, translated, as I have told you, into French meter, by *Marot* and *Beza*, and now sung at their great meetings in the fields according to *Geneva* mode. But most of them itched after the flanders and jeers of their preaching ministers. Among which, as every ignorant Mountebank had some little smattering of learning, and abounded in impudence, and the joggling art of catching applause; so with greater lies and fooleries they railed against the *Bishop of Rome*, the Council of *Trent*, and the Ecclesiasticall *Inquisition*, shamefully and foully abusing all things holie, but yet so, as the peoples minds were tickled: who clapped their hands, as if they had been in a play-house; and measured things that were spoken, not by a true estimate, but merely by the pleasure of their ears. Nay, though some of the wiser sort, understood their feats of activitie, and knew they told fables and gulleries, yet they were pleased to be deceived themselves, meaning shortly with the same artifice to cozen others: and to repeat those Sermons as truths, which they had by their own industrie discovered. Calumnies and defamations without any distinction of truth or falsehood, are ever greedily entertained, and as greedily communicated. Lastly, the Cities were by these incendiaries distracted into factions. Those that bordered upon *France* favoured *Cathol*, those neighbouring to *Germany*, were for *Luther*; both of them followed the Preachers, not out of any will to be instructed in their Tenets, but only siding with their own Nation. Nor was the Governesse less active all the while, but tried all wayes possible to obviate and encounter the increasing mischief. She sent the Marquess of *Bergen*, as soon as ever he was recovered, in all haste to *Spain*, to give his Majesty an account of what he had seen with his eyes; and to beseech him to think no more of the Inquisition; but that he would please, and speedily, to mitigate the severitie of the Edicts, lest while they consulted in *Spain*, the *Low-Countreys* should be lost. But the Marquess of *Bergen* falling ill again at *Poitou* in *France*, received instructions from her Excellence, to send some trustie messenger before him, to deliver the King his Letters and Embassage. Which was done by his Major-domo, upon the 25 of *July*. The Governesse was likewise informed by the Magistrate of *Antwerp*, that foreigners every day came into the Town, and pestered it extremely. Whom her Excellence commanded to depart, by Edict, set forth by authoritie of the Senate; and many perswading her, upon that occasion, to revive the penall Laws against banished men, that should return into the *Low-Countreys*, against scandalous Libellers, and such as read and kept their Pamphlets; as likewise against all Conventicles and hereticall Sermons, though a while she remained in suspense, because on the one part, she knew there was no hope to master the stubborn multitudes without soldiers, which then she had not means to levie, and therefore held it more wisdom to wave those Laws, the contempt whereof she had not power to punish: and on the other part, that she might not sit still, and seem to sleep over so many affronts, with a kind of encouragement to the tumultuous Rebels, she confirmed and augmented the old Edicts. But all to little purpose; for the Ministers still preached, and because they were silenced, were followed with more eagerness: it being a fault in humane nature, to conceive things greater because prohibited. The worst disorders were at *Antwerp*, that Citty lying between the *French* and the *German*, and therefore exposed to their factions. Inso-much as a few dayes after the Edict was published, when the *Lutherans*, according to their custome, met in the fields on the one side, and the *Catholists*

1566.

But the most, with hearing them rail and jeer in the Pulpit.

Their audience increased by severall Countrey-men striving to have their heresie preferred.

Which necessitates the Governesse to hasten away the Marq. of Bergen into Spain.

Who sickning by the way, Sends the Steward of his house before with his Letters.

1566.

Her Excellence by Edict banishes Forreiners. But cannot resolve what course to take with the new Preachers.

She revives the Edict against them.

Who were more followed because prohibited. Especially at Antwerp.

The Governess
is desired to
come thither.

1564.

She sends Count
Megen before
her.

But upon a mu-
tiny of the people

He is called a-
way.

The Town peti-
tions for the
Prince of O-
range.

Who is made Go-
vernour of Ant-
werp.

Multitudes of
people meet him
upon the way.

He silences their
shouts, and the
Hereticks accla-
mations.

on the other, these being no fewer then fifteen thousand, their number en-
creased their confidence. When the Sermon was done, they set the preach-
er of *Calvins* Gospel on horsback, and carried him into the Town trium-
phantly, attended with a great guard of Horse and Foot. The Magistrate
not daring to oppose that sudden tumult, contented himself with sending
speedy intelligence thereof to the Governess, beseeching her Excellence
(in regard that many thought those assemblies might at last engage the City
in some insurrection) by her presence there to give assistance unto *Antwerp*.
And her Highness, as if she meant presently to come, sent before her *Charles*
Brimey Count of *Megen*, a faithfull and valiant Commander, enjoining him
to make experience of the strength and loyalty of the Citizens, what they
would or could do, for quieting those commotions, lest necessitie might
force her to be an eye-witness of things, which she might with lesse danger
to her Authority, hear of at a distance. But upon sight of the Count, the
Town began to mutiny: the people crying out, That Count *Megen* was
come to do a mischief to the *Gheuses*, and that Count *Aremberg* was to fol-
low with twelve Ensignes; and when those souldiers had possesst themselves
of *Antwerp*, then the Governess would appear, and at her pleasure, together
with the *Spanish* tyranny, erect the Pontifician Tribunall, and put a Garrison
into the Fort to aw the Town. Lastly, the *Brabanters* having received that
yoke, should be just so enslaved as the *Millanois* and *Neapolitans* are in *Italie*,
caught by the like stratagem. These tumults still increasing, the Governess
called away Count *Megen*, pretending it was necessary he should attend
his Government of *Gelderland*. And when the Magistrate of *Antwerp*, by
divers posts, wrote to the Governess for the Prince of *Orange*, who was de-
sired by the people, nor would they easily endure another Governour, the
Prince of *Orange* himself promising his utmost fidelity and endeavours in
that employment; the Governess not knowing what to do, seeing no way
safe, at length, lest she might seem to distrust his integrity and promises, and
consequently, in that point of time, distast so great a man with a publick re-
pulse, she gave him Commission to compose the mutinie at *Antwerp*. He
was met upon the way, a mile without the Town, by *Brederod*, with a great
sort of Citizens of *Antwerp*, who saluting one another with discharge of
their pistols, they joyned companies, and went on; such multitudes of men,
partly meeting them upon the rode, partly standing to behold them upon
rising ground, and tops of houses; that you would think *Antwerp* had em-
ptied it self of all the inhabitants. Yet the Prince of *Orange* seemed not to
be elated in his looks, perhaps conceiving it to be a point of magnanimity:
or rather, fearing that immoderate popular applause, might offend superiour
Powers. And therefore, when that huge crowd began to sing *Psalmes* in
French, he commanded them presently to hold their peace. Others in divers
places crying, *Long live the Gheuses*: he often silenced them with his hand.
Nay, those that were got upon the walls, louder then before shouting out
the same wishes for the *Gheuses*; when he could not rule their tongues by
signes, he grew in choler, and swore by God, they were best consider what
they did; for if they proceeded, some of them should repent it. But the
greatest presumption of the people was, when he entred *Antwerp*; and rode
through the streets, then in many places they clamoured in this manner,
*Behold the man that brings us liberty. Behold the man that brings us the Confes-
sion of Auspurg. We have no more need of the Covenanters. This is he whom
hereafter we will follow, this is he whom we will petition to.* But the Prince of
Orange appeared much offended at these expressions, especially in *Brederods* pre-

presence. He lighted at the Palace, and that night consulted with the Magistrate, how to reduce the people to their former duty and obedience; how to hinder the Merchants from leaving the Town, which they resolved to do; and how to break the meetings at seditious Sermons; for these were his instructions from the Governes. But whilst the remedies were referred to the Senate, the disease abroad being fed with the same humour, increased, and it was thought, seldome less then 4000 men met at one Sermon, which exceedingly grieved the Governes, who by many Letters, sometimes remembered the Senate and People of the promise, wherein they obliged themselves to the King, when (to avoid the imposing of a Bishop) they undertook to be more tender of Religion, then ever any Bishop was. Sometimes she praised and encouraged the Prince of *Orange* for his industry in preventing mischiefs; and withall remembered him of the Duty of his place, his faith to the King, and engagement to her self in this present Office; that many had ill thoughts of him, and the occasion was now in his own hands either to enflame, or extinguish them: When behold, upon the sudden, new troubles call away the attention of the Governes to another quarter.

News was brought, that the Confederate *Gheses* had a new designe, and were about two thousand, to meet at *Centron*, and in that Citie, belonging to the Bishop of *Liege*, to resolve whether they should take up arms, whereunto in every place they had animated the people. The report of the taking up arms was false; but their determination to meet proved true. And *Brederod* with the chief of the Covenanters, wrote Letters to the Towns about them, in the end of *June*, summoning them to convene the 14 day of *July*. *Lewis* of *Nassau* undertook to make the Bishop, sending unto him the Lord of *Villers*, who in the name of *Lewis* and his companions of the League, should work him to give way to their holding an Assembly at *Centron*. The Bishop excusing himself, as bound by the Imperiall Laws, not to suffer any such meeting in an Imperiall Town; wrote all that had passed, in cypher, to the Governes, and commanded the Governour of the Town, not to admit them if they came. But the Townsmen fearing, that if they did shut their gates against them, they would spoil their Harvest, and fire the houses and Villages round about, without contest received *Brederod* and his men into the Town. In this convention (begun about the middle of *July*, and ended the last day of that moneth) two things were put to the question: The first, How they should be secured, in case the King were minded to revenge himself upon them: and then, Whether they should move for more, then was expressed in their Petition delivered in *April*, touching the Edicts and Inquisition. The generall vote was, that security should be demanded of the Governes; but the other passed in the negative: some affirming that upon the grant of those particulars for which they took the Covenant, they ought to proceed no farther. Others said, That if they had success in their first Petition, they would enlarge it, and desire, that no certain form of Religion might be prescribed the people; but that every one might be left free, to serve God his own way. Many were extreemly offended with that abominable opinion, and thereupon by degrees disengaged themselves from the Covenant (among which was *Charles Mansfeld* sonne to Count *Ernest*) so as nothing was determined in that point. But whether the Hereticks among themselves, unknown to their other complices, resolved upon that which presently followed in the *Netherlands*, that is, the violation of holy Images, I shall in its proper place deliver. Whilst these things were in agitation, the Governes sent Count *Egmont* and the Prince of *Orange*, to

fright

*Consults about a
remedie for the
present mischief.*

*Sermons in the
fields frequented
as much as ever*

*For which she
justly reprooves
the Senate of
Antwerp, and
tries severall
wayes to make
the Prince of
Orange.*

*A meeting of
the Gheses at
Centron, or
San-Truden.*

*They desire the
use and freedom
of the Town,
from the Bishop
of Liege, Ge-
rard Grosbech.
Which he denies*

*But the Towns-
men let them in.*

*They convene in
the City.*

*Where they una-
nimously agree to
petition for their
Indemnity.*

*Touching Liber-
tie of Religion
they differ among
themselves.
A few Pages
lower.
The Governes
send Count Eg-
mont and Count
Horn to break
off the Conven-
tion.*

1566.

These Lords remember the Covenanters of their promise.

But they by a new message from S. Truden make high demands from the Governesse.

She puts them off for the present.

The Prince of Orange would be made Governour of Antwerp, to enable him for ruling of the Town. And is made Governour accordingly. with power to clothe himself a Guard. But this concession was a great weakening in her Excellence. The Kings letters wherein he grants the Governesse her desires.

So limited, as gave the people no satisfaction.

fright the Covenanters and these Assemblies; not that she was ignorant, how farre either of them was to be trusted, but that by such expressions of her confidence, and by making them of Counsel with her, she might oblige them, and put it in their power to set things right, and consequently to merit the Kings favour. They appointed *Brederod* and the heads of the Covenanters to meet them at *Duffle*, a village hard by *Antwerp*. And among other things, they admonished them, in the Governesses name, that they should forbear by those kind of Assemblies to make any Innovation, till his Majestie sent his absolute determination concerning their demands: but rather, that by their authoritie with the Commons they should restrain them (as they had promised) growing dayly more and more stubborn and contumacious. *Brederod* wrote the heads of this conference (which were nine) to his confederates at *Centron*; who agreed among themselves, to send *Lewis* of *Nassau* with twelve Gentlemen to present the Governesse a new Petition, consisting likewise of nine heads, wherein partly they stood upon their justification; and that so absolutely, as they refused the act of Oblivion promised them by the Governesse, affirming what they had done was more worthy to be published, then forgotten: partly they desired that the Governesse, by her own letters and under the hands of the Knights of the *Golden-sleeve*, would secure them from force of arms, which as it was said were preparing against them. Moreover, that she would give Commission to the Prince of *Orange*, Count *Egmont*, and Count *Horn* to hear the Grievances of the Covenanters, and to mediate betwixt his Majestie and them. Lastly, they moved for a generall Convention of the Estates, as the best expedient for restoring peace to their Countrey. Otherwise, though against their wills, they must be necessitated to have recourse to forrein help. These letters being read in Senate, after every man had delivered his opinion, the Governesse answered *Lewis* and his companions (that were called, by jeering people, his twelve Apostles) that upon the twenty sixth of August the Knights of the *Golden-sleeve* were to meet at *Bruxels*, and she would advise with them about it. In the interim, the Prince of *Orange* returning to *Antwerp*; when no good could be done there, certified the Governesse, that the Citizens had been earnest with him to receive the Government of *Antwerp*, and for his securitie to put a Garrison into the Town. The Governesse consenting to it, he not onely raised men, but was so bold, as to ask leave to have a Guard about his person, which she likewise granted. And so to his great contentment he was made Governour, meaning shortly to make himself an absolute Prince, by the too much indulgence of the Governesse, who with these favours endeavoured to ingage the Prince of *Orange*, or at least would have him believed to be of the Kings partie. But the despair of succours long looked for out of *Spain*, together with her fear, increased her indulgence. Now at length, upon *Montinyes* sollicitation, the Kings letters came, wherein those three particulars the Dutchesse had so often requested of his Majestie, were all granted, but upon certain conditions. For his Majestie gave way to the remove of the Ecclesiasticall Inquisitours, provided the Bishops were first placed in their stead: for he was resolved and fixed, not to leave *Religion* naked, without a guard of those that should take cognizance of her cause, and revenge her injuries. It was his pleasure likewise, that the Imperiall Edicts should be somewhat moderated by his Councell in the Low-countreys; but it must be certified to, and approved of by, his Councell in *Spain*, before it should be published in the Provinces. In the last place, his Majestie was consented that the Covenanters

venanters and others should be pardoned; but the other two heads were first to be dispatched. But these remedies came from *Spain* too late, when the face of things was altered in the *Low-countries*: When the fury of the Hereticks; plundering the Churches; and openly defacing all venerable and sacred monuments of Religion, was to be encountered in another way.

And indeed that destruction (which I think was one of the greatest that ever happened, if we consider the sudden mischief to Religion, the rage of the People, their small number, and mean qualitie) from what parts or by whose Counsell it was brought upon the *Low-countries*, is no more certainly known, then the causes and originall of a sudden plague. I should think by many letters I have read, that in all probability it came thither from the *Geneva Calvinists*, their next *French* neighbours: perhaps by accident, perhaps upon design; for so *Peter Ernest Count Mansfeld* informed the Governesse, and she the King. The very same intelligence she received from *Pedro Ceballos*, an old *Spanish* Commander, who assured her, that the Prince of *Condé* and the three brothers of the *Coligny* the heads of the *Hugonots*, to advance their own partie in *France* while Heresie reigned in the *Low-countries*, by their Emiffaries, dayly solicited the Hereticks in these Provinces to make some attempt, wherein they promised sufficiently to furnish them with men and Arms. The like hope they had of the *Queen of England*. This agrees with what was resolved upon at *Centron* by the confederated *Gheuses*, in which number the Admirall of *France* and others of that nation being comprehended, it was easie for them, upon this occasion, to trouble the *Low-countries*. Besides these mysteries of State, other things were plain to be discerned. For the people, partly corrupted with Heresie, partly dreading the Inquisition, exceedingly favoured the Hereticks that sought to overthrow that judicature. The confederated *Gheuses* willingly took upon them the protection of the Commons, because many of the Covenanters were birds of the same feather, and all of them ambitious to be Masters and Tribunes of the people. The Knights of the Order, and the Lords, were divided among themselves. Those that continued faithfull to their Religion and their Prince, were the weaker party: the stronger either declared themselves for the Conspiratours, or at least were of their chamber-counsell. And now the Governesse wrote to the King, that she had certain knowledge of the Prince of *Orange's* design, by those tumults to invade the Government of the *Low-countries*: and share it with his fellow-rebells. Therefore, upon Assumption-eve, they began to rife the *Low-country* Churches: first rising in the lower *Flanders*, which lies between the river *Lys* and the West Sea. In these parts a few of the raskall sort of Hereticks met and joyned themselves with some companies of thieves, upon the day appointed for proclaiming warre against heaven, lead on by no Commander but Impietie: their Arms were staves, hatchets, hammers, and ropes, fitter to pull down houses, then to fight withall: some few of them, had swords and muskets. Thus accoutered, as if they had been furies vomited from Hell, they broke into the towns and villages about *S. Omer*, and if they found the doors of Churches or Monasteries shut, forced them open, frighting away their religious inhabitants: and overturning the Altars, they defaced the Monuments of Saints, and broke to peices their sacred images. Whatsoever they saw dedicated to God, and to the Blessed, they pulled it down and trod it under their feet to dirt, whilst their Ringleaders clapt them on the backs, and encouraged them with all their force to destroy the Idols.

R

The

1566.

And so long a coming, as rendered them unusefull to the King. Of the plunder of Churches.

From whence that Mischief came into the Low-countries.

August 28.

What forreiners encouraged them.

Why the Low-countrymen joyned with them.

August 28.

The day appointed for the Picture-scuffle. The Place. The quality of the Image-breakers. Their Instruments.

First the Villages are plundered.

Then the Cities.

1566.

They are received at Ipres.

Deface and pillage the great Church.

Burn the Library.
Violate all things sacred.

The People, and the Magistrate, diversely affected.

A new Party of Image-breakers in other Towns. S. Omer, Menin, Commines, Vervich.

Encountred by the Secliners.

And defeated.

The Hereticks glad of this successe to the first that ever they sent out upon a party, left the place with speed, and with unanimous consent, shouted and cryed aloud, *Let us to I P R E S*, that being a citie much frequented by the Calvinists. And they were drawn thither, as well out of hope of protection, as out of hatred they bare to the Bishop of that City, *Martin Rithovius*, an eminently virtuous and learned man, and therefore meriting the spleen of Hereticks. Whereupon they ran violently thither, gathering upon the way such vagabonds and beggars, as joyned with them out of hope of plunder. And as a snow ball rolling from the top of a hill, grows still greater, by the accessse of new snow, through which it passes, and wherein it is involved: so these thievish vagabonds multiplying by the way, the farther they go, the more they rage, and the more considerable their thievish strength appears. And when they had pillaged a few small villages about *Ipres*, upon the very day of the Assumption of the blessed Virgin, the citizens of *Ipres* opening their gates unto them, they entered the town, and went directly to the Cathedrall Church, where every one fell to work. Some set ladders to the walls, with hammers and staves battering the pictures. Others broke a sunder the iron work, seats, and pulpit. Others, casting ropes about the great statues of our Saviour Christ, and the Saints, pulled them down to the ground. Others stole the consecrated plate, burnt the sacred Books, and stript the Altars of their holy ornaments: and that, with so much securitie, with so little regard of the Magistrate or Prelates, as you would think they had been sent for by the common Councell, and were in pay with the citie. With the same fury they likewise burned the Bishop of *Ipre's* library, and destroyed the rest of the Churches and Religious houses of the town, reacting their villanies, and because the first prospered, still presuming. This sacrilegious robbery continued a whole day. Part of the people being amazed to see them, not taking them for men, but devils in humane shapes: and part rejoycing, that now those things were done which they themselves had long ago designed. Nor had the Magistrate and Senatours any greater care of Religion. Perhaps this sudden inundation took away their sense and judgement; perhaps, being privy to the plot, they, idle and carelesse, kept their houses. Indeed the whole Citie frighted, like passengers in a Shipwrack, beheld the destruction, never putting to their helping hands. The next day, another party of Church-robbers, either kept for a reserve, or taking example by what was done about *S^t. Omer*, had orders to plunder *Menin*, *Commines*, *Vervich*, and other Towns upon the *Eys*, which they did with the like violence. All things holy that were portable they carried away: the rest they cut in pieces and burned. Thence passing the River, they came within the Liberties of *Lisle*, many of the Townsmen joyning with them; and having robbed a rich Monastery, which they call *Marques*, mad and drunk, some went to *Doway*, some to *Seclin*: But the *Secliners* and other neighbour Towns, catching up any weapon that came to hand, faced them upon their march, and shewed themselves ready to punish the injury offered to Religion, unless those thieves would take another way. But they with the same impudence, striving to go forward, and to break through them, the Countrey came in, and falling upon them, slew a great sort, and routed the rest, making them flie in great distraction, forcing many into the boggs, drowing some in the river, and carrying others into the Town in triumph. But this was a slight revenge: when at the same time, almost all *Flanders* did as furiously assault God himself, and all his Saints, no man resisting. The news whereof much afflicted the

the Governess, who, in great grief of heart, turning to Count Egmont, that waited on her from the Sermon to her Privie-chamber, said, *Do you hear, Egmont, what good news comes from your Province of Flanders? Unhappy Woman that I am, to see in the time of my Government, such indignities offered to God, and to the King. And will you, in whose worth and fidelity his Majestie hath alwayes put such confidence, suffer these foul villanies to passe unpunished, in the Province committed to your charge? and when he answered, That in the first place the Kings Authority must be carefully maintained, and then Religion would easily be restored;* the Governess not without indignation replied, *that his counsel was not just, but rather before all humane things, the honour and worship of God ought to be preferred, the neglect whereof would be a farre greater misery, then the losse of any power or fortune whatsoever. This was her opinion, and likewise the Kings, who resolved to put nothing in ballance with Religion.* And when Egmont added, *That men were of another mind, who had estates in these Provinces, which they feared to loose:* she concluded with the same constancie, *that it was indeed to be wished, and would be a more prudent course, to preserve both Religion and temporall Power: but if one of them must go to wrack, the safetie of Religion ought principally to be respected; which, once lost, would never be repaired with the addition either of Wealth or Empire.* To this purpose her Excellence spake in Senate also, which she speedily summoned. Wherein it was decreed, that Maximil. Raspinghem, who succeeded John Currier deceased, in the Government of French Flanders, should immediately enter Lisle with the horse commanded by the Lord Montiny, who was then in Spain; and not suffer the people, that had been plundering consecrated Goods, to return into the town, before they had yeilded up their Arms, and that he had carried them to the Magazine. And notwithstanding Egmont did not well approve of this kind of proceeding, but affirmed, that if the Governess went by the way of Arms, this Insurrection would not be quieted, till 200000 men had lost their lives, yet she gave not off her resolution, but answered, *It were better that Rant, the dregs of mankind (if they would not renounce their heresie) should be banished or destroyed, then they should be suffered to commit such execrable wickedness, lest the good men of the Low-countreys should, at length, either be infected with their contagion, or forced by them to flie their Countrey, in case the multitude prevailed.*

Whilst these preparations were made at Court, the rage of the Low-countrey Hereticks was not laid, but like a storm, now violently carried into this, now into that quarter, terrified every Province, especially Antwerp. Where upon the day of the Assumption of our Lady (for the Antwerpers have the Blessed Virgin for their Patroness) whilst her Image in solemn Procession, was carried upon mens shoulders, from the great Church, through the streets, the symptoms of that disease appeared, which brake forth soon after. Some jeering rascals of the meaner sort of Artificers, first laughed and hissed at the holy Solemnitie: then impiously and impudently, with mimick salutations and reprochfull words, mockt the Effigies of the mother of God, and had presumed to lay sacrilegious hands upon it, but that by the care of those that ordered the Procession, it was set down, not (as was usuall) in the middle-Isle of the Church, but speedily conveyed into the Quire. And next day (for base people grow bolder if they find themselves feared) many came into the Church, and some playing their gambols before our Ladies Chapel, asked her in scorn, why she had so early flown up to the roost. Others ran about the great Church, threatening the Altars and Images; among whom an impudent Rogue, a Sadler, got up into the Pulpit, and when this

1566.

The Governess's words to Count Egmont.

His Answer.

Her reply.

His Rejoynder.

Her Conclusion.

The Senates resolution upon the Exigunt.

A new Iconomachy at Antwerp

Begun with scorn put upon the holy Procession.

Mackerie.

1566.

And quarrelling
in the Catho-
drall Church.

Whereof the sac-
erilegious people,
shutting out the
rest, possess
themselves.

And singing
Psalms full to
work.

Breaking all
things consecra-
ted.

And defacing
the whole Ca-
thedral.

O Profane!

impious Mimick had counterfeited the tone and gesture of a Preacher, de-
siring them to teach him a Bible, he challenged any of the Catholick Priests
to come and dispute with him: and whilst they received him on the one side
with applauses, and on the other with casting faggot-sticks and rubbish at
him (which he threw at his audience again) at length the scuffle increasing,
as if they had been in the streets, a Catholick Skipper, not able to endure
the insolence of the fellow, ran up the side of the Pulpit, and catching the
Bishop about the waste, lustily tossed him over to the ground; and he him-
self, in the heat of the brawl, avoiding many blows made at him, was shot
in the arm with a pistol-bullet, the rest, when some cried, that the Officers
were coming, for fear of being taken, slipped out of the Church. Not-
withstanding the quarrell continued, and they met every day, like Gladi-
ators upon the stage, to cut and hack one another. Untill upon the 21th of
August, the Hereticks increasing in their number, came into the great Church
with concealed weapons, as if they resolved, after some light skirmishes for
a few dayes past, to come now to a battel. And expecting till Even-song
was done, they shouted with a hideous cry, *Long live the Ghesuses*; Nay, they
commanded the Image of the Blessed Virgin to repeat their Acclamation,
which if she refused to do, they madly swore they would beat and kill her.
And through *John Immercilius* Pretour of the Town, with some Appara-
tours, came and commanded them to keep the Peace, yet he could not help
it, but the people running away to get out of the tumult, the Hereticks shut
the doors after them; and as Conquerours possessed themselves of the
Church: Now when they saw all was theirs, hearing the clock strike the
last houre of the day, and darkness adding confidence, one of them (lest
their wickedness should want formality) began to sing a *Geneva* Psalme, and
then, as if the Trumpet had sounded a charge, the Spirit moving them alto-
gether, they fell upon the effigies of the Mother of God, and upon the pi-
ctures of Christ and his Saints, some tumbled them down, and trod upon
them, others thrust swords into their sides; others chopped off their heads
with axes, with so much concord and forecast in their Sacriledge, that you
would think every one had his severall work assigned him. For the very
harlots, those common appurtenances to thieves and drunkards, catching up
the wax-candles from the Altars, and from the Vestry, held them to light
the men that were at work. Part whereof, getting upon the Altars, cast
down the sacred plate, broke a sunder the picture-frames, defaced the paint-
ed walls: Part, setting up ladders, shattered the goodly Organes, broke the
windows flourished with a new kind of paint. Huge statues of Saints, that
stood in the walls upon Pedistalls, they unfastened and hurled down, among
which, an ancient and great Crucifix, with the two thieves hanging on each
hand of our Saviour, that stood right against the high Altar, they pulled
down with ropes, and hewed it in pieces, but touched not the two thieves,
as if they onely worshipped them, and desired them to be their good Lords.
Nay, they presumed to break open the Conservatory of the celestial bread,
and putting in their polluted hands, to pull out the blessed Body of our
Lord, those base off-scourings of men, trod upon the Deity adored and
dreaded by the Angels. The Pixes and Chalicees which they found in the
Vestry, they filled with wine prepared for the Altar, and drank them off in
derision. They greased their shoes with the Chrisme or holy oyl, and after
the spoyle of all these things, laughed and were very merry at the matter.
My meaning is not, lest I should scandalize mankind, nor suits it with Histo-
ry, to repeat all the foul actions wherewith in this destruction of holy things,
these

these traitours to God and his Saints glutted their cruelty. But the greatest wonder was, to see them make so quick dispatch: that one of the fairest and greatest Churches of *Europe*, full of Pictures and Statues, richly adorned with about seventy Altars, by a few men (for they were not above one hundred; as the Governours wrote to the King, that he was certainly informed) should before midnight, when they began but in the evening, have nothing at all left entire or unprofaned. Truly, if the hundred men had not an hundred hands apiece, that in so short a space demolished such a multitude of things, it is not unreasonable to believe (which I know some at that time suspected) that devils mixing with them, joyned in dispatching their own work; or at least that the furious violence, which (in scorn of Religion) stript the Altars, mangled the Statues and Pictures, defaced the tombes, and in foure houres time robbed and layed waste so rich and goodly a Church, could not have any other cause, but the immediate impulsions of those rebellious and infernall spirits, that add both rage and strength to sacrilegious villains, offering an acceptable sacrifice to hell. Especially because in such a hurry and crowd of hasty labourers, whilst they run about the Church like *Bacchanals* and *Bedlams*; whilst they mount the rounds of their ladders; whilst they with great pains loosen the brasse and marble; whilst they endeavour to spoil and steal the richest things; none of all their number had so much as a fall, or a knock, though such loads of stone and wood came tumbling down, and so many fragments and splinters flew about; nor received the least hurt by the workmens tools, which they ran with in their hands: it is no slight argument (as I said before) to prove that by Gods permission, the Devil was the Surveyour of their works, and by the assistance of his evil Angels, that enterprize, no less difficult then impious, was instantly, without harm to any of them, and therefore prodigiously effected.

But these sacrilegious thieves committed yet more villanie in the Town, presuming upon their fortune: For running out of the Church with halloved candles, triumphantly singing and crying, *Vive la Gueux*; they were received by others that had lien concealed near the Church, expecting encouragement from the success. Their Companies therefore joyning (for Bootie invited them) still as they came to any Church-doors, they broke them open, spoyling and carrying away all their consecrated furniture. They climbed into *Monasteries*, searched them, chered their store-houses, seized upon their meat, drank off their wine, and took from them all their money, plate, and wardrobes, both sacred and profane. And this impiety was acted with such impudence and impunity; that truly I know not well, whether the Reader will conceive more indignation against those impious Ruffians, that without any reverence to God or man, plundred consecrated places, and other mens houses at their pleasure, destroying and stealing Church-ornaments, and Religious mens goods; or against such as ought to have protected those sacred things, and against the Religious Houses themselves, that looked on, whilst these Rogues with polluted hands abused and profaned all. But fear had possessed the generalitie, this hapning about midnight, when the Citie was in their dead sleep, and so the more affrighted, being awaked with sudden and severall kinds of Out-cries. And therefore, as unexpected and doubtfull accidents ever strike the greatest terror, many of the Merchants, fearing an universall plunder, shut their doors, and barricadoed them. The Clergie, knowing themselves unable to resist a multitude of thieves (not discerning how few

1566.

What a great
stately Church
was this.
How small a
number defaced
it.
In a few bowes.

Some thought
the Devil helpt
his Children.

Because none of
the sacrilegious
were so much as
hurt in the do-
ing it.

From the Church
they fall upon
the City.

And their num-
ber encreasing,

Plunder all the
Churches,

And Religious
Houses in the
Town,
With incredible
security.

Terrifying the
Inhabitants.
The Merchants
keep their own
houses, and there
stand upon their
guard.
Those that had
the custodie of
things sacred,
run away from
their charge.

1568.

Religious men
dare not appear.
All the Town
in a fright.
The Nuns flee
to their fathers
Houses.

The Sacrilegi-
ous make but
one nights work
of it.

Both Catholics
and Hereticks
conceal them-
selves out of
mutuall distrust.

The Church-
robbers plunder
with more li-
centiousnesse
then before.

The Pillage
continues for
three whole
dayes together.
At last the
drowsie Citizens
awake.

And taking
Arms,
Fright away the
Sacrilegious.

The like mis-
chief at the
same time,
Shaked all the
seventeen Pro-
vinces, like an
Earthquake.

Onely four ex-
cepted.
Tac. l. 2. An-
nals.

they were) forsook the Churchies, and provided for their own safetie. Nor had the religious Orders time to collect their spirits in this common trepidation, when so many fled. In a word men had no more consideration to defend themselves against this misfortune, then against a thunderbolt, which every one wishes to avoid, but none labours to oppose, But the poor Nuns were in the greatest fright and amazement, whose Cloysters were broke by these Hobgoblins, which making havock of all things in their way, and prying into every secret corner, whilst their furie or theivery kept them imployed, it was the onely preservation of the holy Virgins, that getting on their clothes of any fashion, escaped these sacrilegious dogs, and fled most of them into their Parents houses. By which means, lesse mischief was done, then uses to be committed in night-robberies. Their principall aim being to make haste, and ruine all things in an instant. And truly their hast was so great, that the noblest Churches and Religious houses of *Antwerp* were profaned and pillaged by the severall parties of these infamous Rascalls. Nay, when it was day-light, and that they saw the citie, amazed with sudden fear, had made no preparation to suppress them: for both Catholics and Hereticks kept within doors, those fearing the Hereticks, which they believed to be masters of the Town: and these, in regard they knew the odium of the fact would reflect upon themselves, and therefore feared the Justice of the Magistrate, and to be assailed by the Catholics: but all were of opinion, the libertie taken by these base Artificers, depended upon some superiour causes; the Church-robbers secured by other mens terrour, fell to plunder in the day time, returning to the Churches and Monasteries, unworthily and basely fouling the pure ornaments with their filthy souls and bodies; and buttering the Books in the library, set them on fire. Then in mockerie, arming the Saints statues, they ran a tilt, and overturning them, insulted over them. And every where like Conquerours, having as well surprised, Religion as the Town, they bore the spoils in triumph. Three dayes together in *Antwerp* lasted that spoil and destruction of things sacred: with so great a losse of rare peices, drawn by the hands of Masters, that some writers stick not to say, the great Church alone was damnified to the value of four hundred thousand Ducats. But it being strongly suspected, that after the spoil of Churches, hope of prey having multiplyed this wicked rabble, they would at last plunder the rich Merchants (as many times men fight more eagerly for their houses, then for their Altars) the Townsmen thinking it their best, no longer to stand neuters, especially perceiving the small number of these Rogues, appeared at their doors in arms, and (as if they meant to revenge the Commonwealth) shut up all the Ports but one, out of which that damned pack of villains ran, and poured out their furie upon the adjoining towns and villages, where they exercised the same kind of sacrilegious freeboot.

While this was done at and about *Antwerp*, the rage of these Traitours was no lesse, upon the very same dayes, at *Gant*, *Ondenaerd*, and other towns in *Flanders*, from the river of *Lys* as farre as *Schelt* and *Dender*, all the Churches and holy Ornaments going to wrack. For this destruction was more like an Earthquake, that devours all at once, then like the plague that steals upon a Countrey by degrees. Infomuch, as the same tainture and whirlwind of Religion, in an instant, miserably involved and laid waste *Brabant*, *Flanders*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Gelderland*, *Friesland*, *Over-Issell*, and almost all the Low-countreys except three or four Provinces, viz. *Namure*, *Lucemburgh*, *Artois*, and part of *Haynolt*. And as of old, in the reign of *Ti-*

berius

berius Cesar, they tell us that twelve cities were swallowed by an earthquake in one night; so in the *Low-countreys*, not the like number of Cities, but Provinces, by the Spirit, struggling and bursting out from hell, were devoured; with so sudden, with so great a ruine, that the *Netherlands* which had as many populous Cities, Towns, and Villages, as any part of *Europe*, within ten dayes, was overwhelmed in this calamitie: the particular Province of *Flanders* having four hundred consecrated houses, either profaned, or burnt to the ground. So as indeed the Governesse could not but believe Count *Mansfeld*, who called that conspiracie, a plot laid to betray all the *Low-countreys*, by the Heads of the hereticall party in *France*: from whence came almost all these cryers of the new Gospel. For by their practice the state of the *Low-countreys* being troubled, they might the more easily, as when an Army is confused at the first volly of shot, send fresh men, that assailing the Provinces, already weakened, might totally subdue them. With this opinion theirs agreed, who thought this impious plunder, acted with such consent and such impunity, not to be accidentall, nor the villanie of a few, but to be contrived by the Hereticks, and Orders given at *Centron*, that by one Massacre they might prevent another, which they feared hung over their heads, ever since the conference of the *French* and *Spanish* at *Baion*: the chief of the *Gheses* giving way to it, that they might the sooner, by the fright of these tumults, extort from the Governesse all which they had petitioned for. Indeed when the Churches and Monasteries of *Gant* were rifled, the spoil having continued for three dayes together, the like whereof happened at the same time in *Antwerp*; a letter from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, and six others, were delivered to the Ministers, Consistories, and Merchants of the *Low-countreys* (for so ran the superscription) wherein he advised them, that, in regard the cause of the reformed Religion seemed now to be in sufficient securitie, they should oppose themselves against the saucinesse and insurrection of the people, confident that, hereafter, no body would trouble them for the free Exercise of their Religion: and they were to give credence to the Bearer, who was one *Giles Clerk* a Lawyer of *Tournay*, his name being writ in cypher in the same letter. Upon receipt whereof, they ceased from profaning the Churches of *Gant*. Add to this, the words of Count *Mansfeld* to the Governesse, which she sent in Character to the King, that she was advised by Count *Mansfeld*, to beware of *Lewis* of *Nassau* before all men living for he was the wickedest Traitor in the world; to whom the Ministers and Elders of the Hereticks communicated all their Counsels, and that he carried in his hand the spoil of Churches and religious Houses; and by this means, that turbulent spirited desperate man hoped, to levie warre against the King. And it is evident, that *Lewis* was one of the first movers in all the Sacriledge committed: it was by his encouragement, that the common sort of hereticks would not obey the Magistrate, but contrary to his command, furiously ran out of the Citie to *Vilvoord*, to hear sermons.

The Governesse having notice from all parts, of these sacrilegious actions, no lesse doubting the future, then grieving and amazed at the present, speedily called the Senate, that being indeed the ordinary, but many times a posthumous and ineffectuall remedy. The Prefects of the Provinces and almost all the Lords were there, but onely *Philip Croi* Duke of *Areschot*, and *Charles Brime* Count of *Megen*, he excusing himself that he was not well, and this that he feared his enemies had a plot upon him. Her Excellence spake to them, in these very words (which she inserted in her Letters to the King) Grief and her inbred Noblenesse giving them vigour and authoritie.

1566.

To an infinite losse.

Especially in Flanders. Some thought this Pillage, a designe to betray the Low-countreys. Martin Delrio in Alter. Belg. l. 1. San. Truden. l. 4. Plotted between the French and Low-countrey Hereticks.

With consent of the Gheses.

An instance whereof, is Lewis of Nassau's letter.

And his Patronage of the Iconomachy. Septemb. 8.

The Governesse calls a Senate or Great Council.

Aug. 27.

To

1566.
Her Speech.

To what condition the Low-countreys are brought, by the wickedness of a few men, we see, the absent will hear, and posterity admire, to my great disparagement and yours. For I know many things will be imputed to me, Princes names being alwayes registred in the Kalender of publick calamities: and you are famed for so many noble actions at home and abroad, that your names cannot possibly be concealed. Nor were the Netherlands so intrusted to me, but that you had your parts in the Administration of the Government. The particular Provinces committed to your trust; the Order of the Golden-Fleece, wherein your Oaths and Names are upon Record, the Allegiance due to their Prince from his subjects, amongst whom you are the chief, multiplies your Obligations to the maintaining and enlarging of his Royall Power. And yet in these your Provinces, while you stand Spectatours, the Churches of God and his Saints, founded by the ancient piety of your Princes, which your Ancestours and your selves have adorned with victorious trophies, by sacrilegious and impious traytours are burned down, and profaned, your Ancestours tombes violated, the Statues of your Order, and your Coats of Arms, in many places impudently thrown to the ground, trod upon, and broken. To omit their barbarity to Virgins consecrated to God, robbing of their Nunneries; and for addition to their contumelies, cruelly turning out of their cities and holy mansions, all the Priests and Religious. But what kind of men are they that have raised this storm in the Low-countreys? What dregs of the people, what vile and abject fugitives, and Apostates from Religion? cruell, but to those that fear them: cowardly slaves if they themselves be terrified. A few Secliners and Countreymen, accidentally taking Arms, destroyed a multitude of these Church robbers. Did not one man yesterday, catching up a spear, when a great sort of these Traytours were gathered together, fright them not onely from a Chapel which they threatned, but from the Citie it self? Will you suffer this pestilence to rage without opposition, and to ruine the State and Peace of your Countrey, and your Religion, before your eyes, and these troubles to open the way unto a forrein Conquest? Nay, it is commonly reported, these villanies are committed, some of you not onely not resisting, but being also privie and assistant to the plot. I am not ignorant, that such Calumnies use to be spread abroad by wicked men, to make good Subjects less active in doing Justice upon the enemies to Religion. And perhaps they hope to fright me with great names, and so inforce my consent to their unjust Demands. What is fit to be done by men of honour, look you to that; for what concerns my self, I religiously profess, that no mans menaces shall compell me, to mix the new figments of these people, with the ancient and Orthodox Religion established in these Provinces. Nay, if the King himself, upon whose Grace and Pleasure I depend, should dispense with the Low-countrey men, to be of what Religion they list, (which how farre it is from his Maesties intention, none can be ignorant) I would instantly depart the Low-countreys, because I would not be an Agent in, or Interpreter of such Indulgence. But if I were stayed by force of Arms (which I hear they threaten) I call God to witness, I would offer my self to the slaughter, and be torn in pieces, rather then suffer a Profession of Faith, contrary to the Catholick Religion. To prevent all this, be it your care, my Lords, I do coniure you by your duty to God, your Allegiance to the King, and your Love unto your Countrey. And because gentle remedies will not prevail with desperate people, and that they trust to the protection of the confederate Gentlemen, let us at last receive the Arms and Assistance which you have often promised, and ought long since to have performed. That when the King shall come, who will be here very shortly, he may find these Provinces quieted by your means, and no less remunerate your fidelity with his royall Bounty, then he will requite the perfidiousness of others with severe punishment. This speech, made by the Governes, took according to every ones severall interest and inclination; quickning the desires

The divers senses of the Senators upon this Speech: some for, others against a Warre.

fires if found in their minds, but not introducing any new Resolve. Therefore the Counts of *Mansfeld*, *Aremberg*, and *Barlamont*, all true to the Kings cause, chearfully offered their services: *Egmont*, *Orange*, *Horn*, and divers others, spake against levying war; whose opinion carried a greater appearance of Reason, because of the multitudes of Hereticks, whereof there was above fifteen thousand in *Bruxels*, it being unsafe for the present to provoke them by a warre. But the Governes cut off that dispute, and leaving the mention of Armes out of her Speech, not out of her mind (for she resolved the Warre should be her Great Council) she asked their opinions, how those troubles might be otherwise composed. The result of their two dayes consultation was, That the Governes should offer them an Act of oblivion for the time past, and security for the future provided, that the Confederates should first burn the instrument of their Association (they called it the Covenant) and afterwards take an oath to be true to the Catholick Religion, and faithfull Subjects to the King for ever.

But the Governes delaying to set her hand to the Act, as if she were yet doubtfull whether it should pass or no, more of these turbulent people hourly gathering together, and being themselves tossed upon the waves of sedition, thrust others on, that else would have sate still. And they were heard to say, prompted by *Lewis*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, that unless the Governes would secure the Gentlemen Covenanters, unless every one might have liberty to go to Sermons, and no man be punished for Religion; the Governes should with her own eyes see all the Churches in *Bruxels* fired, the Priests murdered, her self imprisoned. And because this was said to be as well privately intended, as publicly reported: the Governes resolved to steal out of *Bruxels* and retire to *Mons*, a city of *Haynolt*, partly that she might not be an eye-witness of the destruction of holy Images in *Bruxels*, partly that being in a safe place, she might not be forced to accept of unjust conditions. But whilst *Orange* and *Egmont*, to whom she would needs bid Farwel, dissuaded her from the journey, the news was all over the Town, and some of the Citizens shutting up the Gates, others went to the Governes, humbly beseeching her, that she would not by her flight, adde to the impudence of wicked men, and make the King condemn that faithfull Citie, under the notion of Conspiratours against his Majesty. Nor did she alter her resolution for all this, though a great man informed her Excellence, that the Prince of *Orange* speaking of her going away to some at Court, told them, among other discourse, That if the Governes would leave the Town, and consequently desert the State, he himself was resolved, his Towns and Fortunes should not become a prey to any: That their *French* neighbours might easily possess themselves of *Flanders*: and that long since, they pretended a title to *Artois*, and *Haynolt*: nor could the rest of the Provinces want new Lords. But that which most of all troubled the Governes, was a rumour dispersed in *Bruxels*, that she was the onely cause why the *Gheuses* had not their Petition granted, which she might do of her self, having received plenipotentiary Authority from the King, to signe any conditions for quieting the *Low-countrey* tumults. And that if still she pretended to expect answer from *Spain*, putting them off with such flammes, there were some in readines, that seizing upon her, together with *Viglius*, Keeper of the Seal, and *Egmont* himself, would extort by force, what they could not obtain with modestie. Such reports as these, though at first the Governes accounted them vain threatnings of the Hereticks, which had cunningly named *Egmont*, to make her think the Conspira-

1566.

Their heat ended.

The Senate made this Decree, nemine contradicente.

The Gheuses threaten *Bruxels* and the Governes.who frighted, resolves to leave *Bruxels*.

But is stayed by prayers & force.

The Prince of *Orange* expresses very much trouble.

The Governes more and more threatened.

Ulricus Viglius

Yet not suffered to depart the Town.

1566.

And very much
terrified.
Makes some
Concessions to
the Covenanting
Gheuses.
Giving the
King this ac-
count by letter.

Of the causes
moving her to
do it.

And of the
particulars
granted.

Blaming her
own indulgent
Aid and be-
seebing his
Majestie not to
confirm it.
But rather to
vindicate Re-
ligion.

She in the inte-
rim secures her
self and the
Town of Bru-
xels.

And gets time
to breath, upon
the present al-
teration of af-
fairs by the en-
deavours of the
Gheuses at
Bruxels.

And of the
Prince of O-
range at Ant-
werp.

Who afterwards
offended the
Governesse, by
his grant of
Churches to the
Hereticks.

Septemb. 3.

tours hated him: Yet when she saw the same affirmed by many, that seemed utterly to despair of any good; once more attempting to get out of Town, and being staid again: Fear overcoming her, she at last was induced to grant some of the Covenanters demands. Which, after other businesse, she wrote to his Majestie, in these words. Now when I come to add what finally I granted to the Covenanters, unworthy my Resolution, unworthy your Majesties Religion, truly, the grief of it peirces my very soul, and shame comes upon my face in blushes. I call God to witnesse, who knows the secrets of my heart, that often and with my utmost power I resisted them: many nights together I have not shut mine eyes, being at that very time afflicted with sorrow, and a fever. At last, besides the spoil of Churches, which I heard of, from other quarters; when the storm hung over this Citie, and that so many openly rung in mine ears, that the destructive sight to holy things would never cease till I should grant two demands made by the Covenanters. When my house was besieged, my mind languishing, and my body sick, sending for Orange, Egmont, and Horn, and protesting before them, that my consent was extorted thereunto, I made a concession of pardon and indemnity to the Covenanters, and to the rest I gave libertie to hear their Ministers preach, onely in places where they had been accustomed so to do; provided they came unarmed, and molested not the Catholicks. With a speciall clause limiting these two Grants to such time, as the King with consent of the Estates of the Low-countreys would be pleased to allow. Yet to both these I consented not in your Majesties name, but in mine own, so as when you please you may avoid them, without the least blemish to your Honour, which you have not your self engaged; and being ill-engaged by me, you should not, and (I hope) will not make it good. Nay, I beseech and conjure you, Mighty Sir, by that which is dearer to you then your life, your care to defend the Catholick faith, that immediately, not expecting the convenience of the Spring, you will please to come in person, and revenge the wrongs done to afflicted Religion, which now sadly and solely addressing her self to your Majestie, expects relief (which otherwise, she despairs of) from that right hand of yours, renowned for faith, and power. Indeed, unlesse this one hope remained, my life, which lingers in a miserable manner, would soon part from me, though perhaps this hope it self will be hardly able to keep off death. Thus her Excellence (fainting under the burden of her grief) wrote privately to the King, but publickly shewed no womanish passion, and still intent to affairs of State, gave Count Mansfeld Commission to govern Bruxels as her Lieutenant, put into the town a new Garrison of horse and foot, fortified the Count; left nothing undone, that either concerned her own or the Cities preservation. Indeed having made that agreement with the Covenanters, they gave her jealousies a short breathing-space; for, upon the foresaid terms, taking a new oath of obedience to the Governesse, they so ordered the matter, that upon the day appointed the Gheuses attempted nothing against the Church. Nay, the Prince of Orange returning to Antwerp hanged three of the sacrilegious villains, and banished three more, setting open the great Church, commanding the Priests to exercise their function, and boldly to instruct the people. Which had not a little rejoiced the Governesse, but that, in the same letter which he about it, he inclosed two petitions, delivered him by the Germans, that desired some Church in Antwerp, where they might freely exercise the confession of *Aussurg*. This took off much of the Governesses contentment, especially because, the day after, she understood, by other letters from the Prince of Orange, that he, and the Senate of Antwerp, had permitted Hereticks to preach in the citie, and to use all the other rites of *Luther* and *Calvin*; af-

signing

figning them three places for that purpose. The reason whereof the Prince of *Orange* explaining, affirmed to the Governesse (who very haينiously represented it) in three letters, sent immediately one after another, that he was extreemly unwilling to make conditions with the Hereticks, but some considerations inforced him: First, that he might by this means restore the Churches and Churchmen to securitie. Then, whereas no less then twenty thousand men used to go out of Town to sermons, he greatly feared lest, at their return, some pragmaticall knaves, gaping after pillage, might joyn with them, and (the multitude prevailing) plunder the rich Merchantes houses. Lastly, because the Hereticks already had sermons in *Antwerp*, therefore in pursuance of that agreement, he had assigned them places in the citie. Notwithstanding, the Governesse liked not the proceedings of the Prince of *Orange*; perhaps because she her self was guilty of too much indulgence, and likewise in fear to be reproved for anothers fault: perhaps, because the Prince of *Orange* had indeed given further allowance to the Hereticks then they could challenge by their articles, which licensed their Sermons within the walls, but not their Baptisme, Marriage, or other Heretick call ceremonies. But whilst the Governesse chides the Prince, and wills him to revoke his Act, news is brought to her, that the Counts of *Hochstrat*, and *Horn* had followed the example of *Antwerp*, he at *Muchlin*, this at *Tournay*, and both, rebuked by the Governesse, gave her an account of their actions. *Hochstrat* said, he could not do withall, for the law was given to him by the enraged people, whom he found, at his entrance into the citie, barbarously spoiling the Churches. But *Horn* (of whom her Excellence complained to the King, as of a greater Delinquent then the rest, because when he had made suit for the Government of *Tournay*, it was granted him upon certain conditions, which he ingaged to observe, yet had broke every particular) laid the fault upon the citie, so full of Hereticks, that of five parts scarce one continued Catholick. The Governesse heard yet worse news from *Utrecht*, and worst of all from the *Bus*: those having chased away the Catholicks from the Churches, and these the Bishop from the citie. A while after, the Prince of *Orange* certified the Governesse, that three hundred of the common people at *Antwerp*, in hope of spoil taking arms, were ready to break into a Monasterie of *Franciscans*, but that he came in with his horse, and scattered them. But the same wickednesse prospered better at *Amsterdam*. Where a few men of the poorest roguery sort of Hereticks, but countenanced by many and potent Citizens, rushing into a Church and Monasterie of *Franciscans*, and defacing all the consecrated things, beat and stoned out the Religious, hurting the Consull of the town, and one of the greatest Senatours, that opposed them; and so made themselves masters of the Convent. At which time, the women of *Amsterdam* did a memorable exploit. For while these impious madmen running to all the Churches in the town, closely followed their victorious beginning, and broke into a Chappell famous in those parts for miracles wrought by the holy Eucharist: where they laid hands upon that heavenly bread; the women, that were about the Altar, took to themselves mens courages, rising up in defence of the blessed Sacrament, and resolving rather to die then suffer that execrable rudenesse. And what with threats, and authoritie (for some of them were women of qualitie) what with force and clamour, those barking hell-hounds ran away, without so much as touching the Altar, or tearing the Church ornaments. These women are indeed worthy the knowledge and commendations of posterity. Unless perhaps their praise

1566.

For which he gives her reason.

Septemb. 4.

Septemb. 4.

5.7.

But not satisfactory.

The like done at Mechlen and Tournay by the Counts of Hochstrat and Horn who excuse themselves.

Septemb. 8.

2273

The very same at Utrecht. And at Bolduc.

The Franciscans, at Antwerp, endangered by the Hereticks.

Septemb. 17.

And turned out of doors at Amsterdam.

The pious Act of the Amsterdam women.

and 21. 1656

2273

2273

2273

2273

2273

2273

2273

2273

2273

1566.

The impious
act of the
men of Delph.

1566.
1567.

Septem. 27.
Octob. 10.
and 10.

The Governesse
beseeches the
King to come
into the Low
countrie.

Gant 1539.

14. and 24.

And the King,
after he had
communicated
the joy of his
Daughters
birth.

August 12.
Clara Isabella
Eugenia.

Approves of her
advice.
Directs her
what numbers
to raise.

And what
Commanders to
employ.

Sends Commis-
sions,

may seem a disparagement to the men. But the women of *Amsterdam* merited not more honour, then the same sex deserved infamie at *Delph*, a town in *Holland*. For a whole Regiment of them, undoubtedly possessed by the Devil, knowing one anothers minds, upon the sudden, like Bedlams or Furries, got into a Church of the *Franciscans*, broke the Saints images, towled and spoiled the holy Altar-clothes. From thence, with like speed and rage, they furiously made their way into the Monasterie it self, with such violence, as if they had been the Snake-haired hags sent from *Pluto*, running over the house, and rising every corner: so as the *Franciscans* frighted with the strange sight of these *Bacchides*, thinking this to be the prologue to a massacre, (for it was rumoured that within two or three dayes all the Priests should have their throats cut) part of them to save themselves, fled; and the rest hid themselves. I know some were of opinion they were not women that durst make this attempt, but men in womens clothes. Yet, that the women of *Holland* might be so wicked, it is agreeable to their mannish principles in mastering of their husbands. And that it was their Act, the Governesse (who shrewdly sifted things out) affirmed; and, among divers such like prodigies, whereof in many severall letters she informed the King; her Excellence laments the desperate condition of the *Low-countrys*, that had no hope but onely in his Majesties presence: therefore she humbly beseeches him, if he means to keep those Provinces, to cut off all delays; and by the example of his father *Charles* the fifth, who marched through *France* into the *Low-countrie* in the deep of winter, onely to quiet one mutinous city; now, when all the cities were endangered, he would please himself personally to come, and speedily with his Armie to subdue that stubborn people, as his father had done *Gant*: and to impose such laws upon them, as should stand with the pleasure of a Conquerour, and a Revenger. And now the King, as appeared by other letters to the Governesse, resolved upon a war. Therefore in two packets sent by his Majestie from *Segovia* dated in August, he appoints her the place, and number of men she shall raise and pay. Yet in his first Expreffe, before he opens his determination of levying forces, he acquaints her with the Queens happy deliverie, who having been two dayes in labour, was brought a bed of a daughter, baptized at the holy Font by *John Baptista Castano* the Popes Nuncio, afterward *Urban* the seventh, by the name of *Clara Isabella Eugenia*. The first of these names was given her from the Saints day on which she was born, the second from her mother, the third, in honour of the martyr *Eugenius*, Bishop of *Toleda*, whose sacred body, brought out of *France*, King *Philip* helped to bear, the same day that he perceived his Queen to be with child. This is the *Isabella* that, as she was born in the heat of the *Low-countrie* tumults; so afterwards being married to the Archduke *Albans*, Brother to the Emperour *Rodolph*, had the *Low-countrie* Provinces and tumults for her Dowrie. His Majestie having passed these complements to his Sister, commands her to raise three thousand horse, and ten thousand foot in *Germany*, and giving them two moneths pay, to have them ready, in case they should be sent for into the *Low-countrys*. Of these horse she was to order one thousand to be raised, and commanded by *Erck* Duke of *Branswick*, five hundred under his Brother *Philip*, 200 under *John Barnise*, the rest under *John Vultbert*. The foot she was to distribute into 33 colours, ten whereof to Count *John* of *Nassau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, as many to Count *Ordo Erberstein*, eight to Colonell *Cremberberg*, the other five to Captain *Halderfing*. For all these severall Officers, the King sent Commissions to the Governesse, to-
gether

gether with 300000 Ducats, part whereof she was to distribute among the said Commanders: and part to others, if more should be entertained, or any else thought fit to be nominated, in their places that were already chosen. For which purpose, his Majestie sent her divers blanks, signed with his signe manuell. Finally, lest any of the *Germane* Princes should make an ill construction of his levying those men, he enclosed in her packet letters to them, acquainting them all with the ground of his designe, particularly the Emperour *Maximilian*, to whom he explained himself both by Express, and by the mouth of his Embassadour at *Vienna*, intreating his Imperiall Majestie, for the sweetness of their love and blood, to assist with his authority those levies. But the Emperour, because he had heard, that the Governes and the confederate Gentlemen were now agreed, commending the wisdom of that policy, dissuaded the King from those Arms and Levies. Perhaps, because the Turk then threatening him, he could not spare so many men: perhaps, because he thought it an honour to be the Arbitrer and Composer of other Princes quarrels. Therefore in his Letters to the Governes, the Emperour promised her his endeavours, if any thing was yet uncomposed. And wrote likewise to the Covenanters to this effect, *That he was much troubled to hear of their difference with the Governes, and of the stirres that daily followed thereupon: which because they were in the confines of the Empire, in the Dominion of the King his Uncle, in Provinces so much by him esteemed, concerned the Majesty of the Empire, that he should by his assistance and authority assure the obedience of the Subjects to their Prince. That he hoped these his endeavours would be acceptable to the Catholick King, and he was sure, they would be safe for the Confederates. Therefore he advised them in the interim, to attempt no Innovations, but as Allegiance bound them, to compell the tumultuous people to be quiet.* This Letter, and divers more of the same subject written to the Lords, the Emperour sent the Governes to read, and as it should be needfull, to deliver. But the Governes sending copies of them to the King, a good while expected his Answer, till the stirres daily encreasing, her Excellence receiving new commands from his Majestie to levy forrein forces, gave thanks to the Emperour *Maximilian*, letting him know, that the present condition of affairs was such, as no capitulation could be made with an armed Faction without arms. Wherefore dispatching the Kings letters to the Electours of the Empire, and others, especially to those that were to raise the men, she beseeched the Emperour, that the Assistance which he had graciously offered in the *Low-countrieys*, he would please to perform among the *Germane* Princes, and the Commanders there, which would be now more opportune, and a farre greater favour to the King. And truly the Emperour did not onely this, but likewise by Edict prohibited, and made it death, for any *Germane* to bear arms against the King of *Spain*. Which among divers others, how deeply it was resented by the Prince of *Orange*, though otherwise subtil and close, he expressed at table, wine laying open the secrets of his heart. For being invited by *Gressen*, Agent for the Queen of *England*, after he had drunk soundly, the Prince began in great fury to inveigh against the Emperours Edict. *That the Emperour, and the King, and whosoever was of their opinion, deceived themselves; that not onely the Germans would take arms, but a great sort of other Nations bordering upon the Empire. That the Danes, the Swedes, and many others would not be wanting, which both would and could help the confederate Low-countrieymen.* Thus threatening in his rage, after supper he was abolished with a song. But the Letters which I have mentioned, sent from the King and the Governes to the Princes of *Germany*, were by them diversly

1566.

And money to the Governes.

Giving reasons to the Princes of Germany for his levies. Particularly to the Emperour.

who dissuades him.

And offers himself to the Governes to arbitrate the differences between her and the Covenanters.

Octob. 13.

But her Excellence prays his assistance in the levies.

And obtains more then she requested. Whereat the Prince of Orange chafes.

And threatens.

The rest of the Germane Princes returne different answers.

1566.

Triers and
Mentz approve
of the Kings de-
signe, and offer
passage to his
army.

The rest of the
Catholick Prin-
ces do the like.

The Landgrave
of Hessen, and
others do the
contrary.

Novem. 11.

Especially the
Palgrave.

Charles the ix
of France de-
clares for the
K. of Spain.
1565.

Who writes
thanks to the
French King,
and his intent of
coming to the
Governers.
Octob. 2.

A private meet-
ing of the Lords
at Dender-
mund where
they produce
Of all which
the vigilant
Governers had
exact intelli-
gence.

Novem. 12.

Letters, signify-
ing the Kings
displeasure and
resolution to be
revenged on
the Lowcoun-
treys Lords.

answered. The Electours of *Trier* and *Mentz* did much approve of the Kings designe against the Rebels and disturbers of the Catholick Religion, promising their assistance, as befitted good friends and neighbours, both Princes of the Empire, and allies unto his Majesty; they would therefore give free passage through all their Towns, and Jurisdictions, to such forces as upon this occasion should, with the Emperours consent be raised. The like promises were made by the rest of the Catholick Bishops in *Germanie*. The Duke of *Bavaria* added, that all men were bound by force of Arms to oppose such tumults, that as plagues laid cities desolate: and he desired his Majestie would be very vigilant in it. Farre different expressions were returned from the hereticall Princes; for the Landgrave of *Hessen*, and the Duke of *Wirttemberg*, excusing themselves in point of Religion, which would not suffer them to prejudice those of their own Profession, advised the Governers to seek redress without arms, onely by allowing the Confession of *Ausburg*, and Liberty of conscience. But the Count *Palatine, Frederick* the third, who declared himself Defendour of the new Faith in *Germany*, wrote the most confident and longest letter of them all. For he not onely pleaded to the Governers the cause of the *Low-countrie men*, and maintained their innocence, but defying the Bishop of *Rome*, the veneration of holy Images, and the tyrannic of the Inquisitors, concluded, that Religion bound him, not to oppose his brethren, professing the Faith of *Ausburg*, and the pure word of God. The Landgrave of *Hessen*, and the Palgrave, nor thus contented, perswaded the Duke of *Brunswick*, not to engage in a warre undertaken merely for Religion, and not to accept the Command of horse offered to him. Notwithstanding he took it, nor did any other Commander invited by the King, refuse his Commission, but onely *John of Nassau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*. Nor did *Charles* the ninth of *France*, requested by the Governers, fail to declare himself enemy to these insurrections, commanding by Proclamation, that none of his subjects should presume to assist the Rebels of the *Low-countrieys*, with relation (as I conceive) to the mutuall promise of Assistance made at *Baion*: and particularly fearing, if the Hereticks should be masters of the *Netherlands*, *France* would be overflowed with the same filthy sink. I am certain King *Philip* sent him letters full of thanks, and likewise signified to the Governers his Intention presently to begin his voyage, for which all things being now in readines, he onely wanted health; for his quartane Ague had not yet left him, though he meant not to expect a perfect Recovery, but to go forthwith to *Madrid*, that having settled his affairs, he might from thence, concerning any danger to his life, pass over into the *Low-countrieys*. This, which was likewise by *Bergen* and *Montiny*, writ from *Spain* in cypher, began to be believed.

The minds of many were exceedingly troubled at the news, insomuch as the Prince of *Orange*, his brother *Lewis*, the Counts *Egmont*, *Hochstrat*, and *Horn*, met at *Dendermund*, betwixt *Antwerp* and *Gant*; to communicate the intelligence which every one of them had received, concerning the Kings coming, and thereupon to advise what generall course was to be held. Though this meeting was appointed, and came together with all secrecie; yet the industrious Governers knew all their proceedings. And as multitudes of spies alwayes attend a Jealous Prince, there wanted not that kind of men, Evesdroppers, and Hocus-Pocufes, the summe of whose life is to know and not to be known, which pryed into all their secret consultations and resolutions. And as farre as she could understand, the Governers wrote to the King, that by many Letters sent from *Spain*, and there produced, it was confirmed,

that

that the King incensed at the plunder and spoil of Churches, was resolved to bring an army into the *Low-countries*, to punish such as had either been principalls or accessaries to the fact. In other Letters it was added, that the Prince of *Orange*, *Egmont*, and *Horn*, were believed at Court to be the Advisers and Protectours of all these commotions, and therefore the King aimed chiefly at their Heads. To this effect were read the Letters of *Francisco Alava* the King of *Spains* Embassadour to *Charles* the ninth, written from *Paris* to the Governes, and pretended to be intercepted, which certified the Governes of the Kings coming with a potent army of *Spaniards* and *Italians*, and of the new League concluded between the Kings, *Philip* and *Charles*, that his Majestie might be the better able to punish the Rebels, and four Lords, that is, besides the fore-mentioned triumvirate, *Peter Etneft*, Count *Mansfeld*, as he himself told the Governes, he heard it from divers reported. Whether all this was cunningly given out, to move the people to despair of pardon, or really writ from *Spain*, and by *Alava*, I leave to indifferent Judges. Sure I am, that the Governes writing to the King, professed she had as yet no certain knowledge of the Letters sent her by *Alava*, and said to be intercepted; and assured Count *Mansfeld*, that he was in very great esteem with his Majestie, and that he was onely invented to draw him from the Kings party. The Kings coming being therefore ascertained by many mens Letters read in that private Convention of the Lords, the question was put how the King might be prevented from bringing his Army into the *Low-countries*. And when on the one part severall wayes of resistance were proposed, on the other part a warre was feared, which they could encounter with no proportionable strength, and that a third sort held it the best course to trust to the Kings mercy, from which the major part dissented: herein their different opinions concurred, that to oppose his Majesties passage into the *Low-countries*, the treason would be certain, the victory doubtfull; and to admit him, were yet more dangerous. For now the Breach was so farre made, as it would be a madness to hope for mercy, when they had received an angry and an armed Prince. They must therefore either sie the place, and leave their countrey unpeopled to the Conquerour; or they must set up a new Prince, under whose protection they may live in safetie. This last Propofall seemed the best, and they might take a singular good occasion, if (now that the Emperour *Maximilian* shewed himself desirous to compose those differences) under colour of making him the Umpire, they secretly treated to put the *Low-countries* into his hands; which would be less subject to censure, because in so doing they should not strike at Monarchy, but onely change their Monarch; Especially, since they still adhered to one of the House of *Austria*. And this advantage would ensue, that the new elected Prince would have so great an obligation laid upon him, as if their Designes should haply want success, howsoever the Emperour would be engaged never to desert them, without making their peace with King *Philip*. Having in this manner consulted, they left *Dendermond*, full of cares and doubts, particularly Count *Egmont*, who either to draw more of the Nobility to the cause, or that being yet unresolved himself, he had a mind to try how his friends stood affected, wrote a letter to Count *Mansfeld*, wherein putting him in remembrance of what they had joyntly acted in the beginning of these troubles, he complained of *Mansfelds* abandoning their friendship without any iust pretence. Then he accused the inconstancie of the Governes, who would not see that performed which he had promised to the Covenanters: but that she her self had solicited the King to annull her Act,

1566.

A fourth Lord is added, falsely,

but subtilly.

Novem. 12.

A Queere made whether they should oppose the King with an army, or admit him.

Both wayes seem dangerous.

They resolve to change their Prince.

Novem. 9. The summe of C. Egmonts letter to Count Mansfeld.

1566.

C. Mansfelds
Answer.

as forced, and therefore pressed him to come with an Army, and make his seditious and rebellious subjects a formidable example to posterity. Finally, Egmont assured him, it was evident by many mens letters, which he had compared at Dendermond, that the King resolved to cut off the heads of four Lords (in which number Mansfeld himself was listed) to keep the rest in obedience. In the last place, he said, he should be very glad by his answer to know what he would advise him to do. This Letter Count Mansfeld privately gave the Governesse, and with the same fidelity shewed her what he answered. That no man could justly complain of him, when, from the beginning he went a long with Egmont and the rest, upon no other ground, but because it seemed advantageous to Religion, and their Countrey, that Cardinall Granvel should be removed, the Inquisition taken away, the rigour of the Emperours Edicts mitigated, and lastly a generall Pardon granted to such as the Governesse would move for to the King. To all which particulars his Majestie having graciously condescended, he saw no colour of a grievance now remaining. He would therefore freely speak his thoughts, (especially at his Request) that things were gone too farre, to the great contempt of the Divine Majesty, and scandall of the Christian world. That there was time yet left to make some kind of Satisfaction for offences past, that is, by so behaving themselves among the present troubles, that when the King comes, they may meet him, not with a cloudie look, nor such a mind as can be taxed by any. Touching the report of the Kings anger and intended revenge, for his own part he feared it not. He had ever been, and ever would be so faithfull to his Sovereigne, that if he pleased to command his attendance in Spain, he would instantly go thither, and having rendred an accompt of his actions, hoped to receive from his Royall Master no little Grace and Benefit. Nor spake he this, as if Count Egmont could not securely say as much, but that he might daily adde to this security, by cutting off all occasions of suspicion. And having so often affronted the King, with pretending publick Necessity, they would now at length forbear to press their Prince, to govern his Provinces by other mens directions. Lastly, (for thus Mansfeld concluded) if Egmont would hear his friends advice, he should remain his friend forever; if not, he was resolved to value nothing in this world equally with his Honour. Having read these Papers, and highly commended the constancy of Count Mansfeld, the Governesse sent the heads of both letters to his Majestie, beseeching him, that since he found so much faith in Mansfeld, especially at such a time, he would be pleased abundantly to recompence him with the grant of his just desires, a particular whereof she had annexed to the Letter. This, moved by the Governesse, might perhaps make one suspect these Letters to be forged by Mansfeld, to ingratiate himself with her Excellence, and to obtain with more facility those things, for which he had been a long and earnest suiter to the King, or at least, that he had counterfeited, if not Egmonts Letter, yet his own Answer to it: But many things offer themselves, which absolutely clear this doubt; as, Count Egmonts hand, well known to the Governesse, and her intelligence of the truth of Egmonts actions, which may fright the greatest confidence in the world into a blush, that shall presume to charge him with such a forgery. Add to this, the reputation and manners of Count Mansfeld (which manners either absolve or condemn every one) far from the least imputation of any such deceit; and lastly, his constant adherence to the Kings cause. So as the Governesse justly confident in his integrity, commended him as much as she could possibly to his Majesty, one thing she seemed to admire, that she found in Egmonts Letter, the very words she had writ in cypher to the King. She therefore complained to the King, that secrets were brought out of his

1565.

The Governesse
sends abstracts
of both Letters
to the King, and
writes in Count
Mansfelds
behalf.Assured of the
truth of his in-
telligence.The Governesse
grievously com-
plains to the
King, that her
letters were be-
trayed in his
Court.

Count
Court

Court into the *Low-countries*. Was any of his Ministers of State so dull-brained, or open breasted, to suffer these mysterious parts of Government to be scrued out of his mouth or hands? or so ill-natured and perfidious, as to reveal the Counsell of his Prince to the enemy? That she certainly knew many copies of Letters she had sent his Majestie for two yeares now past, and divers of the Originalls themselves, were come to the hands of the *Low-countries* Lords. How destructive was this to his affairs? how derogatory to the Royall Dignity? She therefore beseeched the King, that hereafter, he would either see her Letters burnt, or give them in custody to faithfull Servants, that would keep them from the knowledge of such as were otherwise. And yet I find, after this time, the Prince of Orange bragged to Christopher Assonvil, that every word the King spake, as well private, as publick, was faithfully conveyed to his ear in the *Low-countries*. Indeed these discoveries cost much money; but money cannot be more fruitfully laid out. For it is the Philosophy of Princes to dive into the secrets of men, leaving the secrets of Nature to such as have spare time. Which being granted, what Council-chamber can be impervious or inaccessible to royal bountie, since the Court of so prudent and circumspect a Monarch was bought by private Persons?

But the Covenanters not content with the ambiguous deliberations of the Lords at *Dendermond*, the leading men, and such as could be suddenly got together, met at *Amsterdam*, unknown to the Prince of Orange, (as he wrote to the Governesse) yet he was near the town, but peradventure he connived. It is believed they agreed, at this meeting, to use their utmost indeavours to keep the King from coming in with an armie, and that, either by the mediation of the Emperour *Maximilian*; or by a publick Revolt from their obedience, to petition with swords in their hands. And it fell out very commodiously, that the Diet of the Empire was then to be held at *Ausburg*, where they resolved to petition the Emperour in the name of the *Low-countraymen*: but in case he denied their request, then to addresse themselves to the Electours, who might signifie to the Emperour, that unlesse herein he would over-rule the King, they (the Electours) could not be able to give him assistance against the *Turk*. Nor was it handsome, whilst the King visited the *Low-countries* with an armie, that they, destitute of men and money, should leave themselves exposed to the injuries of bordering forces. If this succeeded not, they would venture upon any thing, make a league with the hereticall Cantons of the *Swisse*, and by their assistance (which some say was promised) stop King *Philips* passage into *Savoy*. Nay more, to find the King work at home, they would send to *Sivill* three thousand of those *Calvinisticall* books, of which they had long since consulted with some *Calvinist*-ministers (of these twelve were nominated) that should disperse those Volumes throughout *Spain*, and turn the Kings mind from going into a forrein Country. This Expedient was committed to the managierie of a *Spanish* Merchant, lying then in *Antwerp*, a hot-headed fellow, and malicious to Catholics. So the Governesse wrote to the King, and added, that she would lay all the Ports to prevent that plague-sore from sailing into *Spain*. But these deliberations, because sudden and full of fear, did more terrifie, then hurt. Yet in that Assembly this was resolved. The Gentlemen-Covenanters (for men that are in like danger easily associate) conspired with the Merchants, and the rest of the hereticall people, and took the Sacrament on both sides to this purpose, That the Covenanters should protect them, against all men, that sought to restrain the libertie of Conscience: and the Merchants engaged to furnish them with money, and their ut-

1566.

But no counse was taken to help it, so great an influence the Prince of Orange had upon the Kings Council. For which he paid well.

A new Convention at Amsterdam.

where they resolve to beseech the Emperour to be their Advocate to the King. And the Electours to mediate for them to the Emperour. And if he deny them, then to deny to serve him against the common enemy. If no good could be done so, to make a league with the Swisse. And to puzzle the Spaniards in their faith by sending thither Calvinisticall Books and Ministers, whereof her Excellence premonishes the King.

Decem. 18.

And is her self vigilant in the Low-countries. The Gentlemen and the Merchants promise to one another mutuall Assistance.

1566.

The Confession
of Auspurg
only to be held
forth.

Novemb. 7.

Consistories and
the Hereticks
Republick set
up.

They enter into
league with the
Hereticall Prin-
ces of Germa-
ny.

Novemb. 21.

Novemb. 4.

Arms promised
them from
France.

Ray even from
Constanti-
nople.

From whence,
Michefe the
Jew encourages
the Low-coun-
treys Hereticks.

who this Mi-
chese was.
A Jew that fled
from Spain to
Antwerp.

From thence to
Venice.

And from Ve-
nice sailed to
Constanti-
nople.

most indeavours, for the common securitie. But lest the Hereticks should be distracted with multiplicitie of Sects, Lewis of Nassau wrote to the *Antwerpers*, perswading them, for a while till things should be settled to lay aside private opinions in Religion, all to give way to the confession of *Auspurg*; for so, not onely the Electours, who professed that Religion, would be their earnest Advocates with the Emperour: but likewise the *Germane* souldiers would be hardly drawn to fight against the *Low-countreymen*, their brethren in Religion; and it was done accordingly. For though the *Calvinists* hate the confession of *Auspurg*, yet (as Religion among Hereticks is not their own, but accidentall and translatitious) asking advice as far as *Geneva* of *Theodore Beza*, and he approving this truce of opinions, they subscribed a new form of discipline like that of *Auspurg*, which was to be presented to the Emperour at the next Session: together with a Petition, wherein they prayed, that his Imperiall Majestie would please to patronize, and reconcile them to the King. Moreover they instituted Consistories (which are a kind of Parliament or generall convention) in many cities, according to the pattern of that now begun at *Antwerp*, creating Magistrates and Senatours, by whose advice (it being first communicated to the Court of *Antwerp* to which they gave the preheminence) the whole Republick of the Hereticks was to be governed. They likewise made a confederation with the *Prince Electour Palatine*, and the rest of the Hereticall Princes of *Germanie*, enemies to the house of *Austria*; and therefore ready to enter into any league, whereby they might hope, by such troubles as these, to dispossesse the King of *Spain* (as the Governesse informed him) of the *Low-countreys*. The Governesse was likewise privately informed by the Count of *Megen*, that *Vesterholt* was raising one thousand two hundred horse in *Saxonie* for the Prince of *Orange*. At the same time the *Hugonots* in *France* set on by *Gaspar Coligni*, consulted about sending aid to the *Low-countreymen*, which was reported to be ten Cornets of horse, and thirty foot colours; and these levies were to be made in *Germanie*, by reason of King *Charles* his Edict commanding that none should be raised in *France*. All this the Governesse knew by private letters out of *France*. Lastly, at the very same time, in the Consistorie of *Antwerp*, letters were read dated at *Constantinople* (from so many and so remote places were the *Low-countreymen* encouraged to rebell, either out of malice to the Catholick faith, or to the house of *Austria*) sent from *John Michefe* a powerfull man, and highly favoured by the *Turkish Emperour*. Wherein he advised the Calvinists of *Antwerp*, and inflamed their zeal, To proceed as they had valiantly begun, in rooting out the Catholicks; that the Turk had great Designes a foot against the Christians, and shortly Philip King of Spain would be so engaged in a Turkish warre, that he would not have leasure to think of the *Low-countreymen*. And indeed Michefe spake not this at randome. He was born a Jew, (for it will not be amisse to speak somewhat of the man, illustrious for mischief, and often mentioned in the history of *Cyprus*, and other destructive warres) and when he was a youth, fled out of *Spain*, for fear his ill-dissembled superstition might be discovered; and living long in *Antwerp*, he was much esteemed by many persons of honour, particularly by *Mary Queen of Hungary*, then Governesse of the *Low-countreys*; from thence impudently stealing away a maid of noble parentage, he went to *Venice*; and there had the confidence to treat with the Senate, about assigning a place for the Jews, in some of the Islands belonging to that Signiorie: his Suit being with scorn rejected, first he made a voyage to *Constantinople*, and there married a rich Jew; then he passed into *Cilicia*, to *Se-
limus*,

limus, the sonne of *Soliman*, and finding the Prince in a vacancie of affairs, or not disposed to serious businesse, being altogether inflaved to his pleasures; *Michefe*, as he knew all the points in the compasse of *Luxury*, feeding him every day according to the variation of humour, to the height of appetite with exquisite and new delights, became one of his Minions, or Privadoes: & by how much he excelled in the art of flatterie, or the artifice of pleasures, by so much he preceded all others in the Princes favour. Therefore *Sultan Soliman* was easily intreated by his sonne, to grant (what the *Venetians* had denied) a Citie and Territorie for the *Jews*. Nay *Selimus* after he came to the Crown, made him of his Councell of Warre: much about the time, when the *Moors* in *Spain* resolving to take up arms, implored the assistance of the *Turkish Emperour*, to a people of the same Religion, that in hope of aid from the *Turk*, intended a warre against King *Philip*. Nor was the Emperour *Selimus* averse from sending an armie into *Spain*; and whilst *Michefe* advised him to it, because he saw it pleased *Selimus* his sonne in law, *Achmet* (who had infinitely endeared himself to *Selimus*, by his rare policie used in concealing his father *Soliman's* death at *Zigbet*) he doubted not but the design would shortly take; and therefore, by that which I have mentioned, animated his friends at *Antwerp*, putting them in hope of a rebellion of the *Moors*. But *Mustapha* and others voting for a warre with *Cyprus*, *Michefe* came over to their opinion, and when the Emperour was doubtfull which way to incline, *Michefe* alone turned the scales, and carried it for *Cyprus*; so great was his envie to the *Venetians*, whose incivilities and scorn he often with much passion mentioned. Besides he had a foolish hope to be created King of *Cyprus*, vainly grounding upon some words spoken by *Selimus* at his table. And that his endeavours might be answerable to his Counsell, they that wrote the historie of that warre affirm, it was he that laid the plot for blowing up of the Arcenall at *Venice*, which not onely shook the foundation of the citie, and beat down the buildings round about it, with a huge destruction of men; but even the neighbouring towns and cities were afraid they should be shattered with that Earthquake. Those that gave fire to the powder, being sent from the *Turk*, by advice of *Michefe*, to the end that so great a losse might weaken the *Venetians*, and render them in no capacitie for the warre. And if, a few dayes before, the better part of their powder had not been shipped away for *Corcyra* that Citie, the fairest in the world, had been utterly ruined: and one man had, in a moment, ended the warre of *Cyprus*. So great a fire can spleen kindle in any mans bosome, raised even in the midst of the water. Among the Low-countreymen *Michefe* his letters and encouragement did no little mischief. For this news putting them in heart, it was decreed by the Consistorie of *Antwerp*, that whereas an opportunity was now offered to strengthen their partie, they should make up among themselves as great a summe as possibly they could, to be ready upon all Emergencies; which was with great zeal immediately put in execution. At which time Count *Hochstrat* (Lieutenant Governour of *Antwerp* for the Prince of *Orange*) sent a Petition to the Governesse, delivered him by the Hereticks of that citie, wherein they desired libertie of Conscience for themselves, and their brethren, for which they offered the King three hundred thousand Florens, which was supposed to be the Artifice of some, that they might with lesse suspicion go to and fro to gather money; and in the mean time, both deceive the *Spaniard*, that would be easily tempted with so much gold, and likewise their own partie, that would more willingly open their purse for obtaining the free exercise of Religion,

1566.

where he ingratiated himself with *Selimus*.

And moved him to assist the *Moors* in *Spain* ready to begin a warre. Of which he advertises the Low-countreymen. And promotes a warre with *Cyprus*. In hatred to the *Venetians*. And in hope to be King of *Cyprus*. Designteth the firing of *Venice* Ant. Mar. Gratian. de bel. Cypr.

The Lowcountreymen by his letters animated. Begin to collect money.

which they subtilly offer to the King.

The Governesse
contemns their
offer.

Novem. 18.

The same of the
Kings coming
beggars the
Conspiratours.
Whom the Go-
vernesse endea-
vours to work
upon with
letters and
promises.

Not without
Artifice,

And successfull.

whereupon, the
Governesse ha-
ving recovered
her spirits,
Begins her great
business with
Prayer and
Fasting.

To the French
King she noti-
fies the Hugo-
nots prepara-
tions for a
warre.

To the Empe-
rour the Low-
countreymens
intentions to
petition him at
the Diet: and
how the Ele-
ctours threaten
him.

Count Mans-
felds advice
upon this point,
which the Go-
vernesse com-
mends but
makes no use of.

then for the maintaining of a warre. Unlessse perhaps that vast summe was offered to set forth the greatnesse of their faction. And therefore many copies of the Petition were sent about the Provinces, subscribed by the Gentlemen and Merchants that ingaged for payment of the money: thereby to advance their reputation and to fright the Governesse with so great a power. But her Excellence, nothing moved with the vain noise of their wealth, did not so much as vouchsafe an answer to *Hochstrat*. The Petition it self she sent to the King, to quicken him upon so many provocations.

In the interim she her self, knowing all that passed in their Consistories and Assemblies, when she saw that divers of the Conspiratours, believing the news of the Kings coming, grew very fearfull, thought it best to make her advantage of that fear; and therefore writing letters to them, full of affection and confidence, instructed the messengers to make them large promises: to some, which she knew were no enemies to Religion, she wrote letters upon those blanks the King had sent her signed with his sign Manual; wherein suiting her words to the times, she exhorted them to defend the Cause of Religion to keep the people in their antient Duty and Obedience: and these were to be so delivered, that they should not be altogether concealed from such as were not invited, whereby jealousies and differences might arise among them. And it happened very conveniently, that at the same time, the Governesse received some letters from the King writ with his own hand to the Prince of *Orange*, and some other of the Low-countrey Lords, expressing much affection to them, which she presently sent to the presse, and had them published; the result of all this was, That partly out of fear the Lords would desert them, whose resolutions the Confederates perceived to waver: partly out of hope, which they were full of, because they saw themselves courted and honoured by the King: partly out of malice to others, which as they thought suspected and hated them; divers of the Covenanters, leaving the publick meetings of the Conspiratours, returned to their own houses, to follow their private business: or came over and submitted to the Governesse, striving rather to merit the Kings favour, then his indignation. Which great defection elevating her spirits, the Governesse resolved to use her utmost force and policy to scatter their seditious Congregations. And to begin the right way by craving a blessing from God, she wrote letters in the Kings name to all the Bishops and chiefest Prelates, to appoint in all their Cities Fast-dayes, and publick Prayers, and to use all other means for appeasing the Divine wrath. She likewise sent an Agent into *France* to *Francis Alava*, the King of *Spains* Embassadour, to inform him of the preparations made by the *French Hugonots*: and another into *Germany*, to the Emperour, to pre-acquaint him with the Petition, that was to be presented at the Diet, and to give him intelligence how he was threatened by the Electours, *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony*, and *Frederick* Count *Palatine*. And truly Count *Mansfeld* would have offered the Emperour, that he, himself would either convert the Duke of *Saxony* to his Allegiance; or take away the power of his disloyaltie, by employing the sonnes of *John Frederick*, that bore an inveterate malice to Duke *Augustus*, for depriving their Father of the Electorate: and if they should be encouraged to take arms, no doubt but they would involve all *Saxony* in a War, and *Augustus* would have enough to do, to extinguish the fire in his own Dukedome, without scattering it in anothers Dominions. But the Governesse could not at that time spare Count *Mansfeld*, she therefore held it sufficient to commend his design, and to inform the King of it, and his readinesse to serve his Majesty,

stie; pretermittin^g no occasion to name him for the advance of the Counts former Suit; and perhaps he himself had an eye upon it, when he made this offer, which undoubtedly would more advance his favour with the King, then his trouble in *Saxony*. Thus many proffer huge service to such as they know will not accept it, especially if they think themselves able to do their businesse without the profferer's help. Moreover it was *Mansfelds* plot (the Counts of *Arenberg*, and *Megen*, being of the same opinion) that the number of souldiers should be increased in the *Low-countreys*, and the Governours attended with greater Guards: and presently the Governesse directing her Letters to them, advised them severally, *Not to suffer the Hereticks to have any more meetings. That she knew besides their Sermons, that were with limitation permitted, they held I know not what Consistories, and setting up Schools for Children, bred them to impious Opinions. That they married, buried, and baptized in a new manner, published filthy Books, and posted up Pictures in mockery of God and the King: and at their Calvinisticall Suppers, the multitude then meeting, solemnly professed, that they had broke the League with Catholick Religion, and were resolved never to make a Peace, but constantly to endeavour the extirpation of it, Root and Branch. And yet, was it possible, men should so far forget all Modesty and Shame, as to affirm that these abominations were licensed by the Governesse, when she permitted them Sermons? That she was not so foolishly wicked, as not to distinguish things so distant, or to suffer so execrable impiety. Therefore in the Kings name, she commanded the Governours of the Provinces, that as many as they should apprehend at any Hereticall meetings, Sermons onely excepted, they should proceed against them as Traytours to the King, and disturbers of the publick Peace.* To these Letters she joyned an Edict, which clearly explained every particular thereof, and imposed penalties upon the contumacious, somewhat more sharp and severe, then well consisted with her nature. I suppose, Grief made a deep impression in her mind, as if all that mischief came of Sermons, which her too much fear and lenity had toleratrd. Wherefore her Excellence, sending the King a Transcript of the Edict, said, She was forced to use that rigour, because the detestable carriage of the Hereticks, contrary to agreement, so required. And she hoped, if their other exercises were once suppressed; that Sermons, whensoever the King would declare the grant to be void, and disallow them, would be likewise banished the *Low-countreys*. She added, that when the Edict was penned, all the Privie Council consented, but onely *Egmont*, who said that Edict would be an Alarum to the *Low-countreys*: and indeed either upon that occasion, or because the Church-robbers, and such as met at Sermons in prohibited places were punished; they hastened the warre which they meant not should begin, till a long while after. To this end, they met more frequently in their Consistories and Committees, many Letters passing by the hands of *Gyles Cleark* to the confederate Gentlemen, and from them to the Merchants and Consistorians. By all which it was finally resolved, that whensoever the Governesse should use force, they would be ready to take the field, making their devies partly in *Saxony*, partly in the *Palatinate*: but the *Palsgraves* offer should be first embraced. Commission for Generall was given to *Henry Brederod*, with a list of the names of *Antwerp* Merchants that engaged for money to raise men. *Brederod* immediately named Collectours, and made *Philip Marnixius* of *S. Aldegund*, Treasurer of the Army. *Lewis of Nassau* undertook to solicit *Augustus* Duke of *Saxony*. For though *Saxony* was then embroyled in a Warre between *John Frederick* (sonne to the late Electour *John Frederick*) and his cousin-germane by the fathers side, *Augustus*

1566.

She increases
the souldiery.

Decemb. 15.

And writes to
the Governours
of Provinces, to
take away the
Hereticall meet-
ings and exerci-
ses, in this man-
ner.

which Letters
she second with
an Edict some-
what severer
then her custome
was.

Decem. 16.

Egmont onely
dissenting.

whereupon the
Conspiratours
hasten their de-
sign for a War.

Brederod made
Generall.

1567.

With *Lewis* of
Nassau, who
solicits friends,
and collects mo-
ney in *Germa-
ny* and the
Low-countreys

1567.

But the Govern-
ness puts rubs in
their way.

They meet at
Breda.

Endeavouring to
draw Egmont
into their new
League.
By Letter.

But they per-
swade not.

They offer to
bring a new Pe-
tition to the
Governess.

Feb. 2.

Not admitted.

It is sent.

Containing ma-
ny complaints.

Duke of Saxony, *de facto*; yet Lewis liked the employment, because he hoped by authority of the Germane Princes (that were active in it) the difference would be soon composed, and he should from thence be furnished with stout and well armed souldiers for the Low-countries. But because the war continued, John Frederick despising the conditions of Peace, and that the Governess (knowing the Covenanters designe) to trouble Lewis his negotiation kept some faithfull Agents in Augustus his Army, which lay before the city of Gosh, therefore the Covenanters not relying upon this slow assistance, met at the Prince of Oranges City Breda, where these three things were decreed, as the Governess sent the King intelligence by Alphonso de Lapes a French man; That they should frame a Letter to invite Count Egmont to joyn with them; give an account of their proceedings to the Governess by a new Pétition, and in the meantime levie men even in the bosome of the Netherlands. And a Letter was writ to Egmont, by the Prince of Orange, Hochstrat, and Brederod, desiring him to give in his name to their Association: for by this new conjuncture, they promised to silence the preaching Ministers in the Low-countries; whereby they would either take away any pretence of the Kings coming with an Army, or else, if when all things were quieted, his Majestie (though intreated) should come armed into the Provinces; they might justly unite their endeavours and forces to stop the Kings passage, and preserve their Countrey from Tyrannie, which by the rigour of punishments, building of Forts, Spanish Garrisons, and forcing of the Low-countries was certainly intended. Egmont imparted this to a friend, either out of love, or for advice, or perhaps that he might acquaint the Governess with their letter, and his answer; for he likewise shewed him his absolute deniall to joyn with them. Notwithstanding the Governess confided not in Egmont; who, as she now feared all things, suspected this to be merely artifice and deceit. But Brederod, who was to present this Petition from the Covenanters, desired a safe conduct from the Governess, for himself and fourty horse; which she, long since offended at such Treaties, absolutely denied, and commanded that if he came to the gates, they should give fire upon him. Whereupon Brederod contented himself with sending the Petition; and with it his particular complaint. The Covenanters remembered the Dutcheffs, that in August last they met by her command, to disarm and quiet the people. They complained, that by letters directed to the Magistrates from her Highness, they were prohibited to exercise the Ministry of the Gospel in those places where they were allowed to have Sermons; when notwithstanding that under the notion of Sermons, all other rites were comprehended. For it is the solemn custome where Sermons are permitted, there likewise to tolerate all appendences to the same Religion; and they accordingly explained the toleration to the People, and promised them the free use of Sermons, and all their other Rites, of which freedome the People being now debarred, they claimed promise of the Covenanters & every day implored their faith, by new Expostulations and Letters, some of which they had annexed to this Petition. Lastly, they were amazed and grieved to see the Low-countries every day frighted with great forces, themselves expelled the Cities, watched in the fields, and every where reputed for enemies to the State. All which being inconsistent with their own Loyalty and Honour, and the Tranquillity of the people; they humbly prayed her Highness, that according to her Princely word obliged under her hand and seal, she would both secure the Covenanters and suffer the People to hear Sermons, and those things which alwayes go along with Sermons. For the better

better effecting whereof, they humbly desired, that her Excellence would please to disband the souldiers lately raised, and call in her Ediēt contrary to the capitulation. For which they should be so much bound to his Maiestie & her Highness, that both their Dignities should by them be ever valued far above their own lives or fortunes. But otherwise, in spirit they foresaw a great destruction of the people and the imminent ruine of the Nation; the foretelling whereof, and labouring to avert it as much as in them lay, would hereafter free them, if not from sorrow, yet from any crime. This Petition the Governesse communicated to her Privie Counsellours, and a few days after, by their advice, returned answer to *Brederod* (withall commanding it should be printed and published) the heads whereof I shall briefly give you. *She understood not, she said, who those Gentlemen were, or those People of the Low-countries, in whose name this Petition was presented; when many of those Gentlemen that petitioned in April last, did not onely profess themselves to have received satisfaction; but daily came to offer their services to the King. That she onely tolerated Sermons, and that so much against her will, as may testifie how farre she is from giving them power to appoint Consistories, create Magistrates, to levy taxes, to collect above twenty hundred thousand Florens, to confound the marriages of Catholicks and Hereticks, and consequently their Successions and Honours. Besides the Calvinisticall Suppers which they had, and Congregations; in most part whereof, since they detracted from the Authority of the Prince, and his subordinate Officers, and sought by degrees to introduce a new Commonwealth, they might see how likely it was that these things (which they call onely Ceremonies of Religion) should be permitted by the Governesse, to the so great Dishonour of God and the King. That indeed she had capitulated with them, and that the capitulation was and shall be observed; but not in things prejudiciall to Religion, and the Royall Authority. But why should they, that complain of the breach of Articles, passe over in silence, That since their own agreement in the moneth of August, so many faithlesse and sacrilegious Villanies have been done; Churches destroyed, Religious Persons turned out of their Monasteries; Hereticall Gospellers from forrein parts, by force of Arms brought to preach, in places where their Sermons were never heard before; Cities and Provinces by their Letters or Emissaries solicited to mutiny and rebell; and diverse other foul things committed, whereof the Petitioners themselves were Authours: for under their Protection, the people have presumed to seize upon his Majesties Magazines; to expell his Officers; at the ringing of a Bell, to muster in the fields; to destroy Monasteries and Gentlemens houses with fire and sword; to possesse themselves of Towns, and marking out all Catholicks for the slaughter, the Governesse her self not excepted: they would have made a generall Massacre in the Low-countries, if the Traitors Letters to them of Valenciens had not been intercepted, and so their horrid Designe by Gods goodness prevented. That by the premisses they may perceive how unseasonably they petition for her Ediēt to be revoked, and the Souldiers disbanded; that is, in other words, for Justice to be disarmed, and exposed to the injuries of the wicked. Let them not cozen themselves, she would do neither of both; but was resolved to guard the Commonwealth, if need should be, with new Laws and Souldiers: and not to lay down, especially at this time, the sword that God puts into Princes hands. She therefore advised them to forbear meddling with Publick Affairs, and every one to mind his private business, that they may not shortly force the King at his coming to forget his native Clemency. That she her self will use her utmost endeavours, to save the Low-countries from the Ruine threatened by these popular Tumults, which they have raised.*

1566.

And many demands.

Febr. 16.

But the Governesse in her Answer grants them nothing.

The End of the fifth Book.



The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The first Booke.



UT whilst the pen was thus employed, *Brederod* raised some Forces at *Antwerp*, and upon receipt of these Letters from the Governelle, made hast to increase his number; of which he carried with him above 1400 to *Viana*, a Towne of his own in *Holland*, fortified to that end a little while before. Part of these men marched by land, part was transported in seven Shippes, followed with a Uessell laden with Armes and Ammunition. It was said that *William Count Lumè a Marcha*, *Escanbechius*, *Villers*, and *Malberg* were to bring thither 1500 horse from the Covenanters; and that *Lewis of Nassau* was likewise expected there, with the *German* Forces under his Command; that having mustered the Army at *Viana*, they might send them into severall parts, as occasion should require.

This rejoyced the Hereticks, who now openly bragged that at length their cause was well followed, and the Nobility revolting from the King, had cut off all hope of pardon; That it was not to be doubted, but that besides the Counts *Hochstrat*, and *Horne*, *Orange* himselfe would declare for them; nor durst *Brederod* presume as he had done, but that he relied on higher powers: though it was conceived, that amidst those troubles, he aymed at the Principality of *Holland*, whereunto he pretended a Title, and to that private end used the Assistance of the Lords. His Ambition was flattered by the Covenanters, but in the mean time every one had their particular Designe.

Wherefore a while after, most of the principall Cities of the Low-countries, *Antwerp*, the *Bus*, *Vtrecht* and *Maeſtriecht*, *Amsterdam*, *Groeningen*, *Tournay* (besides *Valenciens* and others) by the increase of their Souldiers seemed to threaten a desertion from the King. *Anthony Bomberg* of *Antwerp* fell upon the *Bus*, a Towne of *Brabant*, and tooke it by the helpe of the Hereticks that were the stronger party: he was lately fled thither, out of the storme of the *French* commotions, wherein he served under the Prince

A a

of

C. Brederod
prepares men
and armes.

So doe the
rest of the
Confederates.

The Hereticks
rejoycing

And many flatter-
ing up
Count Brede-
rod,

The first revolt
of the Cities.
Bolduc.
Vtrecht.
Maeſtriecht.
Bomberg one
of the Conspira-
tors invade
Bolduc.

And cōcerning
the Citizens
enrages them
against the
Gouvernesse
Agents.

And against
Count Megen.

Whom they
beate from the
Walles.

C. Megen en-
ters Vtrecht,

and C. Brede-
rod Amsterdam

Tholouse
aymes to be
Lord of Zeland
March. 2.

But is disap-
pointed.

of Conde; from thence being rebanded to his Country, as he was of an Vn-quiet restlesse Spirit, he bounded againe into the Belgick Tumults, and increased the number of the Covenanters. But the Gouvernesse having formerly sent *Merodius*, Lord of *Peter Semy*, and *Scheiff* Chancellour of *Brabant*, to settle the Motions of that Towne, when she heard they Could not do it, her Excellence commanded the Count of *Megen*, to draw towards the Town with some Troopes of Horfe: directing withall Her Letters at the same time both to the Citizens of the *Bus*, and to her agents there, Gracioufly conferring with the Citizens about receiving a Garrison into their City, and restoring it to the antient Priviledges; and giving Instructions to Her Agents for pressing it to the Magistrats. The Letters were intercepted by *Bomberg*, in place whereof he counterfeited two others, as written from the Gouvernesse proudly to the Citizens, and deceitfully to her Agents: and when he read them to the Magistrate, having given out among the people, that the towne should have beene betrayed by *Merodius*, and the Chancellour, the furious Multitude flocked about their Houses, railing vpon them for Traytours, and besieged them a day and a night, till *Bomberg* had ripened his Plot. Who taking the incensed Rabble before their fury cooled, the rarest time for Mischeif, perswaded them that Count *Megen* was the principall Traytour, and that they should therefore come upon him whilst he expected but the word for entering of the Towne. They easily believed that Count *Megen* would attempt it, to revenge the private Iniuries done to his Towne of *Megen* by those of the *Bus*: which being their neighbours and the stronger, had oppressed them. *Bomberg* therefore takes vpon him the Command in cheife, and instantly raising 800 men, and planting some great Cannon on the walls when the Count march'd up, he unexpectedly fired and beat him back, with the losse onely of his Plot upon the Towne, and an affront received, which he deeply repented.

Count *Megen*, not having then sufficient forces to lay seige to so strong a place, marched to *Utrecht*; for this was in his Orders from the Gouvernesse, and the charge was stricter, because she feared that Towne, by reason of the neighbourhood of *Viana*, which was the general Rendezvous of the Covenanters. And they of *Utrecht*, because their lands daily suffered by the incursions of *Brederods* Souldiers, willingly received a Garrison from the Count, and by his directions presently built a Fort upon the banke of the River *Leck*, right against *Viana*. Nor was *Brederod* lesse active, but in the interim having settled *Viana*, and being called to *Amsterdam* by the *Gheses*, he came thither disguised, and then in his owne opinion his hope stood faire for the Principality of *Holland*.

At the same time *James Marnixius*, Lord of *Tholouse*, one of the Covenanters shipt 600 men at *Antwerp* in three bottoms, and sent them downe the water into *Zeland*; hoping, whilst other parts were in combustion, unobserved in the Tumult, & assisted by the Pretour of *Middleburgh*, to possesse himself of *Vlissing*, and the whole Island of *Walcheren*, which is the Head of *Zeland*. But the Gouvernesse was before him, for she had made *Cathey* a faithfull and valiant Gentleman, Governour of *Vlissing*, and commanded him to carry some Regiments from the Marches of *Flanders*, and draw them out in order of battaile before *Walcheren*. Therefore when the *Tholousians* came within sight of the Island, they were easily beat back; and vainely expecting *Brederod*, who was kept in action by *Megen*, (that appeared with his horse sometimes before *Amsterdam*, sometimes before *Vi-*

ana)

ana) they fairely passed the River againe into *Brabant*; but at *Ostervell*, a village neare *Antwerp*, they made a halt; and ayming at things above their strength, pitched their Tents upon the banks of *Scheldt*, and there intrenched: and daily increasing with multitudes of Exiles and Outlawes that fled unto them for protection, they sent them out in parties to the adjoining Townes and Villages; where they robbed and fired the Churches, returning to the Army loaded with spoyle; and frightening or encouraging *Antwerp*: according to the severall factions within the City. But the Governesse particularly fearing *Antwerp*, lest *Tholouse* might bring in his Army, and strengthen the *Gheses*, calling to her *Philip Lanoy*, Lord of *Beavor*, a noble and industrious commander, she said, "I call God to witnesse, I am unwilling, and with much reluctance forced to a War; the Fame of Victory, (a glory, that hath wrought with many Women, and might with me, out of the sense of my Fathers invincible and martiall Bloud) I never aspired unto, in my Province of the Low-countries. But since with stubborn-natured and implacable wicked men, neither by indulgence nor pardon I have beene able to effect any thing, but onely the lessening of my Authority and their feare; truly I should not lay to heart either the cause of Religion, or of the King and Country, if I should not at last, by making new examples, punish their perfidiousnesse, inboldened by my too much Lenity; and by force of Armes (which through your valour I may easily effect) endeavour to destroy these Enemies and Rebels, sometimes bringing in Heresie to raise Tumults, sometimes plotting to take Armes and breaking into open Hostility. Courage therefore, *Beavor*, for I have chosen thee, to revenge this Treason to Majesty Divine, and Humane. And since it is necessary to be speedily at *Ostervell*, take thy Commission and be gone; fight with *Tholouse*, whose tumultuary Forces without opposition plunder the Country, terrible only to such as entertaine them. Be sure that pittie move thee not to give them quarter upon any termes; but those wicked men that have committed unpardonable Villanies, do thou, without pause or mercy, destroy with fire and sword. Having thus instructed the Generall, her Excellence commanded him to take out of the Garrison of *Bruxells* 300. Musketters, and joine to them the *Flanders* Horse, lately called back from *Wallacren*, under the command of *Valentine Pardieu* Lord of *Mott*, with the Foot companies of the Counts *Aremberge*, and *Barlamont*. Besides, she gave him many of her owne Life-Guard, and enjoyned him with this Army to march against *Tholouse*. The Prince of *Orange* that governed *Antwerp*, imagining what the Governesse would doe, had tooke order the day before *Beavor* came to *Ostervell*, that the Bridge between that and *Antwerp* should be broken: lest the *Gheses* sallying out of *Antwerp*, should help the *Tholousians* (as he signified to the Governesse by *Marius Carduin*) or more probably lest, to succour *Beavor*, the Bridge should give passage to the Catholiques, whose cause he could not desert, nor would defend. Also by his command, the next day, all the ports of *Antwerp* were shut, the Citizens wondring what should be his reason; when on the suddaine hearing the thunder of Cannon hard by the Towne, they ran to the wals, and saw a Battaille fought at *Ostervell*. They knew the Ensignes of both Armies, displayed alongst the River side, and almost heard the cries both of those that charged, and fell. Nor did all the Towne behold that Martiall Scene with the same wishes, but shouted according to their severall inclinations, with divers kinds of clamour, as if they had been upon a

He makes a stand neere Antwerp. From whence he frights the neighbours.

Beavor is sent against him with this command.

Valentine Pardieu.

The Prince of Orange hinders the Antwerp from sallying.

They fight at Ostervell. The Citizens of Antwerp.

See the Battell from the walls. They all their different wishes to both sides.

The Tholoussians defeated.

Their General burned.

The Calvinists would have sallied out of Antwerp to helpe their Fellowes. But finding themselves locks in they grew rageous.

Tholouse's wife sets them on.

The Prince of Orange opposes them with danger to himselfe.

The Insurrection of the Calvinists increased.

They take up Armes.

The Catholics and Lutherans marched against them led by the Prince of Orange.

Stage: sometimes chearefully encouraging their Partie, sometimes doubtful, and crying shame upon them, they shooke their hands and moved their bodies, as if they themselves were really in the Feild, striking or avoyding Blowes. Till the routed *Tholoussians* fled. For *Beavor* had been so quick in his march, that comming upon them before they could well arme themselves, and repaire to their Colours, they had scarce time to put their men in Order of Battaile. Yet for a while they stood. At first their number imboldened them, and at last their Houses and Fortifications saved them. But those being fired, part of them were burnt in their owne dwellings; some few slaine in the Field, but the most forced to leap in the River, and either drowned, or as they swam, shot in the backs. *Tholouse* himselfe despairing of Releife or Pardon tooke a Barne, and was there burnt. There fell at this Battaile (the first that was fought with the Low-country Rebels) 1500. of the *Gheses*. About 300. were taken prisoners, and all put to the Sword by *Beavors* command, because it was conceived the *Antwerpers* would sally out, and assist the Remainder of their conquered Friends. And indeed when the *Calvinists* saw their Brethren routed, and put to flight (for it troubled not the *Lutherans*, who hate Calvinists farre more then they doe Catholiques) presently taking up Armes, they marched directly to the Bridge to succour their distressed Party. But when they found the Bridge broken downe, and saw the Ports shut up, they ran through the Streets, as if they had been drunke, and cryed Arme, Arme. And in foure houres space 14000. men were come together, having neither any certaine General, nor resolution whether to make way through the Ports, or turne their fury upon those that kept them in. They say *Tholouse* his Wife, in *Antwerp*, helped forward this combustion. For understanding the Defeate and Danger of her Husband, (his Death as yet she knew not) almost out of her wits, she ranne about the Towne, howling, and crying to the Calvinists for Assistance or Revenge. And now the Prince of Orange (with Count *Hochstrat* (meeting these furious Rebels, doubted not by the Majesty of his presence, and their great opinion of him, easily to quiet this Distemper, and began to give them reasons why the Bridge was broke, for feare the conquering Army, having a Party within the Towne, should make themselves Masters of it. But the rest of his words were drowned with hideous cries and Railings. They called him Traytour to the Cause, and then he found by experience, that Majesty without strength is not safe among the incensed multitude. Nay one of those Calvinisticall Rogues set a Pistoll to the Prince his brest, as if he would give fire upon him: so much dares the basest Rascall animated by his contagious Fellowes. The Prince of Orange therefore thought it well for the present, if he could get off; for the number & boldnesse of the Calvinists increased. And now seizing upon the *Merian* Bridge, and taking the Cannon out of the Magazine, they drew them upon their carriages, and planted them against the Court, resolving to set up a new Magistrate; madly and barbarously proclaiming that all the Clergie and Religious should be turned out of the Towne. Nor lesse active on the other part, was the Prince of Orange, who taught by his late danger, commanded fixe Companies of the Garrison Souldiers to guard the *Piazza*, and the Mint, and drawing after him a huge sort of *Lutherans*, joyned them to the Catholiques, whereof no lesse then 8000 had armed themselves. The Catholiques and *Lutherans* formed into a Body, with Colours flying marched to the Pallace of Justice, and there made a Stand, ready

to defend it, if the Calvinists should attempt any thing; and these, as if they would fight, came on, and presenting their Muskets seemed to expect the word. When the Prince of *Orange*, attended by all the Senate, and a strong Guard of Souldiers, came to the Calvinists, and with a commanding countenance, advised them to lay down Armes, if they had any Demands to make, they might be more easily obtained without Tumult: if they did otherwise, he swore he would be a perpetuall Enemy to the name of *Calvin*. Whereat the Calvinists seeming to be dismayed submitted, as if it were in Honour to the Prince; when indeed they found themselves much too weak for the Catholique and Lutheran Forces, to which the *Italian* and *Spanish* Merchants flocked in great numbers armed, fearing they should finally be plundered by the Calvinists, who had either to that end begun the Tumult, or at least would so conclude. Therefore Hostages being given and received on both sides, the Calvinists upon certaine conditions (which both they and the Prince of *Orange* took their Oaths to see observed) for the present laid downe Armes: which notwithstanding were shortly taken up againe, both by the Calvinists and Lutherans, when they heard of the Siege and Danger of *Valenciens*, occasioned in this manner.

Among the towns that after the Church Robberyes, refused to submit unto authority, one was *Valenciens*, animated by a strong faction of Hereticks, and by their owne nature; being like the rest of the people of *Haynolt*, impatient of Subiection; insomuch as they have a proud Proverb, that *Haynolt* is only subiect to God, and the Sun. And they were the freer, because of their Vicinity to *France*, which being considered the *Valencenians* were ever ruled with a gentler hand, but with a more attentive eye. The Governesse was very fearefull, lest the *French* if they stirred at that time might first lay hold vpon this key to the frontiers, especially because they knew that one *Grange* of *Narbon* a Calvinist Minister by his *French* Lectures had now confounded all in *Valenciens*, and much increased the commerce betweene the *Valencenians*, and the *French*. The Governesse having many times written to the Magistrate about it, at last, when she found her selfe strong enough, she sent an expresse commanding him to receiue a Garrison into the Towne, of those men commanded by *Philip Norcarminus* of *St Aldegund*, Lieuetenant Governour of *Haynolt* for the Marquesse of *Bergen* then Ambassadour in *Spaine*: And that by these Souldiers nothing was intended but the Authority of the Magistrate, and Concord of the People. *Norcarminus* coming to the Towne in the Evening was met by Commissioners from the Magistrate of *Valenciens*, affirming they had ever beene and ever would be faithfull to the King, and to the Governesse; withall they demanded, how many men he would quarter in in the towne, desiring him to be contented with as few as might be. But in the morning, at the time when they had promised to receiue his Garrison, new commissioners came from the Burghers and told him, that by the industry of the Hereticks running all night from house to house, the People had changed their minds, & were resolved not to admit the Garrison, and to write their Reasons for it to the Governesse. But *Norcarminus* terribly offended with that Inconstancy and affront departed, threatening Ruine to the City. Their Messengers he carried away Prisoners, but because that was against the Law of Nations, four dayes after he sent them back, by command from the Governesse. And indeed the Towne presented her Excellence their Reasons for not admitting a Garrison of *Norcarminus*

The Calvinists
terrified.

and quiered
upon conditions

The siege of
Valenciens.

The Condition
of the City.

The Valencenians
commanded by her
Excellence to
receiue a Garrison.
December.
1567.

They seeme
willing.

But at their
appointed time
fly off.

For these
Reasons.

minu

Which offended
C. Egmont.

And much more
the governeſſe.

Who reſolves
to beſiege them

But firſt ſends
again to them
to receive a
Gariſon.

And upon their
refuſall de-
clares them
Rebells.
Writing to the
Provinces.

Decemb. 14

1566.

Guy Brate of
Mons.

1567.

The Gheules
every where
perplexed.

The Tournay-
Gheules take
up armes.
With a deſigne
to ſurprize
Liſle.

Decem. 22.

1566.

1567.

The Arment-
rians conſpire.

minus his men, as well becauſe they feared he would Uſe them cruelly, and like Enemyes, by reaſon of his different Religion; as likewise they were perſwaded that Gariſon was to have come in, without the conſents of the Prince of Orange, Count Egmont, Horne, and Hochſtrate. But if thoſe foure Lords would ingage, for the Security of the Towne, it ſhould immediately ſubmit. This touched Egmont to the quick, who of the foure was only preſent when theſe Letters were read in Senate, he therefore profeſſed, that he and his Collegues had greivous Iniury done them by theſe men. But the Governeſſe thought her ſelfe moſt iniured, her Power being looked upon as inferiour to the Authority of theſe Lords. Therefore implacably offended, ſhe reſolved to revenge this Scorne, and no longer expecting the kings Preſence; ſent for Norcarmius, and Creſſonerius an excellent Engineere, determining by their adviſe to lay ſpeedy Siege to Valenciens, appointing Commanders, and giving Order for all neceſſaries. By Norcarmius ſhe ſent a Letter (writt in the Stile of Anger) brieſe and decretory, to be delivered to the Magiſtrate, before he ſhould attacque the Towne; wherein ſhe commanded the *Valencenians* in the Kings name immediately to receive foure Troopes of Horſe, and as many companies of Foote yeilding Obedience to Norcarmius, Governour of their province; which if they reſuſed to doe, ſhe declared them Enemyes to their King and Country. They obſtinately ſtood out, and therefore, by the Kings Edict, were proſcribed, and their Goods conſiſcated. The Reaſons of this Proceeding the Governeſſe wrote ſeverally to the Provinces; "That ſhe had often admoniſhed the *Valencenians*, not to ſuffer the Hereticks, contrary to her agreement with the Covenanters, to poſſeſſe themſelves of Catholique Churches, and to preach within the City: nor to protect the Heads of the Conſpiracy, eſpecially Grange and his Companion, five yeares before condemned at Tournay; if they could not doe it of themſelves, then to receive a Gariſon from Norcarmius to that end; but they contemning both theſe Propoſalls, S H E in the Kings name declared them *Tratours*, and beſieged them, to bring downe their pride: Commanding upon paine of death, that no one, either with Advife, Armes, money, or otherwiſe ſhould preſume to aſſiſt them, or goe armed within their Liberties, or be preſent at any of their Meetings; and that whoſoever ſhould doe the contrary, did it againſt his King and Country. This Newes troubled the whole Faction of the *Gheules*, and becauſe it much concerned them to encourage their Friends in ſuch an Exigent, preſently Letters were directed from the Conſiſtories of diverſe Cities to the *Valencenians* bidding them be reſolute, and feareleſſe, for ſhortly the beſieged ſhould be relieved: and the beſiegers called away to quench a fire kindled in another place.

Nor were theſe vaine Brags. for a few dayes after, not farre from Tournay, 4000 of the *Gheules* tooke the Field, Vnder the command of Sorean. Their Deſigne was to take *L'iſle* the chiefe City of French Flanders. They were put vpon it by certaine Conſiſtorian Merchants, great rich men and dwellers in that City. The Plot was ſo laid, that vpon a day when Maximilian Raſſingham Governour of *L'iſle* muſt neceſſarily be out of Towne, the calvinists ſhould goe, as they were accuſtomed, to their Sermons in the Fields, and in their Returne the Souldiers of Tournay ſhould come in mingled among them, the Merchants undertaking to have an eye upon the Citizens of *L'iſle*, that they did not in their Comming back ſhut the Gates againſt them. In the meane time, to keep Raſſingham away, ſome

Foote

Foot Companies, of the Towne of *Armenter*, had Orders to plunder the Country about *Lisle* The Governesse having intelligence of the whole Designe, writt in good time to *Norcarminus*, (Lying before *Valenciens*) with part of his Forces to oppose the enemyes Practice, first acquainting the Governour of *Lisle* with his advance. *Rassingham* had already heard of the Souldiers of *Armenter*, and without further delay, chusing out 150 Foot, and about 50 Dragoones, fought with them neare the Village of *Waterloch*. The *Armenterians* were 300 and odd, most of them fresh water Souldiers, with a Captaine more ignorant then themselves, one *Cornelius* a Calvinist Minister, that from a Smith, was become a Preacher, and from a Preacher a Souldier: Nor did he then with any more skill handle his Armes, then he used to do his Text. For at the very first Charge, being frighted, relinquishing his men, this hare in a Helmet fled out of the Field. Two hundred and thirty of his Disciples were slaine, and presently stripped of their armes, leaving *Rassingham* Victorious without blood. Who with his Triumphant Souldiers laded with the Spoiles of the enemy entering into *Lisle*, the newes of that sudden execution made the feare of the City greater, then his honour by the Defeat of such an inconsiderable Enemy. Their consistoriall Counsell was therefore now at their witts end; and the Souldiers of *Tournay* hearing of the *Armentarians* Overthrow, retreated from *Lisle* to *Lanoy*, which shutting their Gates against them, their Generall *Sorean* indeavouring to take the Towne, gave *Norcarminus* time to overtake him. But before *Norcarminus* came vp, *Rassingham* vnderstanding by the *Armenterian* Prisoners that the *Gheuses* of *Tournay* were marching towards him, raising as many of the Country as he could upon the suddaine, resolved instantly to fall upon them, not imagining that *Norcarminus* besieging *Valenciens* had the same Designe. And it fortuned that *Rassingham* sending out some Scouts, as the manner is, to discover the strength and motion of the enemy, they fell vpon the like number of Horse sent by *Norcarminus* to the same intent, and as night and suspicion doses the mind, either Partly mistaking their fellowes for the enemy, fired upon one another, and one or two being shot, retired, frightening and affrighted. While this Accident held *Rassingham* in suspense, *Norcarminus*, by other meanes understanding the Enemy to be neere *Lanoy*, presently marched thither, and going to order his men for a Bataille, he perceiued the *Gheuses* too weake for the open Feild, by little and little fell backe into the lanes trenched with Ditches, and butt-warkt with Woods. Wherefore he sent thither three Companies of musketteers, with some Pikes mixed among them, which he him selfe followed with the Horse. The *Gheuses* stood the first Charge indifferent stoutly, and shot off some small Field-Pieces that guarded the mouth of the Lanes. Nay, though many fel, they filled vp their places with fresh men, & without much Difficulty taking the Advantage of those Straits beat back the *Norcarminians*. But at last, the Avenue being opened by the Pikes, the Horse and Foote breaking in, they gaue back, were routed, fled, and in the Flight (more Dangerous then in the Battaile) were killed like sacrificed Beasts: A few, with their Generall *Sorean*, but diuiding themselues, escaped through the woods. *Norcarminus*, with the Losse of only six men, having taken nine of the Enemyes Colours, twentie Field-Pieces, and two Barrells of Powder, thought it best to follow the Opportunity, and to march with his men (now fleshed, and, desirous of Victory) up to the Wallsof *Tournay*: and sending a Trumpet to the Towne, commanded them

Their Plot discovered.

Rassingham falls upon the Armenterians.

1567.
Destroys them.

And following his Victory enters Lisle.

From thence pursues them of Tournay.

The Errour.

1567.
Of their several Scouts.

Norcarminus comes first upon the Place.

Flights with the Gheuses of Tournay.

Makes a great slaughter of them.

1567.

Commands Tournay to receive a Garrison.

them

The City
obeyes.

He enters as a
Conquerour.

Punishes the
Citizens.

Returns to
the Siege of
Valenciens.

The Governesse
consults the
King about
storming of the
Town.

His Majesty
will not give
way to it.
February 1

Whereupon the
Governesse pro-
traeth the siege
and drawes a
line about the
Towne.

Febr. 17.
She presses the
King by Let-
ters.

1567.

March 13.
The King
wishes her to
deal more gen-
tly with the
besieged and
gives a rule
for it.

them, in the name of the Governesse, to receive a Garrison of his men: if they denyed, or paused, he would use his Victorious Armes. The Townsmen hearing, by such as fled out of the Battaille, that their Army was defeated, being struck with the suddaine and armed Summons of *Norcarmius* the Conquerour at their Gates, and Feare within their hearts, depriving them both of time and reason for consulting, they yielded to mercy. He entered the Town triumphantly, and forthwith disarmed the people, sending Souldiers from House to House (which he did afterwards through all the Signiory of *Tournay*) that tooke away their Armes, and carried them to the Magazine. Then he imprisoned the Incendiaries, and restored the Bishop and Clergy to their Honour and Authority. Lastly he put downe the Consistoryes, and prohibited all such kind of Meetings, the common Forges of Sedition, thereby absolutely disabling the Hereticall Faction in that City. This done, by Command from the Governesse he made *John Croy Count of Reuse* Lieutenant-Governour of *Tournay* for *Montiny*, who was yet in *Spaine*; soe leaving eight Foot Companies in the Towne, besides 450 Garrison Souldiers in the Fort, he returned to the Siege of *Valenciens*, and was ready to storme it when the Governesse should command. But she being to consult the King, presently after the render of *Tournay*, with the Newes of the Victory, writt to his Maiessty her Resolution to take *Valenciens* by assault, because the besieged adding Obstynacy to Rebellion, had made diverse Sallyes out of the Towne, and beate vp the Quarters of his Maiestyes men, as in Contempt of the King. His Maiessty though he disliked not the Siege, yet intimated, that he should have better liked noe Siege; now since it was gone soe farre, it concerned his Honour to continue it: but it likewise concerned his clemency and Affection to his Subjects, to forbear the Battery of the Towne, and putting them to the Sword: lest the fury of the Souldiers should destroy the Innocent, together with the guilty. The Governesse should therefore try all wayes to win the besieged to yield without fighting, which was feizable, witnesse the example of *Tournay*. But if the Rebels stubbornnesse could not be broken, but only by Armes; his Maiessty would not have the Town stormed, before his pleasure was known, and two Regiments come out of *Germany*. But these cautions were given to no purpose, the besieged growing every day more obstinat. Therefore the Governesse commanded *Norcarmius* to make his approaches neerer, to look more narrowly unto the cutting off all Victuall, and commerce: and to present his Cannon and Army as prepared for a generall Assault; so by frightening and wearying the Enemy, to spinne out time, till the *German* Regiments should arrive, commanded by *Oberstein*, and *Sconwenberg*. She likewise writt to the King, that "Mercy was fruitlesse, "that she and the Senate thought it necessary before they were better fortified or relieved to take the Towne, which *Norcarmius* was of Opinion might be effected in eight dayes; and that Delay would be dangerous, lest the *Gheuses* (being intraged all over the Low-Countryes, and upon the Borders of France) might have time to raise an Army. "But all this moved not the KING, who dispatched back his Advise with more then ordinary speed, "that they should hold off, and rather take the Towne by Feare, then by the Sword; perhaps starved and wearyed, they might yield: yet if there was no remedy, but to force them (which he must leave to their Judgement that were upon the Place) then he would have these commands principally observed. First, that raising "their

"their Batteries and planting their Cannon, they should prove them with the
 "Preparations and Fore-runners of a Storme; leaving them in the meane
 "time some space of Repentance. Then if they yielded not, they should
 "storme the Towne, and do the Duty of Souldiers: but yet forbear to do
 "execution, not only upon Children, Old-men, and Women, but that
 "no Citizzen whatsoever, should be killed in cold bloud. The
 Governesse well weighing this letter, though she knew it was more mer-
 cifull then opportune (because about the same time a Company of sa-
 crilegious Villaines, fallying out of *Valenciens*, had fired cerraine Mo-
 nasteries that stood neere the Towne, and brought the plunder of them
 into *Valenciens*) yet mindfull both of his Majesties, and her owne mo-
 deration, she resolved to leave nothing unattempted. It was told her,
 the *Valencenians* bore an implacable hatred to *Norcarmius*; she therefore
 sent to them two of the Lords, *Lamorall Count Egmont*, and *Philip Croy*
 Duke of *Areschot*: to see if they, by their Authority, could bring the
 Towne to consider of their Safety. These Lords sending for the *Valence-*
nian Commissioners gently admonished them, "to lay downe their Fury
 "and Obstinacy that would not secure them, when their Walls should be bat-
 "tered with the Cannon; for to that day, their City had stood, not by
 "their strength, but by the King's and Governesse's Mercy. That they found
 "by sufficient experience, how vaine it was to expect forreine Ayde. That
 "the French stirred not in the Quarrell, and if they should, it would bee
 "neither handsome nor advantageous, for the Low-country-men to be assisted
 "by their antient Enemies. The Consistories of Antwerp, being distracted
 "into factions; what had they yet done? These of Tournay had taken
 "Armes, but were withall suppressed. They of the Bus and others, had e-
 "nough to do to looke to themselves; all the hope left them must be in Tho-
 "louse, but he and his whole Army (let them not deceive themselves) were
 "destroyed by Beavor, in the sight of Antwerp. Who cou'd be now expected
 "or from whence, to come and raise the Siege? They ought therefore to re-
 "deeme their pride by their Repentance, and by their Duty, and Obedience
 "to prevent (whilst yet they might) their Princes Indignation, and their
 "Countrys Ruine. Having premised this, they read the conditions of-
 fered by the Governesse; that the *Valencenians* should render their City,
 and receive a Garrison, That after their rendring the Towne, and re-
 ceiving a Garrison, those that would obey the King, should have Libe-
 rty to remaine in *Valenciens*; the rest immediately after the Surrender were
 to depart the Towne, carrying with them all their portable Goods. The
 Commissioners reported this Offer to the Senate and the People, which
 were prepossessed with wicked Counsels; their hearts hardned, es-
 pecially with *Grange's* Sermons, a man eloquent with a mischeife to the
 Publique; They were confirmed in their Obstinacy by a Rumour that
Tholouse had the Day, and *Beavor* was fled, cunningly given out by the
 Hereticks, to amuse the Towne, and hinder them from crediting *Tholouse*
 his overthrow, at least to suspend their believe, so long as the Commis-
 sioners treated. Who returning to *Areschot* and *Egmont*, they, when they
 saw nothing was done by the *Valencenians*, and themselves slighted, in
 great fury threatning the Towne, presently dismissed the Commissioners.
 And *Egmont* (whose military heart, and therefore more sensible of a Pro-
 vocation, was grievously offended at the Obstinacy of the Besieged) that
 very day and the night following, with *Cressonerius* in his Company,
 viewing the Walls, and sounding of the Ditch, assured the Governesse,

1567.

She obeyes.

And sends to
them Count Eg-
mont and Duke
Areschot.Who perswade
them to ob-
edience.Proposing con-
ditions

but in vaine.

A generall As-
sault resolved
upon.

The Site of
Valenciens.

1567.

Norcarminus.
takes the Sub-
urbs.
Gaspar Robles
Lord of Bill.

Casts up a
Worke against
the Walls.

The Town is
battered.

Egidius
Bariamont.

They sent Com-
missioners with
reines of sur-
render.

Which are not
accepted.

They yield to
mercy.

Norcarminus
enters the
Towne.

that *Valenciens* might be taken in a very little time. But for as much as the King's commands were obeyed in admonishing and terrifying of the Towne, and that her Excellence heard the *German* Forces were at hand, specially being vexed with the Newes of a Sally made by the *Valencenians* in the night to beat up Quarters, she commanded *Norcarminus*, that making his Approaches still nearer, without further Delay, yet according to the King's Instructions, he should storme the Towne. *Valenciens* is no lesse strongly then pleasantly situated, part thereof standing on a rising Ground; and the rest lying on a Levell, invironed with Walls, Towers, and Ditches; the River *Schelt* running through the midst of it, and falling into the River of *Rouell*, they flow round about the Walls: and make the Place almost inaccessible. But *Norcarminus*, knowing he had to do with an ignorant Enemy, and that the Towne was like a strong Body governed by a weake Soule; finding the Ditch to be narrow in some places, and the Bankes by negligence fallen downe: with a great and gallant Resolution began the Assault; and calling in part of his Forces, that were set to keep the Passes, and to cut off Provisions, under the Command of *Gaspar* Lord of *Bill*, he tooke *Mons-gate*, a Port of the Suburbs, in the night. From thence, with some Companies of *Haynolters*, plying those that came upon the Walls with Musket-shor, so as none durst put out their Heads, *Cressonerius* with wonderfull dexterity raised a Mount, scaled the Walls, and with the losse of very few of his men, observing the discipline of Warre, he faced and beat the Enemy from their Workes. And so dividing his Forces under the Commands of *Maximilian* Count of *Bolduc*, *Charles Mansfeldt* Son to Count *Ernest*, and *Egidius* Lord of *Hierg*, he gave the generall Assault; first making his Battery with 10. pieces of great Cannon, then with 20. besides other lesler Guns, with so great an Impression, that within lesse then foure houres space their prime Workes about the wall were beaten down. The Citizens terrified with such a beginning, sent two Trumpets to intreat, that *Norcarminus* would please to give safe Conduct unto their Commissioners to treat for the present Render of the Towne. He gave them leave to come, but neverthelesse the Cannon still played upon the Battery; which hastened the Commissioners, that were 20. who came about Sun-setting to the Generall, promising to yield up the City upon the same Termes, which three dayes before were offered by *Areschoit* and *Egmont*. But *Norcarminus* laughing at them, said, 'Belike you think your condition to be as good to day, as it was three dayes since. *Valencenians*, you are wise too late. I never use to article with a conquered Enemy. All that night he continued the Battery, giving them no time to repaire the Breaches made in so many places, that now the Ditch being filled up with the ruines of the Wall, the Souldiers might enter on even ground. But about two a clock in the afternoon the *Valencenian* Commissioners returned, and without any exception yielded the Towne and themselves to mercy. *Norcarminus* sounding a Retreat, just when his men were got up the Wall, and in hope to sacke the Towne, sent a Countermand, enjoining them to containe themselves within those Bounds of Modesty, which by Order from the King the Governesse had set downe. The Battery held 36. houres without any intermission. It is reported, that 3000. Cannon were shot into the Towne, doing greater Execution upon Walls, then Men. The same day, being *Palme* Sunday, and making good the Omen of that victorious name unto the Conquerour, *Norcarminus* entred the Towne, with 13. Companies of

of Foote: and was met in the Streets with multitudes of women and Children with greene boughs in their hands, lamentably crying to him to have Compassion upon the Towne. He sent them away, with gentle Language without the death of any man, or plunder of any house, though the Wealth of the Towne was a great Temptation, their Contumacy meriting Destruction. The Generall went to their Court, and first according to his Instructions, disarmed the Townsmen, and tooke from the City their Cannon (which were 50) and all the rest of their Munition. Then he caused Inquiry to be made for the Boutefeus and Ringleaders of the Rebellion, with the Hereticall Preachers, and immediately laid 36 Principall rebels by the Heels: but could not take any one Minister, for they were slipt out of the Towne, though the Ports had presently been shut up, or guarded with Souldiers; but being apprehended at *St Amands*, they were brought back, and committed to prison. Afterwards, the Citisens were beheaded, their Teachers and some of their Souldiers hanged. Lastly the Magistrates, and Treasurers, and all other publique Officers were removed from their places; their Charter and Priviledges forfeited, till the King pleased to restore them. The Governesse, writing all these Particulars to the King, and annexing a List of the Commanders and Souldiers Names, that had done most gallant Service in the Siege, humbly craved Leave to remunerate their Valour and Fidelity out of Delinquents Estates, that the Souldiers might reap the Fruit of their Victory and Modesty, and others be taught their duty. *Valenciens* being in this manner settled, and all consecrated Places restored to their pious Uses, the Bishop of *Arras* likewise sent for out of *Artois*, and eight Companies charged vpon the Towne, that He might keep the people in the feare of God, and they in Obedience to the King: it was wonderfull to see, what a glorious name *Norcarminus* had got, and what an alteration it made among the Rebels, and Hereticks of all degrees, when they heard *Valenciens* was taken; insomuch as it was commonly reported, that in this one Town were found the keys of all the other Cities.

In the meane while, her Excellence receiving a new expresse, signifying that *Ferdinand of Toledo*, Duke of *Alva*, was to come a little before his Majesty. Whilst in the *Lowcountrys* all went as well as she could with, she thought it best to press, what she had long since designed, a Protestation from the Magistrates and all Officers of Peace and Warre, wherein they should sweare, "*without exception to obey any that should bee appointed in the Kings name.*" Which she did; not to sound any ones mind, for she could well distinguish the Kings Friends and Enemyes; nor in hope to oblige the Vnfaithfull, which she knew was not to be done by any Tye; but that shee might with lesse envy displace such men as should refuse the Oath, or put them to death if they broke their Faith: by which meanes the King at his coming might finde all parts of the *Lowcountrys* pacified. The Governesse set this afoote in the beginning of the yeare, and acquainting the Senate with it, told them, she would take it as a speciall Service, if the Lords would give Example; which the rest would easily follow. The first that Voted for it, and promised to take the Oath, was *Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt*, then the Duke of *Areschoit*, and the Counts *Egmont*, *Mela*, and *Barlamont*, who afterwards performed what they then promised. But *Henry Brederod*, whom the Governesse, by expresse Messengers, and afterwards by Letters, vrged to take this Oath of Allegiance, as he that was both the Kings

1567.

Disarmes the
Citisens.

Punishes them.

Takes away
their privi-
ledges.2. Aprill.
The Governesse
commends the
Conquerors to
the King.How highly
Norcarminus
was famed for
restoring the
civill and
sacred State of
the Towne.

15. March.

The consterna-
tion of the Re-
bels.The Oath re-
quired of the
Lords.Why the Go-
vernesse impos-
ed it.

Who tooke it.

C. Brederod re-
fuses.

2. Febr.

And his command of horse is taken from him

And from Count Hochstrat the Government of Mechlin.

6. Jan.

1567.

Who dissembles his indignation against the Governesse.

12. Jan.

But discovers it to Count Mansfeldt.

15. Jan.

In these words

20. Jan.

1567.

18. March.

The Prince of Orange likewise refuses the Oath, and of his own accord resignes his Governements.

The Governesse sends Bertius to him.

Who gives him Reasons for taking of the Oath.

Subject and a Commander under him of a 100 horse, of those 1400 raised for the Safety of the Provinces, a great while kept off, at last, because he was commanded to lay downe his Commission, complaining that he was unworthily and injuriously dealt with, refused the Oath, and sent back the Horse. The Oath was likewise refused, but with more Civility, by the Counts *Hochstrat*, and *Horne*, because they said they had sworne their Allegiance some yeares before, and that they hoped was sufficient. *Hochstrat* was at *Antwerp* Lieutenant Governour there for the Prince of *Orange*, who was then in *Holland*, and from this City gave Orders for *Machlin*, whereof he was Governour in his owne right. Therefore her Excellence that had long had an eye upon *Hochstrat*, as a man not to be trusted, gave away the Government of *Machlin* to the Lord *Semer*, one that was sound in Religion and Fidelity: and wrote to *Hochstrat*, how she had provided for that City; which, the *Gheuses* having lately had a plott upon it, required a Governour that should be there resident. *Hochstrat*, as if he Understood not the Governesses Anger left he should seeme likewise sensible of his owne Offence, in his Answer gave her infinite thanks that she had then eased him of that burden; only whether he should lay down his Commission before the Senate of *Machlin*, or by Letter signify so much unto them, he expected her Highnesses Commands: and if she further pleased to substitute another at *Antwerp* in absence of the Prince of *Orange*, he should take that also for a speciall Favour. But writing to Count *Mansfeldt* he layd aside dissimulation. For when the Governesse had returned, that she better liked his writing to the *Machliners* about the Resignation of his Government, & that Count *Mansfeldt* at the same time wrote him a Letter to the same effect, counselling *Hochstrat* as his Kinsman (for they were married to two Sisters of the *Momorancies*, *Hochstrat* to *Elionor*, and *Mansfeldt* to *Mary*) by all meanes to pacify the Governesse, he answered jeeringly, "That he was much bound to him, who having so many Employments, whereby he much eased the Dutchesse in her Government, could yet descend so farre as to thinke of his poor Kinsman, and to Vouchsafe him his Advise; which Advise notwithstanding, he needed not, knowing well enough what was to be done. In the meane time, he joyed him, of those great Employments, which shortly would be increased beyond his ambition, by the coming of so many Whelps out of Spaine and Italy. The businesse with the Prince of *Orange* went slowly on, and with more trouble. For he refusing the Oath, among other Passages wrote to the Governesse, that she would please to appoint a Governour for *Holland*, *Zeland*, and *Burgundy*, since he understood it was the Kings Pleasure that he should resigne. This held the Governesse in Suspense, because she was not willing he should declare himselfe an Enemy before she had sufficient Forces to subdue him. She therefore sent to *Antwerp*, *John Baptista Bertius*, her Secretary, that found the Prince of *Orange* onely imployed about his private Occasions, and having presented his Letters of Credence from the Governesse, He made it appeare by many Arguments, that the Prince of *Orange's* determination to resigne his Commands, could not be approved, either by the Governesse or any of the Lords, not only because it would be disadvantageous to the *Lowcountrys*, and dishonourable to the Prince of *Orange* himselfe, but likewise because such kind of Governements confer'd by the Kings immediate Commission, can neither be taken away by the Governesse, nor resigned by him, without the King's Leave

1567.

Leave. That therefore he should presently resume his Offices, and consider it was no rash Determination of his Majesty, in this common Disturbance of the Provinces to require, that their Governours, by a new Oath, should testifie their Fidelity and Allegiance. The Prince of *Orange* replied (in the presence of Count *Hochstrat*, who came in by chance) that for many and serious considerations, which he had as yet communicated to no man, he refused this Oath. First, because the like was never required of any former Governour; then, for as much as he had long agoe taken an Oath of Allegiance to the King, as other Lords did that lived within his Majesty's Dominions, it might be thought he had broke his first Oath, in regard he was put to sweare againe. Moreover, because he had sworne to preserve the Priviledges of his Provinces, if peradventure he should be commanded to the contrary, he could not obey the Order, being tyed by Oath not to doe it: and yet he bound himselfe to obey it, if he should now sweare to doe what he should be commanded in the King's name against any persons whatsoever. Add to this, that in the Forme of the Oath the Emperour was not excepted, to whom as a feudatary he was obliged, and would not beare Armes against him; Nay more, there was no exception of his Sons and Friends, as the *Duke of Cleve*, and diverse others, against which he would not fight. Another Reason was, for that many Edicts were daily published, making it capitall for all such as were not Catholiques; which Edicts should never be executed by his Authority, for his Heart would not suffer him to inflict such punishments, as men were now liable to, for their Religion. Nay, if he should take this Oath, he might be compelled, in the last place, to put his Wife to death, because she was a Lutheran. Lastly it was to be considered, that he who commanded in the King's name, might be such as it would not be consistent with his quality and Honour to obey; and here, with Indignation, he named the *Duke of Alva*, and said no more. For as it was reported, the *Duke of Alva's* coming troubled him exceedingly, his other Reasons only were pretended, and because invalid, therefore multiplyed. Nor would the Prince of *Orange* have lost his Government for an Oath, but he thought it unsafe to trust himselfe in the hands of that *Spanish Duke*, by nature melancholick and cruell; and out of an ancient Emulation betwixt them, too likely to carry himselfe proudlier in his Command; or if he should be civill, yet the Prince of *Orange* could never brooke a man, from whom he must receive Common Civility in the nature of a Pardon. But *Bertius* sufficiently instructed as well by nature, as by the Governesse, answered him prudently to every particular. He said, it was no wonder, in regard the Provinces were not troubled in the time of their former Governours, that no such Oath was required of them, That to take the same Oath againe, was not by a new Profession to repaire the Violation of an old Vow, but to raise greater Alacrity in new Dangers. That to preserve the Priviledges of the Provinces, the King had noe lesse obliged his Faith, then the Prince of *Orange* his, and therefore it concerned his Majesty to be careful, that nothing should be commanded, which was Breach of Priviledge. Nor was the War in agitation, against the Emperour, or Empire, or the *Duke of Cleve*, all which he was assured the Governesse would very willingly let him except in his Oath. That the Care of the Edicts and Penall Lawes against Hereticks should not be committed to him, much lesse should he be enforced by any ones Command to Punish his wife. Thus *Bertius* endeavoured to overthrow the Prince of *Oranges* Reasons without men-

The Prince of Orange heares and answers him with Reasons.

The First.
The Second.

The Third.

The Fourth.

The Fifth.

The Last and indeed the true Reason concerned the Duke of Alva.

Bertius replies to every Particular Allegation.

But persuades nor.

men-

1567.

*Yet brings him
to a conference.*

*Nothing done.
The Prince of
Orange's fare-
well admoniti-
on to Count
Egmont.*

*His Letter to
the Governesse
April 4.*

*He leaves the
Low countries.*

*Egmont takes
the Oath.*

*Joyes with the
King's Party,
declares him-
selfe an enemy
to the Cove-
nants.*

*Their Friend-
ship with him
is broken.*

mentioning the Duke of *Alva*; perhaps doubtfull how to answer that Point, perhaps because, vpon the naming of his Wife, the Prince of *Orange* replied (not expecting till he came so farre as *Alva*) that he knew the King, when he arrived in the *Lowcountrys*, would not suffer any mans Wife to be of another Religion; therefore, for his owne part, he was resolved to remoue into *Germany* with his Family, before the King's Coming, lest if he did it after, it might be supposed he was rather banished, then that he departed of his own accord: neverthelesse in what place soever he remained, he would live as became a Subject to his Majesty, never omitting any thing that might conduce to the Kings Honour. *Bertius* seeing him not to be wrought vpon, at least, not able to make a Peace, desired a Truce, praying him (for this was part of his Instructions) that before his Departure he would giue a meeting to Count *Egmont*, and any other of the Lords that he himselfe would name: whereunto he willingly condescended, and appointed *Willebroc*, a Village betweene *Bruxells* and *Antwerp* for the Place of Conference. Where on the one part the Prince of *Orange*, on the other *Egmont*, *Mansfeldt*, and (by Command from the Governesse) *Bertius* also met; and after they had treated diuerse times of the samethings, they departed, having concluded nothing. They say, the Prince of *Orange*, before he went, taking aside Count *Egmont*, spake of the present Dangers, and intreated him to withdraw, and by no means to stand this bloudy Spanish Tempest that hung over the *Low-countrys*. And when *Egmont*, confident in his owne merits, and scorning Danger, disputed against his opinion, and how the King's mercy would pardon all, if he found the *Low-countrys* quieted; This "*Mercy of the King*" (said *Orange*) *that you trust to, will be your ruine; My Soule presages* "*(I wish it may be false,) that you are to be the Bridge the Spaniards will*" "*tread upon in their coming over to the Low-countrys.*" At which words, as assured of his Prophecy, and that he should never see *Egmont* againe, he held him hard in his Armes, and so, both weeping, tooke their last Farewell. Next day, he wrote a Letter to the Governesse, Intreating her, "*that she would please to remember the King, and make a gracious Inter-*" "*pretation herselfe of the Paines he had taken now, and long since, both in*" "*Peace and Warre for his Majestyes Honour and Advantage. And that he*" "*himselfe wheresoever he lived would alwayes be her Highnesses most faith-*" "*full Servant*". Immediately he removed with his wife and Children (all but his eldest Son, *Philip* whom he left a Student, in *Lovaine*) to his City of *Breda*, many of the Nobility waiting on him. Having staid there awhile, he retired to *Cleueland*, and about the end of Aprill, to *Dilemburg*, the antient Seat of the *Nassau's*. And *Egmont*, though he was troubled at the Parting of his Friend, soone after grew cheerefuller then ever. For now being quit of his old Rivall, and therefore assuring himselfe of the first Place in the Governesses Favour, he began to offer his Service, and to be active in publique Affayres. First taking the Oath, as he had promised, in the forme wherein it was administred, and putting downe the Consistories in the lower *Flanders*, he in person, with six Companies of Foote disarmed diuerse Townes; and shewed himselfe so averse to the Designes of some of his Collegues, that by Count *Hochstrats* Servant, their vsuall Messenger, he advised them to attempt nothing against Religion, the King, or their owne Honour; if they did, he would hate them worse then a white Scarfe, which was the ordinary Weare of the *French* Horse. This made *Hochstrat* and the rest send to him for the Originalls of all the Letters

and

and Petitions which he had at any time received from them, returning him those he had sent to them, an undoubted Argument that their Friendship was dissolved. Notwithstanding, the Governesse was fearefull, that all this might be cunningly dissembled. But whether *Egmont* did it *bonâ fide*, now hating the proceedings of the Covenanters, or whether he complied with the Governesse, to take off the ill opinion conceived of him, now upon the King's Approach, certainly it was of much advantage to the Catholique cause. For many of the Covenanters, the Prince of *Orange* having left them, and frighted to see *Egmont* with some of the greatest Lords fall off, the rest growing jealous of one another, every man shifted for himselfe, and either personally or by friends petitioned the Governesse for their Pardons, and bound themselves, as they were required, by a new Oath. Not long after, *Hochstrat* and *Horne* wrote to the Governesse, promising to take the Oath in her presence, nay the last named sent a Copy of the Oath inclosed in his Letter. The Counts *Culemburg* and *Bergen* had now left the Low-countrys: *Lewis of Nassau* followed the Prince his Brother. So, that Feare had severed the foure principall Confederates, excepting only *Brederod*, who still lived in hope. This caused an universall dejectednesse and consternation of the Merchants, and Hereticks, complaining they were deserted, contrary to the Covenant; and crying the Nobility had betraied them. This caused diverse, especially Ministers, to fly; this encouraged the Governesse to use expedition, that whilst the Heads of the Conspirators were timorous and at difference among themselves, she might the more easily reduce the stubborne people to their antient Obedience.

And now by command from the Governesse, *Norcarminus* with 21. Companies of Foote, and 10. piece of Cannon was to attaque *Maeſtricht*, in *Brabant*. But they of that City hearing of the Surrender of *Valenciens*, immediately turned out of Towne all the preaching Hereticks, and factious Teachers. Then, understanding that *Norcarminus* drew neare, they forthwith sent Commissioners to the Governesse, to beseech a pardon for what was past, promising for the future to continue faithfull to the King, and Bishop. For part of *Maeſtricht* is subject to the Bishop of *Liege*, and part to the King as Duke of *Brabant*; The Governesse gave them a short Dispatch, and referred them (soundly chidden) to be answered by *Norcarminus*. The Commissioners were no sooner gone, but Messengers came from *Gerard Grosbeck*, Bishop of *Liege*, assuring the Governesse that the Hereticall Sinke at *Maeſtricht* was now cleane swept, That many of the Citisens with the Magistrate, even when that Plague was hottest, kept themselves uninfected, That the Gentry and Communalty were not past Cure, as plainly appeared by the suddaine change made in the City, converted, chiefly by the endeavours of one of the Society, sent for from *Colen* by the Bishop; which Father dayly chalenging the Hereticall Doctours to dispute, and dayly confuting them, had brought them to a perfect Recovery of their old Religion and Allegiance. And therefore the people, if they might but have a pardon, would satisfy for their Delinquency with more earnest Observance, and were now ready to receive a Garrison: though the Bishop himselfe did not conceive any necessity for making it a Garrison, the Firebrands of the Rebellion being now extinguished. Or if her Excellence were concerned in honour not to alter her Determination, that one or two Companies would be sufficient. That he himselfe for his own part, had pardoned those of *Maeſtricht*,

1567.

Whereupon
follows a great
change.

Many renounce
the Covenant.

The Conspira-
tors leave the
Low-countrys.

Especially the
Hereticks.

The Recovery
Of *Maeſtricht*.

The Bishop of
Liege inter-
cedes for the
Towne.

Henricus Dio-
nyſius.

1567.

Why the Governesse denies him.

Maeſtricht yields.

Norcarminus puniſhes them.

Of the Render of Eolduc and Antwerp.

They of the Bus feare the Governesse's Army. And labour to appease her. But cannot doe it.

ſtricht, with promise to be a Suiter in their behalfe for the like pardon from the Governesse; the rather because he considered himselfe not only as their Prince, but as their Father, well knowing the mercy of the Governesse. Who thanking the Bishop for his message full of kindnesse and charity, told them, it was not in her power to imitate their Master's Example: the King having taken from her all Authority of pardoning Offences of this nature: but she was confident, they might hope no lesse from the Kings Clemency. In the meane time, it was necessary, that a new Garrison, which she might confide in, should be put in into *Maeſtricht* to prevent the practice of Traitors, that made sure account of that Towne, lying no lesse convenient to receive Succours out of *Germany*, then *Valenciens* for Ayde from *France*. She had therefore commanded *Norcarminus* to take *Maeſtricht*; but first to advise with the Bishop: and to that end, she had sent *Turins* Secretary of her Privy Counsell to give him notice of their March. The Messengers replying, that *Maeſtricht* was not like other Townes of the *Low-Countrys*, because part of the Jurisdiction appertained to the Bishop. The Governesse answered not that particular, for she used sometimes to returne Silence for an Answer, saying, these that had not ill eares, would be sufficiently answered by not being answered. The Army in the meane time made long Marches, with cheerefulnesse proper to Conquerours, and invited forward by the hope of Plunder. But the *Maeſtrichters* were as quicke in yielding, and excepted against nothing which *Norcarminus*, in the Governesses name, commanded. Who entering the Towne, tooke the keyes from the Magistrate, and all their great Cannon and Munition from the City, disarmed the Townsmen, hanged the Author of the Rebellion in the Market-place: and leaving *Egidius Barlamont* with part of his Forces in Garrison, he with the rest marched towards *Holland*, as the Governesse had appointed, to joyne himselfe with *Charles Brimey* Count of *Megen*.

The Citizens of the *Bus*, doubting which way the Conquerour would take, were so much the more fearfull of the Governesse, by how much they knew they had more justly merited her indignation. For by her Edict she had proclaimed them Enemyes to the King, for their uncivill usage and detaining of *Merodius*, and *Scheiff* Chancellour of *Brabant*, which she had sent unto them; for expelling Count *Megen*, and admitting *Bomberg*: which Edict confiscated the Wealth of the City, and deprived them of all their Priviledges, till such time as they should returne her Commiss. The Townsmen though at first they slighted her Decree, yet at length better advised by the nearnesse of the Danger, unknown to *Bomberg*, beseeched the Governesse to grant a safe Conduct for certaine Commiss. of theirs to attend her Highnesse in the name of the City. Which she denied to heare of, unlesse they brought along her own Commissioners that were kept Prisoners at the *Bus*. Shortly after, the Chancellour and *Merodius*, being set at Liberty, arrived at Court, and told the Governesse, that *Bomberg* distrusting his Faction, daily mouldring away, had left the Towne with a band of men, the Citisens being compelled for what he had acted to give their Approbation, and to pay a thousand Florens in the name of a Donative. As they were speaking, came in Commissioners from the *Bus*, desiring a generall Pardon; that the Edict might be revoked; and that a Garrison might not be imposed vpon them. But the Governesse, offended with those proud Demands, answered, That their Message looked not like a Supplication made by Delinquents, and so put them off, till another

Day.

Nor suffering them to come any more into her presence, she commanded them, by the Chancellour and *Merodius*, to returne home, and teach their City not to Article with her for a Surrender, but to receiue a Garrison as she commanded. And that remembring their Offences, they should leave themselves & their fortunes to the Kings Mercy. The Governesse was animated, as wel by the late Victory, as by the present Forces come from *Germany*, wherewith the *Bur* being terrified, sent back their Commissioners rendering themselves to the Governesse without Conditions, only they beseeched her, that to prevent quarrell betweene the Townsmen and the Souldiers, they might haue a Garrison of their owne Countrymen. And they receiued part of the *German Army* and their Generall Col. *Schovenburg*, who, together with a Senatour ioyned in Commission with him by the Governesse, ordered the Common wealth; repealing indeed the Edi&ct, but suspending both Punishment and Pardon till the King's Coming. At the same time the Governesse was attended by Commissioners from *Antwerp*, craving Pardon for their past Delinquency, and promising that the Towne, now freed from the factious Inhabitants would hereafter be obedient Subiects. And truly, though the *Antwerpers* were the last that came in, yet they deserved the greatest Commendations, and much more their Pardons; because the best of the Towne were forced to sweate hard for it, before they could remove the swarme of Hereticall Preachers. For albeit most of them were ignorant people, rather wicked then subtle, their Greatest understandings reaching no higher then Taverne-Politicks; yet they were growne so numerous & so strong by the Assistance of wicked and factious Persons, and had so captivated the affections of the Commons, that they were become absolute Masters of the Towne, and could not be outed but with greate paines and Trouble, and with a miserable and manifold vexation of the City. The Body of one that is possessed with the Devill is not more deadly tormented, when the evill Spirit is expelled by the power of the holy Exorcist, then all *Antwerp* was shaken by the Threatenings and Curses of this Legion of Ministers and Fugitives: that long struggled, and at last was forced to leaue it. But the Governesse though she was glad at heart to see Commissioners from so great a City, yet dissembling her Ioy, grievously rebuked them; and said, there was no talking of a Pardon, till they had received a Garrison: that done, she promised them, to use her best endeavours, in preferring their Supplication to the King. In the interim she would forbear to punish that contumacious and rebellious City, excepting only the cheif Rebels, and the Sacrilegious people. As soone as the Commissioners were returned with this Answer, they were sent back from *Antwerp* to offer the Towne, and said, the Citisens were in the power of the Governesse, if she pleased to Command a Garrison they would receiue it. Her Excellence, much commending their Resolution, replied (as if she meant it for an Honour to them, which she intended for securing of the Towne) that she would come in person to *Antwerp*, and honour with her Presence the Rendition made by her dearest Subiects. The next day she commanded Count *Mansfeldt* to goe before with 16 Ensignes, of her best Foote, And he for feare of a Mutiny among the people, being to guard the Passages, with Cannon planted at the turnings of the streets, entred the Towne, as if he were to storme it: and securing the Market-place and every part of the City with Musketeers and Cannon, he receiued the Governesse; who came about the end of *Aprill*, with great pomp, not only waited upon by his Souldiers

C c

that

1567.

They yeild to mercy.

18. *Aprill.*
Antwerpe sues for pardon,

which they deserve for turning the Hereticks out of Towne, It being a very difficult worke

The Governesse will not grant their Parlon unlesse they take a Garrison of her men.

They yeild up on her Excellencies owne termes.

She sending her Army before.

Antwerp is taken.

1567.

*Enters the
Towne Trium-
phantly,*

*Restores things
sacred,*

*And orders the
Civill Govern-
ment of the
City.*

*An Embassage
sent from the
Princes of
Germany,*

*Which the Go-
vernesse would
gladly have put
off,*

*But they are
admitted,*

And heard,

*Speaking out
of a Booke,*

*To whom she
returnes this
Answer.*

that were 1200. but by the Magistrates, Gouvernours of Provinces, Knights of the Golden-Fleece, and Senatours of the three Estates; Entering the Towne in manner of a Triumph, with great concourse and Acclamations of the people; Attended with all those eminent persons, her Highnesse went directly to the great Church, dedicated to the blessed Virgin Mary, where she beheld the mischief done by those damned Villaines, which had defaced that goodly Building. The sight whereof drew teares from her eyes; but now, occasion being offered for some kind of reparation, it partly qualified her griefe. Therefore causing *Te Deum* to be sung, she publicly gave thanks to God, and privately to the blessed Virgin, that without warre or blood so great a City was returned to their Religion and their Prince. Then she applied her selfe to regulate the Common-wealth; wherein her first care was to do right unto the Church: and sending for the Bishop of Cambray, the Altars and Churches, which the sacrilegious had either pulled down or prophaned, began to be new built and purified with Canonick Ceremonies, and (which was best of all) furnished with activemen, fit for the Cure of Soules. Afterwards looking upon the Government of the Towne, she examined who were Authours of the Rebellion, and what Magistrates had been negligent, or false: and a Particular was brought her of all the Armes, which she tooke from the People.

While the Governesse was thus employed, she heard, Embassadors were come from the Electours of Saxony and Brandenburg, from the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Marquesse of Baden, and the Lantgrave of Hessen, which Princes the Hereticks, that had lost all and fled out of the Low-countrys, used as their last Refuge for Assistance. The Governesse imagining what their business was, sent Scaremberg her Secretary for the German tongue, to meet the Embassadors, and to desire, that they would passe no further, because their coming could not, at that time, be seasonable, either for the City, not yet thoroughly quieted, or for the Governesse, taken up with the Care of settling it. That for the present it would be best to acquaint him with the heads of their Embassage, and they themselves might come at another time more opportunely. But they, affirming that would not consist with the Dignity of their Masters, were admitted: and under pretence of attending them, Courtiers and Souldiers were put upon them for Guards and Spies. The next day, they had audience, before the Lords, and one of them, after he had spoke a formall Preamble, read a Booke, written in High Dutch, that with many tedious and odious calumniations, concluded; *"that the profession of Aufspurg, being more agreeable to the word of God then the Catholique Religion, ought to be received in the Lower Germany, at least not prohibited by Edicts and penall Lawes; The Governesse was therefore desired by the Princes of the Higher Germany, that the People, otherwise inoffensive, might not be troubled for their Religion, and exposed to the Tyranny of the Spanish Inquisition and other censures of Law. The whole Presence being moved with indignation at his words, he gave the Booke to the Governesse. Her Excellence, when the Embassadors withdrew, advising about it in Councell, infinitely displeased, delivered her opinion, that they should be returned without Answer. But it was thought more civill, that Secretary Scaremberg, should answer them in these words. "That the Embassadors preamble concerning Religion, was not worthy of a Reply. What they had said in excuse of the stubborne Rebels and Church-Robbers, demonstrated, that the German*

"German Princes gave lesse credit to the King of Spaine's and the Governesse's Letters, then to the complaints of seditious men; whose innocence belike appeared in Sacriledge, forcing of Magistrates, and stirring up the People to Rebellion. Therefore from the Governesse, they should admonish those that sent them, to give the King leave to govern his owne Subjects, and not by their patronage of Rebels to foment discords within another Prince's Jurisdiction. The Embassadors replied, they came only to intreat for their Brethren of the confession of *Auspurg*, that were not Rebels; but they had no answer to that point. And foure dayes after their Arrivall, they returned, seeming very much discontented all, but the Embassador of *Saxony*, who, unknowne to the rest, told the Governesse, that his Master by others perswasions was over-ruled in the sending of this Embassy, for he himselfe was affectionate to the House of *Austria*, and it was his desire to be so accounted. The Embassadors were not gone out of Towne, when newes came that the Covenanters were overthrown in *Holland*, and *Brederod* forced to depart the Country, 4000. of those Rebels under the Command of *Andelot*, *Vinglius*, and *Lefdale*, had possessed themselves of *Holland*, vexing and plundering the Country: Most of which, thinking to surprize *Amsterdam*, were met by Count *Megen* with 13. Companies of valiant Souldiers that not only spoyled their project of taking the Towne, but also pursued and forced them into *Waterland*, a marshy part of *Holland*, and therefore inaccessible. Yet they were affraied that to this very place they should be followed by *Megen*, with whose Forces it was reported *Norcarminus* would joine. Therefore they tooke shipping for *Frizeland*, but were caryed, the wind lying against them, into *Gelderland*: from thence dispersing themselves into severall Countryes, they all escaped out of the King's Dominions. Only one Ship, laded with the Spoyle of the *Holland-Churches*, and manned with 120. Souldiers (aboard which was *Andolott*, *Vinglius*, and the two Brothers, *Gisbert* and *Theoderick Battinburg*) either by violence of the Storme, or practice of the Master *Duncher Harling*, came into the hands of *Ernest Mulart*, who had Count *Aremberg's* Commission to give chase to the Fugitives with a nimble Pinnace. The Souldiers lost all their Armes and plunder, some of them their lives. The principall Commanders were by warrant from the Governesse imprisoned, some at *Harling*, others at *Vilword*, and a few Months after, when the Duke of *Alva* was Governour of the *Low-Countryes*, they were put to death. Of all the confederates only *Brederod* yet remained, proud in the hope of recovering *Holland*: and glorying that he alone was head of the Covenanters. The Governesse sending him a command to depart from *Amsterdam*, *Brederod* not only refused to obey, but likewise detained the Messenger, her Secretary *Turrius*, who in the King's name charged him forthwith to leave the Towne; but he would not so much as heare the Royall Edict read, and taking away the Secretaryes Letters and Notes kept him in his House. But the Magistrate offended at his dishonourable proceeding, and frighted with newes of the Render of *Valenciens*, sent away *Turrius* by night, without acquainting *Brederod*. Who, seeing the *Gheses* every where beaten and destroyed, the Covenanters flying or making of their peace; and all the burthen both of the Danger and Hatred to lye upon himselfe, trying to get his pardon, but in vaine; and lastly, hearing how the rest of their Forces in *Holland* were either routed, or slaine; out of heart, and frighted with the Report of the King's coming,

1567.

They are dismissed, all of them unsatisfied, Save the Sax-on-Embassador. The Covenanters go downe the wind in Holland,

Out of which they are beaten by Count Megen,

Their Plunder-shipp taken by Count Aremberg's men.

C. Brederod: the remaining Conspiratour at first braves the Governesse,

At last his heart failes him,

1567.

And he departs
the Low-Coun-
tries,

May 1.

And this hfe.

Holland sub-
mits.

So doth Ze-
land,
The Groine and
Frizeland,
And all the in-
fested places of
the Netherlands

The Governesse
puts Garrisons
into all the
Townes rendred
fines them,
designes Forts,

Executes the
principall Re-
bells, repairs
the Catholick-
Churches, de-
stroyes the here-
ticall Temples.

And this with
wonderfull
contention and
alacrity of the
People.

Lastly she re-
stores the
Low-countrys
to their former
tranquility.

coming, he fled his Country, and for the present waved his hopes of the Principality of *Holland*. With expedition thereof settling his Affaires, and leaving a few of his Servants in the Fort at *Viana*, his patrimoniall City; with his Wife and the rest of his Family, he arrived at *Emden*, a City of *East-Frizeland*, at the mouth of the River *Eems*: Being received with no great honour at *Emden*, he went to *Breme* in *Westphalia*. Desirous to change place againe; and uncertaine as well in his Resolutions, as in his Journeys, because he found himselfe mockt with the Hope of a Crowne, and not able to digest the disgrace of being only titular Prince of the Covenant: whilst he was raising some Forces in the County of *Schouwenburg*, and solliciting the Count of that place, *Justus*, to declare himselfe against the *Low-Countrys*, he sickned, and falling into a distraction, dyed raving, in the Towne of *Schouwenburg*. After *Brederods* Flight all *Holland* was reduced. For not only *Viana* by speedy Messengers sued for their Pardon and a Garrison, though they obtained neither: (their pardon being deferred till the King's Arrivall, and the Governesse signifying her pleasure that the works of the Towne should be slighted and the Fort dismantled, that was built contrary to her command) but likewise *Amsterdam*, *Leyden*, *Harlem*, and *Delph* made it their humble and earnest Suite, some to Count *Megen*, some to *Norcarinus*, to send them Garrisons. The like did *Middelburg* and the other Townes of *Zeland*, as also *Groening*, *Daventrey* and all *Frizeland*, submitting to their Governour *Aremberg*. Lastly, there was no City, Towne, Fort, or village of the *Low-Countrys*, that did not strive to turne out the Hereticall Doctours, and seditious Incendiaries, yielding themselves to the King's Pleasure and Mercy. Yet was the Governesse no lesse vigilant or secure, notwithstanding all this prosperity, having for many yeares had the Experience of good and bad Fortune: Wherefore being more careful to establish, then, for the present, to enjoy her Felicity; she placed Garrisons in the Townes, that were rendered, ordering the Cityes to pay the Souldiers, as a Fine for their Delinquency. In some places she modelled Forts, particularly at *Antwerp*, where she her selfe designed the Situation, nor was it altered by the Duke of *Alva*. The Church-Thieves and principall Rebels were arraigned, condemned, and hanged, and the Churches repaired with their confiscated Estates, or with the remainder of the publique Composition-money. Hereticall Temples built in diverse Cityes, she commanded to be pulled downe, which the people did with so good a will, that at *Gant* (which is almost incredible) a great *Lutheran* Synagogue in one houres space was levelled with the Ground. You would think these were new Cityes and new People, which a few months before, having been zealous to the cause, and stood Body and Soule in defence of the Hereticall Party, were so changed, as to offer their service in pulling downe of their Temples, as if that could excuse. Indeed they destroyed the Monuments and Memoriall of their Fault with such speed, especially in the Province of *Flanders*, that the beames of the Churches which they ruined, served for Gallowes to hang their late Worke-men and Audience. Thus, the fire kindled by the peoples discontents, blowne to a flame by the Bellowes in the Pulpit, fed by the Emulation of the Lords, and finally scattered abroad by the faction of the *Gheses*, devouring and destroying the *Lowcountrys*, was so damped and extinguished by the Governesse; that Religion and Obedience were every where restored, the Hereticks restrained

ned by punishment, or forced to fly the Country; some few getting their Pardons, others forfeiting their Estates, and living in Banishment: so as the Covenanters were reduced to poverty and the wallet, that is, they were made *true Gheuses*, and at last all the *Lowcountrys* enjoyed their ancient Peace and Tranquility. One thing amidst so many happineses did not a little afflict the Governesse, who observed that multitudes of *Lowcountrimen*, which could not make their peace, frighted with report of the Army comming out of *Spaine*, daily left their Habitations, and to the great dammage of the Cities, carried away their Merchandise, & Manufactures, and consequently the Gaines, into other Nations. Wherefore she had often intreated his Majesty, that either he would give her Authority to pardon and settle the Provinces, or else (which she thought would be best) to come himselfe among his Subjects, now quiet, and willing to obey: not terrifying them with an army, but receiving them to mercy. And the Later of these two Courses the King indeed in many of his Letters to the Governesse promised to make use of. But how he came to alter this *reall* or *pretended* Resolution, and in stead of Coming in Person to send *Ferdinand Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, his Lieutenant thither, because it was the great businesse of *Spaine*, and for a whole yeare agitated at the Councell Board; I will here with my best industry give you a full view of those Proceedings.

The Governesse from the very begining, desired the Kings Presence, and wrote out of her experience of the present Evill, and her foresight of a greater yet to come, that it was incurable without an Application from his *Royall Hand*; which the *Lowcountrimen* would take for a Favour, lest they should be forced to indure torments inflicted by a *Servant*. Many *Spanish* Lords of the Councell were of the same Opinion, nay *Pope Pius* the fifth wrote Letters, and sent *Peter Camarianus* Bishop of *Asculum*, to perswade him to passe with an Army into the *Lowcountrys*, where, no doubt, his presence would compose the Motions of his Subiects, and timely prevent the private Designes of some great Persons. But if, in such a precipitate Mischeife, he should either delay his going; or act there, by any of his Ministers of State: he much feared the *Lowcountrys* might change their Religion, and the King lose the *Lowcountrys*. His Majesty upon these and the like Advises from the *Netherlands*, *Spaine*, and *Rome*, resolved to go in person, Commanders were listed, Shipping provided, and his meniall Servants, that were to attend him, named. And lest this warrelike Preparation might beget a Ielousy in the minds of princes, his Majesty satisfied them by his Ambassadors of his true Intent in that Expedition against the *Lowcountrimen*. The King of *France* was desired to give the *Spanish* Army Passage through the Provinces of *Narbon* and *Lions*. To *Emanuel Filibert* Duke of *Savoy*, upon whom he much relyed; the King sent *Iohn Acugna*, to advise with him, what time, & by what way, he he would direct him to bring his Army; and which were the most dangerous Places for Ambuscadoes: and to intreat him to send his Majesty a Chart exactly describing the Cities & Forts, by which every day his Souldiers were to march, with the locall intervalls & dimensions; who therefore desired the whole Country between *Savoy* & *Burgundy* might be accurately measured and put in Colours; to which end *Gabriell Cueva* Duke of *Alburcher* Governour of *Millaine*, should send him Captaine *Campin* an exquisite Enginere, with a painter and a Surveyer, lest his Majesty might upon the way encounter any thing new, upon which he had not precon-

1567.
The Gheuses
were made
Gheuses indeed

Many Families
leave the
Lowcountrys
which very
much troubled
the Governesse

For remedy
whereof she
solicits for the
Kings presence
there.

Touching the
Kings expedi-
tion for the
Netherlands
which the Go-
vernesse holds
necessary.

Pius the 5th.
Perswades the
King to goe,
1566.
And Prophe-
sies.

K. Philip as-
sents and pre-
pares for the
journey.

Whereof he
gives notice to
the Princes of
Europe,

particularly

To the D. of
Savoy, whose
directions his
Majesty de-
sires for the
safery of his
March.

1567.

*Yet all this
was dissembled
as Strada con-
ceives,*

*For these rea-
sons.*

*How the King
was advanta-
ged by this
dissimulation.*

*A part well
acted.*

*Yet not so well
but some saw
through it.*

*The Governesse
presses the
Kings coming
with new
Arguments.
And perswades
him,*

*Though Strada
is of opinion
that all was but
juggling for
these Reasons.*

*A Councell
about the
Kings going.*

*The Councel-
lors and their
Characters.*

*D. Alva.
Rui. Gomez.
P. of Eбора.*

*Cardinal
Spinosa.*

preconsidered. But the more earnestly and formally the Particulars were requested, the lesse they were intended for Security, being only to amuse the world: and in all these Punctualities and curious Accommodations for his March, there was nothing of substance, all meerly Show and Colour. Nor can any man perswade mee that King *Philip*, a subtile and ambitious Prince, would at that time, leave his chiefe strength, when he found some beginnings of the Rebellion of the *Moors*, and was inwardly so much offended with his Son *Charles*, Prince of *Spain*. For should he take his Son along into the *Low-Countries*, and bring the Lords a Patron for their cause, which the Prince was thought privatly to favour? or leave him behind, and trust him with *Spain*, which it was likely he would involve in Tumults when he was left to himselfe, whose fierce nature even his Majesty could hardly moderate in the time of peace. But the King concealed these Reasons, and with new Preparations fed the Rumour of his Voiage, thereby to keepe the *Lowcountry-Lords* in more obedience, and to have the fairer Pretence to put off the Emperour (whom the Lords as it was said meant to make Arbiter) from interressing himselfe in the businesse of the *Lowcountrys*: and by the fame of an Army to deterre others from fomenting the Faction of the *Gheses*. The King was holpen in his dissimulation by a quartan Ague, which holding him long, was thought to be the Cause of his Delay, especially for that he still continued his care and provisions for the Voiage. Though some of his nearest Servants knowing all this to be but Pageantry, suspected his Ague likewise to be fained. But when the King was recovered, and that by Letters from the Governesse his Majesty was certified of the Rebellion of some Townes, and Danger of all, unlesse prevented by his Coming: quickned with Griefe and Anger, he made all things ready with such formall Hast, as not a Servant in his Court, no not the *Lowcountry-Embassadours*, the Marquis of *Bergen* and the Lord *Montin*, that had often Laughed at the Comedy of the Royall expedition, did now doubt the truth of it: yet still the King did but act his part, & was not serious. For among other dissuasions from his Voyage, Letters came from the Governesse giuing him intelligence; that the Lords were resolved, if the King (as they heard) would bring an army into the *Lowcountrys*, that they themselves would call in forreigne Assistance, and casting off their Allegiance oppose his Entry. Which howsoever he dissembled, or publicly seemed to flight, questionlesse he that was so jealous of his Crowne and Honour, must needs be very sensible how much both would be indangered, if by carrying an Army thither he should teach the *Lowcountrys* how to arme, so render himselfe contemptible to his Subiects; and to the neighbour Princes, that would looke on, or perhaps secretly assist the Rebels. Therefore in the last Consultation which he held about it at *Madrid*, his Majesty would only have it put to the question, Whether he should goe without an Army, which some perswaded: or take his Forces along: which the Popes Nuntio earnestly advised. Among his Privy-Councell, which then were numerous, and great Statesmen, because the King greatly relyed vpon their Iudgements; there came to the Board *Ferdinando Toledo* Duke of *Alva*, *Roderick Gomez a Silva* Prince of *Eбора*, both of them very powerfull with the King: but as Favour tooke place of Estimation, he was greater in his Majestyes Account, this had the greater Honours conferred upon him. There was likewise Cardinall *Spinosa*, who from very meane beginnings, was advanced to be chiefe Inquisitour and Pre-

President of the Councell of *Castile*, and had beene of so high Authority in King *Philip's* Court, that he was called the *Spanish Monarch*. There was also *Gomez Figueroa*, Duke of *Feria*, *Iohn Manric de Lara*, and *Anthony de Toledo* Knight of St *Iohns* of *Hierusalem* and Prior of *Leon*: all excellent and active wits. But *Feria*, besides the vast indowments of his mind, exceeded them all in handsonnesse and sweetnesse of disposition. *Manric* was conspicuous for Prudence: the Prior for Religion. Then late *Bernardo Fresneda* the Kings confessor, a Franciscan; *Antonio Perez* Privy Seale, and diverse others, most of them Councillours of approved integrity, and such as seriously intended their Prince's Honour; which notwithstanding, as every one was of a sower or gentle temper, they interpreted according to their owne inclinations. Thus it is that all men forme their Opinions; and the Vote which nature extorts, we thinke is given to the Cause, when indeed we give it to our Humour. The King himselfe sat in Councell, to moderate by his presence the publique and continuall Iarres between the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Ebora*, contending no lesse for superiority at the Board, then for preheminance in Court. Or rather his Majesty came in person, that if any one (which he heard was designed) should move for his Son to be Generall, he himselfe might breake off the propofall. And there was one that perswaded the sending of an Army, remembring his Majesty of *Tiberius Caesar*, that left forrein Warres to the Managery of his Sonnes. But immediately Prince *Roderick*, who very well understood the King, as if he approved that part of the Advise for the King's Security; tooke the Speech out of the others Mouth, and by degrees brought it to this, "That he could not but think it unseasonable to exasperate quiet and obedient Subjects with an Army: thereby ingaging the Hereticks their Neighbours to assist their Brethren; That the Fire of Civill War is carefully to be watched, especially in such a place where they are neere, that feed the flame, and they farre off that must extinguish it, though indeed it can never be extinguished without the Conquerour's Losse. For in the civill Ruine of Cities, Men, and Fortunes, the Prince loses whatsoever is taken from the conquered. The Offences till that day committed by the Low-country-men, were sufficiently punished and subdued by his Majesties Sister: and if any thing were unsubdued, it was their minds, not their bodies, but those should be conquered not by Armes, but Favours; being more agreeable to the King's Clemency, and to the nature of the Low-country-men, of whom his Father Charles the Fifth was wont to say, There is no people under Heaven (so they be fatherly used) that more abhorre servitude, or more patiently indure it. Then summing up the expence of an Army, the Dangers, the Jealousies of Princes, he concluded. "That nothing was so intricate in the Low-countrys, or ravelled into such hard knots, but might be easily, and gently untied, without drawing of a sword to cut it. Certainly forrein Troubles might be composed at distance by a Prince, without diminution to his Authority, reserving his presence for cases of extreame necessity; This Counsell of *Roderick Gomez* was the sense of a man potent at Court, whose principall Aime was peace and quiet; and his greatest Policy to prevent a Warre, where the businesse, and consequently the Power should be transferred to others. Of the same opinion was *Bernardo Fresneda* a plaine and sweete-natured man: and *Antonio Perez* a Creature of Prince *Roderick's*. But the Duke of *Alva* was for Armes and Revenge, as the only cure for Wounds given to Religion and Royall Authority. For "by other Artifices and facility nothing was effected, but the taking
"away

1567.

Duke of *Feria*
Manr. de *Lara*.
Antonio de
Toledo.

Fresneda the
Kings Con-
fessor.
Antonio *Perez*.

Why the King
was there in
person.

Manric. de
Lara.

The Prince of
Ebora's opinion

Fresneda and
Perez vote
with the
Prince.
The Duke of
Alva's judge-
ment quite con-
trary.

1567.

away obedience from the King, and feare from the Rebels. At first the
 Low-country-men desired only to be freed of the Spanish Garrisons,
 and protested nothing else was wanting to quiet the People. But when our
 Souldiers were disbanded, were the people quieted? or the rather, and
 with the more confidence did they not demand that Granvell should be re-
 moved from the Governesse and the Helme of State, which he protected:
 never desisting, till with base Libells, ridiculous Fooleries, and traiterous
 combinations, at last they extorted their desires. But peradventure
 when one man was cast overboard, it laid the wind which raised that popu-
 lar Tempest? No rather, as Licentiousnesse more easily increases then begins,
 having now got ground, as men imboldened by our Gentlenesse, they publish
 scurrilous Pamphlets against the Multiplication of Bishopricks, the Revivall
 of the Emperour's Edicts, the Councell of Trent, and the Pontifician In-
 quisitours; they petition, but with their swords in their hands; they fright
 the Governesse with Threats, and weary the King's patience with obstinate
 and impudent Messages. Whereupon the King, out of his clemency, con-
 sidering himselfe as a Father, was pleased to moderate some of his Decrees:
 and the Governesse to grant something more then she should have done to
 such base Petitioners. For what wrought her Indulgence, but only, that when
 they had obtained their Requests, by not obeying they forgot themselves to
 be subjects, unlearned their Principles of Obedience, and shaking of Alle-
 geance to their Prince, made an Association of the Provinces, as if the num-
 ber of offenders should secure them: and undervaluing all things humane
 and divine, in comparison of the Liberty they had once tasted off. Indeed
 his Father Charles the fifth, who was not ignorant of the Low-country-men's
 natures, had then demonstrated how they should be used, when omitting all
 milder remedies he chastised his rebellious Country-men with Armes, and so
 reduced them. But now it was not one City, but all the Provinces had con-
 spired against God and the King. Nor because the Rebels sit still for the pre-
 sent, are their hearts therefore brought downe, but will resume their Armes,
 when they are not awed by the Terrour of Revenge. For the most venomous
 Serpents may be safely handled in Winter: not that they have lesse Poyson,
 but because they are more unactive; it being now known by experience, that
 for the same man to be an Heretick and a good Subject is impossible.
 Thus his rigid disposition argued; particularly discouraging how an Army
 might be raised and conducted, and disputed all the policies advantage-
 ous for that Expedition, which he, being an old Generall and the rest of
 the Lords no Souldiers, was of all the councell only able to argue. And
 his Judgement was confirmed by Cardinall Spinosa, who made a grave
 Speech, complaining how the Holy Court of Inquisition was violated in
 the Low-countrys: The rest were of the same Opinion; all but the Duke
 of Feria, who being nearer in Bloud then Affection to the Duke of Alva,
 and of a milder nature, differed from him altogether: not denying but
 the Low-countrys needed some kind of Remedy (wherein he dissented
 from the Prince of Ebora, with whom in the rest hee concurred) but
 that Remedy should rather be applyed by dexterity of Councell, than by force
 of Armes; which would be more honourable to the Prince, as if he made it
 not a businesse to settle his Dominions, not making himselfe a party, & whilst
 fought with his subjects allowing them for his Equalls: and more safe in re-
 lation to his Neighbours, and Enemyes, that would no doubt, make use of
 the Low-country-Insurrections to moulder away the Spanish Power by their
 owne Victories. Nor did that Allegation of the Emperours taking of Gant,
 sufficiently

Spinosa and
many others go
along with the
Duke.

The Duke of
Feria opposes
him,

The summe of
his Speech.





*Ferdinand of Toledo Duke of Alva
Governour of the Low-countries.*

Re. Vaughan sculp.

1557.

“sufficiently conclude; the Stubbornesse of one City might be easily broken, when the rest of the Low-countries were obedient: now almost the whole began to waver, and in the same common cause and danger were ready to associate in their defence. Many circumstances made for that warre, which dissuade from this. Then the Germans were the Emperours Subjects, the English his confederates, and the French his Inviters. Now, all those being obliged by no Right of Empire, or tie of Alliance, many of them differing in Religion, all concurring in envy, as they will quicken our troubles, so they will retard our Assistance. Therefore for the present omitting the thoughts of Punishment and Warre, let some be sent into the Low-countries, that may narrowly observe and bring us a true Account of the present condition of the Provinces: and let us in the interim give the Subjects Rest, and time to come to themselves; and take heed, we doe not unseasonably teach them to use those Armes against his Majesty, which they have employed so often in his Service. These considerations nearly resembling those offered by Prince Roderigo, I suppose the Duke of Feria purposely kept back, till the Duke of Alva had spoken; that bringing them in as a new opinion, he might side with Roderic Gomez whom he much affected. But the King, though he plainly favoured the Duke of Alva's Resolution, yet being many did oppose it, deferred or seemed to deferre the declaring of himselfe so long; till every ones benefit should reconcile their diverse and clashing Opinions. Thus bodies are dayly formed, when after long contention of the Elements, some parts being remitted, others consumed, the whole is made adequate. For Roderick Gomez laboured to keep the King in Spaine; but though he disliked his going into the Low-countries with an Army, as dangerous, howsoever unnecessary, yet he found this advantage in it, that if the Duke of Alva should be Generall (which he easily supposed) it would remove his Rivall from Court, and ingage him in no slight Difficulties. But Alva though, in the first place, he indeavoured to draw the King from Spaine, making sure account he should wholly governe him in the Army: yet he was well enough pleased to be trusted by the King, though absent, with the whole Waire; and to leave Roderick Gomez behind in whatsoever degree of place or Favour. For as it troubled him to see the King value his Merits, lesse then the others person: so was he ambitious of some Employment, where Warre and the Field might put a difference between those whom Peace and the Court had equalled. Their Opinions therefore meeting in this point, the King without further delay, declared, That he had long thought of a Expedition into the Low-countries, and whatsoever was alledged to the contrary, altered not his Resolution: but yet hee would not goe, till some one sent before him, should enter the Provinces with an Army; not to affright the Obedience or Peace of his Subjects with those Armes, but to use them as a Guard and Ornament to the Prince. Shortly after calling for the Duke of Alva, he gaue him the Command in Chiefe for that Expedition, the rest of the pretenders willingly yielding to him, an old Generall, famous for many Victories. When he had received his Commission, the King immediately wrote to the Viceroyes of Sicily, Naples, and Sardinia, to draw out three Regiments from their Spanish Garrisons, to be sent to Millaine in the Gallies of Garcia de Toledo. To the Governour of Millaine his Majesty wrote to ioine unto them a Regiment out of that Province, whither the Duke of Alva would shortly come with his new Spanish Levies, that should supply the Garrisons from whence the old Souldiers were selected. Likewise

Prince of
Ebolo.

The King
seems to suspend his
sentence till their
severall Interests
had brought them
to be of one
Mind.

The King resolves to send
one before, to
make way for
his owne march

Names the
Duke of Alva
for the employment,
Provides him
an Army in
Italy,

1567.

Writes to the Duke of Savoy to victuall his men, To the Switz and the Duke of Loraine to give them passage.

Lyon. Car. ix. Geneva terrified with news of the Spanish March.

Ber. Mendoza J. b. a. They send for assistance from the French Calvinists. The Prince of Conde and the Colligny promise them protection. Raise men and perswade the French K. to fight the Spaniard.

The King of France finding the Hugonots designs, stirs not.

to the Duke of *Savoy* the King had formerly sent *Iohn Augnia*, and now dispatched *Francis Ibarra*: that, as the other desired a pailage, so this might procure Victuall for the Army. Moreover *Count Iohn Anguisciola* went Embassadour to the *Swisse*, and *Anthonio Mendoza* to the Duke of *Loraine*, acquainting them with his Majestie's Intentions, and desiring Leave for the Royall Army to passe without Molestation through their Territories. For the King had changed his Resolution of sending them by *Lyons*, *Charles* the ninth of *France* excusing himselfe, pretending the Civill Warres, and consequently the unsafenesse of the Passage. Indeed the Report of the *Spanish* Army terrified many Countreys, particularly *Geneva*, who were made believe that *Pope Pius* had agreed with the Duke of *Alva*, in his March, to turne his Forces, as he might easily doe, upon the *Geneveses*: and they were assured the Duke of *Savoy* would not lose so good an Opportunity. That which I imagine bred the Suspicion was the suddain Embassage of *Bernardino Mendoza* sent to the *Pope* from the Duke of *Alva*, whilst he stayed in *Millaine*. Wherefore *Geneva* not only requested Aide to the common Cause from *Bearne*, whose turne would be the next, but likewise from all the Calvinists of *France*, as from a Plantation of *Geneva*; especially from the Prince of *Conde*, Head of the Faction. Who glad of that Occasion to make Levies, promised and sent Assistance to *Geneva* under the Command of *Mombrune*. And the Prince himselfe with *Gaspar Colligny* began their publique Musters in *France*, pretending to King *Charles* a feare the *Spaniards*, that accounted them as Enemies, had a designe to take them unprepared. Nay they would have perswaded the King "to raise an Army, and not let slip such an Opportunity (as fairer could not be) to revenge himselfe of a Nation that ever hated *France*. It was true, that the *Spanish* Army, both for the Goodnesse of Souldiers and Noblenesse of Commanders, was a most select and considerable one, yet in their passage through the Straits and over the Mountaines; on the one side by the French, on the other by the *Geneveses* and *Swisse*, they might easily be distressed and cut off. And then all King *Philip's* *Spanish* and *Italian* Forces being overbrowne, as it was not to be doubted, but either a way might be opened to recover *Millaine*, left naked of old Souldiers: or it was but marching into the Lowcountreys, and that people willingly would receive the French, to whose Armes they must acknowledge themselves obliged for their delivery from the *Spanish*. But if neither of these Projects tooke effect; yet certainly for many years a warre was not to be feared from those, that having lost such an army could not in a long time recruite." The Prince of *Conde* added, that if it would please the King to raise forces for that warre, he would bring his Maiesty 50000 men. Thus under a specious colour for the publick safety, they offered his Maiesty the Army which they had privately designed for their Rebellion, like true Hugonots, who call that the Kings Security, which is indeed his Captivity. But the French King knowing what they aymed at, left by provoking a Potent Prince, he might at one time be engaged in a Forreine and Civill Warre, replied it was neither agreeable to the Honour nor Valour of the French, to circumvent a King, neare to him in Affinity and Freindship. But to secure his Kingdome from the *Spaniards*, in their March, he would giue Order for the raising of a new Army. Withall, he signified to King *Philip* the Condition of his Civill Discords, by reason whereof, he could not promise security to his Forces if they came. And now the Duke of *Alva* transported in the Gallies of *Andrea Doria* and *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*, with his new *Spanish* Souldiers that

that were to supply the old *Italian* Garrisons, arrived at *Millaine*; where falling into a Feaver he was forced to remaine. At which time upon notice of the Army which the Duke of *Alva* was to bring into the *Lowcountreys*, and that the King himself would follow (for so it was reported) the Governesse endeavoured to dissuade his Majesty from coming in a Warlike manner, which would be of no use, but to imbroile the Provinces againe. "That the *Lowcountreys* were at present in a peaceable condition, returned to their Religion and Obedience; nor wanted they strength and Men, by which as this Condition was acquired, so it might be preserved and increased by the King's presence if he came alone: but if he brought a new and mighty Army, what would it import, but great Expences to the King, and noe lesse Poverty to the *Lowcountreys*? Vpon the very Rumour of a forreine Army diverse Tradesmen and Merchants families were now departed; and when they heard of the Armys nearer Approaches, more would leave the Country, because they knew there would be noe Trading in a time of Warre and yet they must pay Sessments and great Taxes for maintaining Souldiers. Besides the Feare of the People, that cannot but thinke these Forces to be their Executioners; the indignation of the Nobility, whose good Service, in quietting the late Commotions would seeme to be slighted; and the certaine Relapse of the Place into Heresy, that would returne into the *Lowcountreys* with a Lutheran Army out of Germany: and (which out of the premises she prophetically concluded) it would cause, by that inexpressible Hatred & antipathy betweene the two Nations, a bloody Civill Warre for many Ages. Wherefore she earnestly beseeched his Majesty, that laying aside this unreasonable Designe of Armes, he would come peaceably into the Provinces, more like a father, then a King: and that by his presence and Wisdome he would add to these happy Beginnings what was only desirable, Continuation. This Letter the Governesse sent by an Extraordinary, Gaspar Robley Lord of Bill and Governour of *Philipwill*, that being presented by a person of Honour, it might have more Authority with the King. But it neuer moved him, who replied his Army should come into the *Lowcountreys* for no other End but to establish peace. And this was writ to the Governesse, in the King's name, by Rui Gomez a Sylva Prince of *Ebolo*, who likewise sent her Excellence Newes of the Marquesse of *Bergen's* Death, which happened in the Kings Absence from *Madrid*.

John Glimée Marquesse of *Bergen Op Zoom*, a City in the farthest part of *Brabant*, was the last yeare, sent from the *Low-countreys* into *Spaine*, with *Florence Momorancy* Lord of *Montin*, nor was his Embassy very well received, the King being excessively enraged at the Violation of their Churches and Defection of their Cities. Therefore the Marquesse begging leave to returne very often, but still in vaine (because the Governesse had privately advised the King not let the Embassadors goe, so long as the Troubles lasted) when he had now sufficiently discovered the Plot upon him, both by his Delays at Court, and his mock-hopes, as if he should every day returne into the *Low-countreys* with the King; weary of the Employment, and struck with the Duke of *Alva's* being chosen Generall, he fell sick: and despairing of his Recovery, sent for the Prince of *Ebolo*, his old Friend, to whom (they say) he grievously complained of the King, and prayed he would deliver to his Majesty these words, from a dying man that should no more speake for himselfe. "That it much grieved him, not only to have no value put upon the many painefull services hee had done, but likewise to see himselfe suspected, and looked upon as an

D d 2

"Enemy

1567.

Falls sicke at
Millaine.
The Governesse
likes not the
comming of so
great an Army,
whereupon she
writes thus
to his Majesty.
12. Aprill.

The King.

Madrid.

21. May.

Returns his
reason for sen-
ding of an Ar-
my.

Of the Mar-
quesse of Ber-
gens death.

His unfortu-
nate Embas-
sage.

His sickness.

His complaint
of the King.

1567.

May. 21.
His death, whether
poisoned
or no.

His Title, Offi-
ces and Im-
ployments.

His impeach-
ment, after his
decease, found
guilty of High
Treason,
Her Excellence
in the King's
name takes
Bergen op
Zoom.

May 30.

The businesse is
not toucht.

May 21.

May 31.
The Kings
pleasure touch-
ing the Estate
and Heyre of
the Marquesse
of Bergen.

A solemne Pro-
cession at
Antwerp.

The Governesse
troubled at the
Duke of Alva's
coming, many
aggravating her
displeasure.

"Enemy; yet he hoped that his Fidelity, and the perfidiousnesse and calumnies
"of his Maligners would once, though too late, appeare. A while after, ha-
ving settled all worldly businesse, on the one and twentieth of May he dy-
ed, some say poisoned as if no man frowned upon by his Prince could
dye a naturall death. For my part, I meane not to affirme it, otherwise
then as a Conjecture. He was equally beloved, by Charles the fifth, and
his Son Philip: from him he received the title of Marquesse; this for his
gallant Service at Saint Quintin chose him out of all the Low-countrie-
Lords to go over with him into England to his Marriage with Queene Ma-
ry: at his returne, he created him Knight of the Golden-Fleece, and made
him Grandvencur (or Justice in Eyre) and Governour of Haynolt. In
which Province, because he seemed not, according to his duty, seriously
to advance the Catholique cause (though he himselfe was seriously a
Catholique) the Governesse was then much displeased with him; and a
few months after his Decease, being for the same attainted of High Treason,
he was condemned by the Duke of Alva. The Governesse receiving
the newes of his Death, speedily, that is within eight dayes, written, as
I said, from the Prince of Ebolo; immediatly, before the Report could
be divulged, sent Mandevill with a select Company of Fire-locks, framing
a Letter to the Lady-Marquesse of Bergen, "That she heard the Here-
"ticks of that Towne offended with the late Edict, endeavoured some Inno-
"vation, therefore she had in haste dispatched Souldiers to guard her, and the
"City: & to make them the welcomer, had chosen out of her Ladiship's Uncle
"Beavor's Regiment Captaine Mandevill, whom She had commanded to re-
"ceive Orders from her Ladiship. Her Husband's Death she mentioned
not, lest it might lessen the Favour, and move a suspition of the thing in-
tended. But when she sent away the Captaine, being a man of approved
Fidelity, she discovered to him, that hee was, in the King's name, to
possesse himselfe of the Towne. He should indeed serve the Lady-Mar-
quesse, in any thing that might be for her safety; but if she refused his
Souldiers, or commanded them to depart the Towne: he must tell her,
he could not doe it, without acquainting the Governesse: In the meane
while, by writing Letters and expecting Answers, he should spinne out
the time, till his Majesty expressed his absolute pleasure. For the Prince
of Ebolo from the King, and afterwards the King himselfe, had writ to
the Governesse, that she was to bring the Marquesse's cause to a Trial, and
if he were found to have been privy to the Tumults and Rebellion, his
Estate should be confiscated, otherwise it should descend to his Heires.
The King added, in his own Hand, That whereas the Marquesse had de-
clared his Sister's Daughter his Heire, who was said to have no good Ca-
tholique Education; the Governesse should find meanes to get her out of
her Father's hands, and breed her, till she were married to that Kinsman,
unto whom the Marquesse had by his will disposed her. The City she
forthwith seized, but the young Lady her Mother was a great while
fearefull to deliver. And after the Governesse had been present at the
Procession, wherein the Body of our Lord and Saviour was carryed
through Antwerp, then solemnized with more exquisite preparations and
Pompe then ever, and followed with such multitudes and Reverence,
that one would thinke they had not so much as conversed with Hereticks;
her Excellence, leaving Count Mansfeldt and 13. Companies in the Town,
with the rest and a great Traine of Lords returned to Bruxells, there to
expect the Duke of Alva, whose coming every day more afflicted her; and
many

many that loved him not aggravated her distaste, telling her that by his Pride, all which she had with so much paines and wisdom reconciled and composed, would be presently put into confusion, and he would make Troubles, which it might be thought he was come from *Spaine* to quiet: whilst the Honour & Settlement, only due to the governess, would by his vaine-glory be numbred among his Triumphs. The Governess therefore not only expressed to the King her Resentment, in her Letter by *Gaspar Robley*: but likewise writing to the Duke of *Alva* to congratulate his Arrivall at *Millaine*, she let him understand the State of the Low-countrys, and wished him "to advise, whether it would not be a greater Act of prudence to disband part of his Army, then by those unseasonable Forces and Expences to irritate the Low-countrys, which were now reduced to Obedience: such a Remedy in most mens Judgements being too strong for the Disease. But the Duke of *Alva* pretended the King's command. And the Prince of *Ebolo* by *Robley*, who was dispatched from *Spaine*, about the end of *June*, answered her; "That the King was carefull of his Sister's Estimation, purchased of all the world, for governing the Low-countrys with so singular wisdom in so dangerous times, taking Cities, subduing Rebels, and at length, vigorously reducing all the Low-countrys to their Religion, and Loyalty. Nor was *Alva* sent to rob her of any part of that glory, wholly appropriate to her Highnesse, but that by serving her with his endeavours and counsells, what was gained might be preserved, with lesse trouble to the Governess, and no envy that could reflect upon her for punishing of Delinquents. But nothing so much satisfied her, as the King's Letter sent by *Lopius Gallus*, after *Robley's* departure, wherein giving thanks to his Sister for so industrious and wise an Establishment of Peace, he said, he would shortly better expresse those thanks, in person, longing exceedingly to be an Eye-witnesse of her vertue. And, among other commands, enjoined her to have in readines at least eight Sayle of Ships to meet him, whensoever an Expresse came of his weighing Anchors. And the Governess in good earnest provided the Shippes, the Senat decreeing, that for the King's happy Voiage publique Prayers should be made; which nevertheless his majesty meaning to stay at home, needed not, as some said; comparing him to *Tiberius Caesar*, who gave out from day to day, that he would leave *Rome*; and suffered the Empire diverse times to make the like supplications for his good Journey and Returne, long busying the *Roman* Provinces with that Expectation. But the beliefe of the King's Expedition was to be maintained with such new Scenes, or else the Play would have been spoyled. Howsoever the Duke of *Alva*, equally distastfull to the Nobility and the People, would have been much worse received by the Low-country-men, if they had not perswaded themselves by these appearing hopes, that the King himselfe would shortly follow.

And now the Duke of *Alva* having perfectly recovered his Health, when he came to *Ast*, tooke the generall Musters of his Army; which being greater in worth, then number (though feare among the timorous had multiplied the very number) he found to consist of 8700. Foote, and but 1200. Horse. For the Duke cared not for multitude, which commonly is a hindrance to the March, but desired to have stout men, and valiant hands, not many names: meaning afterwards to increase them more opportunely in the Low-countrys, where without danger he might add to his old Army, as to a body strong in nerves and bone, as much young flesh, that is, untrained Souldiers, as he pleased. The Foot, in a manner all

Spanish,

1567.

She writes to Alva to disband part of his Forces.
June 15.

He answers that 'tis not in his power,
Rui Gomez.
June 30.
Writes to the Governess the cause of the Duke's coming.

July 1.
The King promises his personal presence.

A Fleet made ready to transport his Majesty.
Publick Prayers for his happy Voyage.
All to no purpose.
Suetonius in Tiberio.

The Duke of Alva musters his Army.
Ast in Piemont.
What Horse and Foote.

1567.

Four Spanish
Colonels,
Alph. Villoz.
Sapchio Lodo-
nius,

Juliano Rome-
ro.

Gonfalvo Bra-
camonte.

Ferdinando
bastard-son to
the Duke of
Alva.

Chiapinio
Vitelli Campe-
master.

Melzius & 1.
c. 7.

Francisco Pa-
ciotto Engineer

Gabriel Serbel-
lio, Master of
the Ordinance.

Antonio Oli-
vera Commis-
sary Generall of

the Horse, who
first brought
this Office into

the Low-
countrie.

Charles Davalo

Bernardino

Mendoza.

Camillo a

Monte.

Christopher

Mondragonio.

Sancho Avila.

Curtio Marti-
nengo.

Nicholao Basta

Francisco

Verdugo.

The Army di-
vided into

Terraces.

Spanish, he distributed into foure Legions, in regard they were raised out of foure Provinces, commanded by so many *Spanish* Colonels, conspicuous for their abilities in warre. *Alphonso Ulloa* led the *Neopolitan* Regiment, consisting of 19. Colours, viz. 3230. men. *Sancho Londognios* had the *Millaine* Regiment, comprehending under 10. Colours, 2200. The *Sicilian* under as many Ensignes contained 1620. commanded by *Juliano Romero*. The like number of *Sardinians* were mustered under Colonell *Gonfalvo Bracamonte*, *Ferdinand de Toledo* Prior of *Castile*, of the Order of *Saint Johns* of *Hierusalem*, Bastard Son to the Duke of *Alva*, was Generall of the Horse, that were *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Epirots*. The Campe-Master Generall was *Chiapino Vitelli Marquesse of Cetona*, an old Generall famous for many Victories, and upon the King's request, sent by the Duke of *Florence* to serve his Majesty; who likewise borrowed of the Duke of *Savoy* *Francisco Paciotto* of *Urbino*, Count of *Montis-Faber*, an admirable Engineer and rarely skilled in fortification. The Generall of the Trainee of Artillery was *Gabriell Serbellonio*, a Knight of *Saint Johns* at *Hierusalem*, Prior of *Hungary*, a gallant Souldier, and a most excellent Cannoneere. To these great Field-Officers was added *Commissary Generall* of the Horse, a new command lately instituted by *Ferdinando Gonzaga* Governour of *Millaine*, and Generall for *Charles* the fifth: and at this time, the Duke of *Alva* first brought that Office into the Low-countrie, bestowing it upon *Antonio Olivera*, descended from that *Marino Olivera*, whom *Pedro* King of *Castile* sent for out of *France* with some other Commanders, to beat the *Moore*s out of *Spaine*, and *Antonio* was well able to discharge the place, having been an old Souldier both in *Italy* and *Africa*, and being then a Colonell in *Millaine*, from whence he first brought into the Low-countrie the Name and Office of *Commissary-Generall* of the Horse. No lesse gallant men were the Captaines of every Troope and Company, *Charles Davalo* Son to *Vastius* Commander in chiefe, with his Brother *Piscario* in the Battailles fought in *Piemont* and *Millaine*, emulating therein the antient Glory of his valiant Ancestors. *Bernardino Mendoza*, then famous for his valour, afterwards for his History. *Camillo a Monte* (Brother to *John Baptista Marchio* sent before into the Low-countrie) who trayled a Pike under his Uncle, *Chiapinio* since he was twelve yeares old. *Christopher Mondragonio*, that had served under *Charles* the fifth in his *Italian*, *African*, and *German* Warres, and is said to be one of those ten *Spaniards*, that with memorable Bravery, holding their Swords between their teeth, swam the River *Albis*, taking the Boates from the farther Shoare, and bringing them back to the Emperour through a Tempest of Shot, made a Bridge of them to passe over his Army, a very advantageous Service that hastened the Conquest of *Saxony*. *Sancho Avila*, bred up to the Warres from a boy by the Duke of *Alva*, and till death his constant Follower. *Curtius Comes Martinengo*, *Nicholao Basta*, *Francisco Verdugo*, and diverse others, almost all old Souldiers, that had seen many severall Services, and won as many Victories. Having mustered his Army, he divided it into three parts, and so marched over the *Cenifian* Mountaine, the highest ridge of the *Appenine*, into *Savoy*. The Van, wherein was the *Neopolitan* Regiment with five Troopes of *Italian* and *Spanish* Horse, was led by the Duke of *Alva* himselfe; The second Division consisting of *Londognio's* Regiment with foure Troops of *Spanish* horse, was commanded by his Son *Ferdinando*. The *Marquesse Vitelli* brought up the Rere, containing the *Sicilian* and *Sardinian* Regiments, and two Troops of *Epirots*. The Front

of

of every company, by a new invention, was flanked with 15. Supernumeraries, armed with Musketoones, and Rests, wherein they layed the barrrell, that could not be managed by the hand. For before his time such huge Muskets, as unmanageable, were drawne upon Carriages, and only used at Sieges, from whence being translated into the Field, and those that carry them mixed with the lesser Musketeers, they have been found extraordinary serviceable in Battails. *Gabriel Serbellonio* and *Francisco Ibarra* were sent before with some Companies of Souldiers and Artificers: this to provide Victuall, he to examine the way, and to prepare Quarter. They had Orders from *Vitelli*, that the Army marching in three Divisions, the second should still lodge upon the place from whence the first was moved, and when this dislodged, the last should have Quarter there. And thus in *June*, by short Marches, over the *Alpes* and through *Savoy*, the Army came into the County of *Burgundy*, where it was increased with 400. Horse, all young *Burgundians*. Passing through *Lorraine*, about the beginning of *August*, the Duke arrived in the Low-countries, offending none in his Passage, nor being himselfe offended by any one. Though the *French* appeared in Armes upon the Marches of *Burgundy*, and Colonell *Tavan* by command from the *French King*, with 4000. Foot and some Troopes of Horse for defence of the Borders, still costed the *Spanish Army*. Indeed I do not thinke, that ever any Army marched so farre, and kept stricter Rules of Discipline. So that from *Italy* even to the Low-countries not only no Townes, but not any Cottage, was forced or injured. Only one crime in their Entrance to *Lorraine* was committed by three Dragoones, driving away as many Weathers from a Flock of Sheep, who, upon examination of the Fact by the Duke of *Alva*, were immediately condemned to be hanged, & the Sheep sent back: yet upon the intercession of a *Lorraine* Capitaine sent from his Duke to meet the Duke of *Alva* on the Borders, two of their lives were pardoned, in honour of the Duke of *Lorraine*: and the third was hanged up by lot, for they cast Dice upon the Drum-head, and it was his fortune to dye, that inticed the other two.

When the Duke of *Alva* came to *Theonvill* in the province of *Lutzenburg* the Counts *Alberick Lodronio*, *Otho Oberstein*, and *Schowenburg* received him in the head of their *German Regiments* with Volleys of Shot, and generall acclamations. There was present *Charles Barlamont* and *Philip Norcarmin*, he Governour of *Namure*, this of *Hayuolt*, both come from the Governesse to salute the Duke of *Alva*; who had sent *Francis Ibarra* to present his Service to the Governesse, and to receive her directions, in what Towns the Army should be quartered. Wherein though the Governesse differed from the Dukes Opinion, because she would have *Bruxells* a City allwayes faithfull to the King, exempted from this burden; yet he pretending the security and honour of the King, who was to be resident in that City: lodged his Army part in the suburbs thereof, part at *Gant* and in other neighbouring Townes, *Lodronio* with his Regiment (which had twelve Ensignes, and under every Ensigne 300 men) was sent to *Antwerp*, and Count *Mansfeldt*, whom the Governesse by order from the King had made Generall of the *German Horse*, was commanded to disband his Lowcountry-Souldiers, and resigne his Government of *Antwerp* to *Lodronio*. A little while after, the Duke of *Alva*, attended with many Lords that met him on the way, entered *Bruxells*, and went directly to Court, where he cursorily kissing the Governesses Hand, retired to *Culemburg*.

1567.

A new Invention.

Their March.

Strict discipline.

Exemplary Punishment.

The Duke of Alva enters the Low countries

He is saluted from the Governesse, To whom he had sent

He quarters his men in the Low countries.

1567.

22. August.
His wife to the
Gouvernesse in
great state and
with much
Reverence.

He shewes her
part of his in-
structions.

Omitting his
larger Commis-
sion till a fitter
time.

She appears
satisfied,

But complains
to the King.
8. Septemb.

Of the Attain-
dor of Count
Egmont.

Alva uses him
to draw in
Count Horne.

He summons
the Lords to
advise about
the publick.

lemburg-House, leaving the Pallace to the Governelle. The next day he sent her the Kings Letters, and a Copy of his Commission, wherein the Command in Chiefe for the Militia of the Lowcountreys was conferred upon him, the administration of civill Affayres remaining wholly in the Governelle. The same day waited on by a great traine of Horse and his House-hold Servants, he went in that state to visit her Excellence; the Courtiers (that found the Governelle was, or would have had her discontented) observing how they looked at this first Ceremony. Indeed the Governelle that had, for some dayes before, the grudging of an ague, having made an offer of going forward to Receive this stranger, pretended her Fitt, or else it was thought to come very opportunely to take downe *Alva's* Pride: who in publique omitted no Complement or Veneration due to the Daughter of *Charles* the fifth, and Sister to his King: but when they were alone, he produced somewhat a larger Commission; not only giving him power over the Militia, but Authorizing him to fortify what Places he thought fit; to displace Magistrates and Governours; to examine and punish the causes of the late Tumults. And when the Governelle demanded if he had any further Instructions, he said yes, a few more then could be opened at one meeting, but according to fixure Emergencies they should be imparted to her. This Answer seemed not to move her, she then commended the Kings designe, in case it were so handled, that Peace newly restored to the Lowcountreys like a tender plant were not spoyled with digging too deep about it. She added, that she thought it would do well if next day Copies of the King's Letters should be read in Senate, which was done accordingly. But writing to the King, she complained, that *the Duke Alva should come with such absolute Authority, and so great an Army, that being greatly preiudiciall to her Honour, this to the newly settled state of the Lowcountreys. For already about 100000 men were fled out of the Provinces, carrying their money and goods into other Princes Dominions; either fearing to be oppressed by Forreiners, or despairing of mercy, or thinking to avoid future calamity. One thing both comforted her and the people, that is the King's Coming, who was so certainly expected by the Lowcountry-men, that foure dayes before, she had sent into Spaine Wacken, Admirall in the place of Count Horne, with nine Ships well manned, to attend his Majesty: but if peradventure he should alter his determination, and thinke it better to deferre his voyage till another time, she humbly from her soule beseeched him, that he would please of his goodnesse to free her, (that now for nine yeares had governed the Lowcountreys) from further care and charge of those Provinces. But that which made her much more earnest in the same suit, was the suddaine Imprisonment of Count Egmont, and some others.*

The Duke of *Alva* resolved to begin his Governement with the Attaindours of some of the Lowcountrey Lords, that when the eminent persons were removed, the People might have nothing whereon to fix their eyes. At first therefore he carried himselfe obligingly to the Lords, in particular to Count *Egmont*, by whose example, he aymed to bring in Count *Horne*, that stood upon his guard, and was desirous to heare of *Alva's* Beginnings at a distance. They say, when, presaging his owne death, he shunned the sight of *Alva*, Count *Egmont* chid him for his feare, and undertooke he should be no worse used then he himselfe. The Event shortly verified these his ominous words. But when *Alva* saw that Count *Horne* was wrought upon, he sent for *Hochstrat* and the rest of the Lords to *Brux-ells*

ells to consult about regulating the Common-wealth : and he set forth, but being newly recovered of a Sicknesse, whilst his Coachman went an easy pace, as he was Commanded, hearing what had hapned, hee droue back againe with a powder. The rest of the Lords came to *Bruxells* the ninth of September. That very day, the Duke appointed two Captaines, *Andrew Salazar*, and *Iohn Espuc* without tumult to arrest *Iohn Casembrot* Lord of *Backersell*, one of the Covenanters, who could in all probability make the greatest Discoueries, as being Secretary to Count *Egmont*. The Colonells Count *Alberick Lodronio* and *Sanchio Londognio* received Orders, on the same day to bring to *Bruxells* *Anthony Strall*, Consull of *Antwerp*, one very intimate with the Prince of *Orange*. And lest the City, wherein he was one of the most popular and richest men, should mutiny, and rise in his behalfe, *Alva* desired the Governesse to write to the Magistrate of *Antwerp*, that the Consull was sent for to *Bruxells* to aduise with the Duke of *Alva* concerning the State of *Antwerp*; she did so, and *Lodronius* after he had taken the Consull, delivered the Letter to the Magistrate, who fearing himselfe made them lay him in a Cart couered with many Pieces and packs of Cloth: but he was scarce out of the port, when *Lodronio* advertised by a Spye, seized on him. While these things were acting, the Duke at *Culemburg House* late in Counsell with the Lords *Areschot*, *Egmont*, *Horne*, *Mansfeldt*, *Archemberg*, & *Barlamont*. There was present *Ferdinand* Son to the Duke of *Alva*, *Vitellius*, *Serbellonius* and *Ibarra*. *Alva* purposely spun out time in Consultation, expecting newes of the taking of the Consull, and *Casembrot*, and therefore, sent for Count *Paciotto* into the Senate, to resolve them about the platforme of the Castle at *Antwerp*. When he knew his Commands were executed, he dismissed the Lords. As the rest were going out, the Duke tooke Count *Egmont* aside, as if he had private businesse with him: and many Commanders shewing themselves out of the next Roome, *Alva* said, "*Egmont I arrest thee, thou art the King's Prisoner; in his name deliver up thy sword.*" The Count struck at the suddaine Arrest and seeing such a Company of armed Men about him, yielded his sword saying "*and yet with this I have often, not unfortunately, defended the King's Cause,*" adding noemore words, the Captaines had him into a drawing Roome. At the same time, Count *Horne* was by the Dukes Son, who seemed to waite upon him downe the Stairs, commanded to resigne his Sword, and yeild himselfe Prisoner to the Duke of *Alva* by the King's Command; immediately the Captaines that stept in, disarmed and carried him to the other side of the House. In the meane time *Sanchio Avila* Captaine of the Dukes Lifeguard, had drawne up his men to *Culemburg-House*, and secured the Streets: the City being amazed, not knowing what this Face of Terrour meant. But when they understood that *Egmont* and *Horne* were imprisoned by the Duke of *Alva*: at first Griefe tooke away the People's Tongues, then they found the Duke of *Alva's* Plot, and were angry at *Egmont's* Credulity. Many said, that in the Captivity of those Lords the *Low-countreys* were inflaved. This wrought in them a greater admiration of the cautelous Course held by the Prince of *Orange*, and they ioyed in his Safety, as if thereby the *Lowcountreys* were not left altogether Destitute. Nay Cardinall *Granvell* at Rome hearing of the doings in *Bruxells*, asked the Messenger, whether the Duke had taken Silence (so he called the Prince of *Orange*) when he answered, no, he was not taken, *Granvell* (they say) replied, If that one fish hath scaped the net, the Duke of *Alva's*

1567

The rest he surprises by other means. Especially *Casembrot*

And *Strall*.

The Lords advise with the Duke, very unadvisedly.

Count *Egmont* arrested and disarmed:

So is Count *Horne*.

The City in a Maze.

Cardinall *Granvells* saying.

1567

The Duke of Alva
sends his ex-
cuse to the
Gouvernesse.

Not satis-
factory.

20. August.

11. Sept.

She sues again
to bee dischar-
ged of the Go-
vernment.

In the interim
shee is very
active in it.
By her Edict
she stops such
as were lea-
ving the Low-
countrie.

She publishes
another in fa-
vour of the
French Em-
bassadour.
Who likewise
moves for for-
ces out of the
Netherlands
to suppress the
new Troubles
of France.

Occasioned by
the Duke of
Alva's March.

Draught is nothing worth. But because all this was done without acquainting the Gouvernesse before it could be divulged, the Duke sent the Counts Mansfeldt and Barlamont (whom he knew the Favoured, and were yet in his House) to tell her Excellence what was past, and to excuse his secrecie; for he had concealed it by the Kings command, to the end that no part of the *Odium* might reflect upon her, who was concerned to preserve the love of the people under her Government. But this gave no satisfaction to the Gouvernesse, and though whilst they were present shee smothered her indignation, yet deeply resenting it, shee began to doubt, that many such actions might happen for the future; and the power being transferred to *Alva*, she herselfe should only retain the title and formality of Gouvernesse; that the Government might appeare to be in one of the House of *Austria*. Therefore upon receipt of new Letters, signifying the King had put off his voyage for Sixe moneths longer, that is, till the beginning of the Spring: her hope then failing, and being daily tormented with sore fits of the Colick, she sent her servant *Machiavell* to the King, and disputing the imprisonment of *Egmont* and *Horne* briefly without complaint (lest she might seeme distasted at it) she beseeched his Majesty "in regard of her Infirmities, which made her unfit for cares of State, to license her departure from the Lowcountrie rather then stay h'r there with such limited and almost no Authority. Whether it were advantageous to the King, or handsome for her whom the King vouchsafed to call Sister, to be subordinate to another, she humbly submitted to his Majesties Consideration; For her part, she resolved, so long as she lived, to be wholly Governed by his Majesties Pleasure; as became his most humble Servant. This notwithstanding, the Gouvernesse omitted nothing which appertained to Civill Affaires. For by resolution of Senate, which she summoned, the Duke of *Alva* being present, she endeavoured to stoppe the Lowcountry-mens Flight, which daily and still in greater numbers slipped away; and tenne of the richest Merchants of *Tournay*, intending to go into England, by her Command weere clapt up prisoners, and their Goods in the Port of *Ulusbing* imbargoed and confiscated. A while after, the French Embassadour, as she lay upon her bed, coming to kisse her Hands, and making a grievous Complaint that Multitudes of Lowcountrymen flocked to the Prince of *Conde*, and others that intended a Warre against the King, she published an Edict against all Lowcountrymen that should assist the French Rebelis. The Embassadour not thus contented (by Command from King *Charles*, who was now almost ruined by his rebellious Subiects) moved the Gouvernesse for some present Forces out of the Lowcountreys. And indeed it was but a reasonable Request, for though the Causes of this Warre (which the French Historians call the second Civill Warre of France) were not all different from those of the first, yet the Prince of *Conde* and *Colligny*, the heads of the Faction, grounded their pretence upon the Passage of the Duke of *Alva's* Army, who faining to march another way, intended the Invasion of France, to destroy those of the reformed Religion. For, in the Conference at *Baion*, they said, it was so articulated, betwene *Charles* the French King, his Mother *Katherine* of *Medices*, and his Sister *Isabella* Queene of *Spaine*; where the Duke of *Alva* was in person; In pursuance of which Agreement the Gouvernesse formerly had persecuted and quelled the Hereticall Party in the Low-countrie; and now *Alva* himselfe was come with a strong Spanish Army; that at the same time King *Charles* might ruine the Hugonots

in

in France, and the Spaniard their Brethren in the Low-countreys. Wherefore the French Hugonots raising great Forces, as if they would revenge wrongs received, or at least stand upon their guard for the future, first, they seized diverse Townes and Cities, then laid a Plot to take the King himselfe, lying at *Meaux*: who very hardly escaping in the night, and received into *Paris*, there they straitly besieged him, and cut off all Supplies by Armes or Victuall, endeavouring to bring their Prince into their Power. At last drawing out their Army, they gave him battaile at the Towne of *Saint Denis*, and though they left the Field and fled, and the Catholiques, by consequence had the victory, yet it was a bloody one, the King's Generall *Annas Momorancy* being slaine. Notwithstanding, they made greater Levyes (for Heresie dayly increased) and receiving strong Recruits from *Germany* reviv'd the Warre. Which moved the King of France, besides the men raised through his whole Kingdome, to desire ayde for the defence of Religion, out of *Italy*, *Germany*, and (as I said) out of the Low-countreys. But the Governesse not willing to grant Assistance, without knowing the King's pleasure, gladly referred it to the Duke of *Alva*; who remembring the Agreement for mutuall Succours made at *Baion*, and thinking the French Embassadour's Motion both honourable to the Spaniard, and opportune for kindling Enmity between the Low-countrey-men and the French Hereticks, whose minds would be distracted to see an Army come against them from the same place whence formerly they had supplies, he answered the Embassadour, that the Senate had decreed *Auxiliaries* as he requested, which should forthwith march away: and acquainting the Governesse with it, he gave the charge of 2000. Spanish Foot, and 1200. Horse, most of them Gentlemen of *Haynolt* and *Artoys*, to *John Lignius* Count of *Aremberg*. Some write, that the Duke offered himselfe to be their Generall, but such Assistance (as it was likely to do) would have begot a jealousy in the French, that he came not as a Friend, but as a Spy: therefore as not expedient for either Kingdome, that he should be absent from the Low-countreys, it was by the Embassadour modestly refused, and then *Alva* substituted another in his place. Howsoever it were, about the end of November, *Aremberg* departing from *Cambray* (three dayes supplications being made before he went, for his happy Expedition) joyned his Forces with the Marquesse *Villeirs* at *Amiens*, from thence marching up to the King's Army, he did his Majesty great Service in many Battailles; till the French Differences partly settled by a Treaty, he was commanded back to the Low-countreys by the Duke of *Alva*, who then especially needed such a Generall, and such an Army.

About that time *Machiavell* returning from *Spaine* brought her Excellence the King's Letters, wherein after he had signified, that three dayes before, his Queen was brought a bed of a Daughter (this is the *Infanta Katherine*, married to *Charles Emanuel* Duke of *Savoy*) he consented to her Departure from the Low-countreys; professing he allowed of it, as his Sister's desire, not for the benefit of the Provinces; for the governing whereof wisely and undauntedly in times of the greatest difficulty, hee gavethanks to her vertue in selected Words, promising abundantly to remunerate the Service. Vpon the receipt of this Expresse, her Excellence delivering to the Duke of *Alva* his Commission for the Government of the Low-countreys, sent by the same *Machiavell* out of *Spaine*, and giving notice to the Spanish Embassadours, with the Emperour, the French,

1567.

Great Mischief
done by the
Rebells.

The Governesse
doubts whether
she may grant
the Embassa-
dor's Request.
But the Duke
of Alva makes
no difficulty of
it,

Who furnishes
him with
men makes
Count *Aren-
berg* their Ge-
nerall,
And offers
himselfe to lead
them.
But the French
decline that
Offer from a
Spaniard.

Of the Gover-
nesse's depa-
rture from the
Low-countreys
October 10.
The King gives
her leave to go,

She delivers
to Alva his
Commission.
And signifies
her departure
to the Princes
her neighbours

1567.

Decemb. 7.
Writes about it
to the Estates.

And answers
the King thus.
Decemb. 20

King, and Queene of England, that they might informe those Princes of her going, she wrote to the Estates of the Low-countries, that some things, which she could heartily have wish'd to have spoke in a publique convention, before she departed from the imbraces of her people, must be supplid (since now she had no further Power from the King to summon them) by her Letter; wherein setting down briefly, but not sparingly nor fallly, all she had done in her nine yeares Government, and by what meanes the Troubles, continuing for two yeares past, were before the end of April so composd, that she had reduced all the Low-countries, by the Help and Advise of the good Subjects, to the King's Obedience: She prayed them, unanimously to endeavour the preservation of the State in the same condition, and to persist in the Religion of their Ancestours, and their Allegiance to their Prince: from whose mercy it was to be hoped that even the Traitors themselves would be gently punished. That she had in her Letter to the King delivered her Opinion concerning it, and would write againe to the like effect, before she departed from them: nor would she hereafter faile to use her utmost power with her Brother for the Good and Peace of the Low-countrey-men, whom she so intirely loved. And accordingly, awhile after she wrote in this manner to his Majesty. " Sir, The
" happy Delivery of my Lady the Queene (for which good newes I humbly
" kisse your hand) rejoyceth me beyond expression, to see the propagation of
" that great Bloud, worthy of immortality. But that whilst you give me leave
" to depart, you are pleased to increase your royall Favours, by adding, that
" for my Governing these Provinces to your mind, you your selfe (so
" much it pleases your Clemency to descend) are greatly obliged to me; I
" must confesse, nothing could more content me: since in all I have done, I
" only proposd to my selfe your Majesties satisfaction, that being the Rule to
" all my actions. And if I have my End, I must accompt my Labour gloriously
" bestowed. I will not deny, but in this almost nine yeares space, I have gone
" through many and grievous Difficulties, most of my Counsellours being either
" at variance among themselves, out of their ambitious Emulation: or their
" Fidelities by me suspected, at least their Enmity to the Spaniard, so that it
" was inconvenient for me, not to heare their Advice, and not safe to follow
" it. Yet that amidst all this darkenesse, and the subsequent Tempest of Re-
" bellion, the Common-wealth was steered and peaceably brought into the Har-
" bour by a woman's hand, but by no humane influence; it is only, (which I
" I must acknowledge and reverence) your Piety; for whose sake the Divine
" Goodnesse hath assisted me in governing the Low-countries for you. But now
" since by Gods grace things are reduced to such a condition, that nothing re-
" maines but to punish the Authors of the Troubles, I cannot omit to signifie
" to your Majesty, what it is that may chiefly overthrow this present happy
" State. Feare of punishment threatned by such an Army, as it hath causd
" many, despairing of Pardon, to fly into other Countreys, to the great pre-
" judice of this; so I doubt, it will force the rest, whilst their flight is stopped
" and they as it were besieged in the Low-countries, to break out into more
" dangerous Factions and Insurrections. Terror is not the way to begot re-
" verence in the Low-countrey-men. They that advise this rigid Course (I
" wish I may be deceived) will purchase Spaine more Envy, then Authority.
" I am sure it will bring to the Low countries, first, Civill Wars, then for-
" reigne Forces, and finally Desolation. Therefore I most humbly beseech your
" Majesty, that, in contemplation of Gods Adency and your own, you will con-
" tract Revenge into a few Examples; and rather desire the Repentance, then
" the

"the Punishment of your Subjects. So God Almighty long preserve your Majesty, and the Queene, my Lords the Princes, and your little Daughter. In the meane time the newes flying about that the Governesse was to goe away, there came dayly from all parts of the Lowcountreys men of the best quality in the name of their Provinces, professing their own Griefe, and the generall Losse; and praying earnestly, as the manner is, for her happy Journey. The neighbour Princes by their Letters and Embassadours did the like; but they were all exceeded by Elizabeth Queene of England, who should hereafter (as she writ) want the neighbour-hood of so good and deare a Sister; perhaps out of love to the Governesse, or it may be out of hatred to her Successour the Duke of Alva. In February, when she was ready to set forth, the King having assigned her a Pension of fourteen thousand Duckets, and the Duke waiting upon her to the Marches of Brabant, the Low-countrey-Lords into Germany, she arrived safe in Italy: where in a mighty concourse of People, her Husband the Duke of Parma in great State received her; who left in the Low-countrey-mens hearts a deep Impression of her goodnesse, which the following calamities so much augmented, as they stuck not in the presence of Alva and Requesenes (which Princes Successours seldome heare) to make an honourable, glorious, and almost upbrayding mention of her Actions. Nay at Doway, when Margarett Dutchesse of Parma out of her love to Learning repaired the Franciscans Colledge, and that her Armes, as the Custome is, were set over the Gates, the People never passed by but they bowed, and put off their Hats. But their Longing then principally shewed it selfe, when the Low-countrey-men, writing to the King, earnestly desired to have the Dutchesse of Parma for their Governesse againe, as there only Stay and help, in their Afflictions: And soone after the Death of Don John of Austria, she, with her Son Alexander joyned in Commission, returned to governe the Low-countreys.

1567.

Complements
sent to the
Dutchesse of
Parma,
By the Pro-
vinces,
And neighbour-
Princes,
Especially by
the Queene of
England.
Febr. 10.
She departs the
Netherlands
having a Pen-
sion assigned
her by the King
And leaving a
great desire of
her Returne
in the Low-
countrey-men's
hearts,
Which they
expressed in
their discourse.

1574.

Out of the
Letters of Juan
Gang. Fran-
ciscan, and others.



The

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The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The seventh. Book.

THUS faire I have writt of the *Lowcountreys*, though not flourishing in Peace, yet not imbroyled in a continued Warre. Howsoever, their Troubles were composed at last, and their antient Tranquillity restored. Now I must open the prospect of a History, where you will read the publique Rebellion of the Provinces, great armies on both sides, greater Hatred, & many Generalls & Souldiers falling in the Quarrell. Nor am I ignorant, that the Cause of all this Mischiefe is vulgarly imputed to the *Duke of Alva*; for before he came Governour to these Provinces, his name was hatefull to the *Lowcountrymen*. It is reported when the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, meaning to revenge himselfe upon *Gant*, asked the *Duke of Alva* what Punishment, in his Opinion, they deserved? He answered, that *his Majestyes stubborne Country deserved utter Ruine*. The Emperour offended at this cruell Answer, commanded him to go to the top of a Tower, & from thence take a View of the whole Towne, then he asked him, how many Spanish Skinnes would goe to the making of such a Glove (for *Gant* in French is *Glove*) but finding the Emperour by his looke to be displeased, *Alva* durst make no Reply. This Passage, because interwoven with the Honour of the Prince and City (whether true or false,) was easily believed by the *Gantois*, and from them dispersed with an *Odium* upon *Alva*, through the rest of the *Lowcountreys*. And by the manner of his Coming he increased the Opinion of his Severity, entering the Provinces with an Army, as if his designe were to Conquer them: bringing Spanish Souldiers againe into the *Lowcountreys*, awing the Townes with them, and with the Forts he built; sentencing *Count Egmont*, a man generally beloved; and *Count Horne* Admirall of the Seas; summoning the Prince of *Orange* with other of the Confederates to answer their Impeachments. And, it is said, he perswaded the King, that he should not out of Lenity, (of which there had beene too much already) pardon any man for the future. And indeede

1568.

A proposall of
the following
Event.

The cause is
commonly
based upon
the Duke of
Alva out of
bared to him

For his words
to the Empe
rour.

For bringing
againe the
Spaniards.

For censu
ring and ba
nishing the
Lords.

if

1568.

Out of all
which some de-
duced the Cause
of the Warre.

1. 3. Hist.
But improper ly.

A more proba-
ble deduction.

How the Au-
thour means to
write the Go-
vernments of
Alva and Re-
quesenes.

Prefages of the
future.
A monster born
at Liege.

A Fire at
Mechlin.

The Fort at
Antwerp.

if his Majesty had granted the Petition made by the Prince of *Orange*, that his owne and his Friends causes might be heard by the King, as Master of the Order of the Fleece, not by the Duke of *Alva* and his Councell, many thinke they had hardly at this time begun the Warre. But the sentence of the enraged King (condemning the Prince of *Orange* and his confederates of High Treason, and confiscating their Estates) being pronounced by an odious Minister, and so the *Odium* reflecting upon the Judgement it selfe, may seeme to have constrained their taking of Armes, upon a just resentment; and consequently, that the miserable and long Warre ensuing, should rather be charged upon the *Spaniards*, then the *Low-countrey-men*, as some say; but what are they? men of that number, which, saith *Polybius*, conceive the *Causes* and *Beginnings* of a Warre to be the same. For my owne part, as I will not deny, but that *Alva's* cruell and hatefull Government was the Occasion and Beginning, so I assure my selfe it was not the Cause of the Warre: For the cause was much deeper grounded. Indeed the Prince of *Orange's* Ambition to command in chiefe, exasperated with griefe and Anger, heightened by the accesse of Hereticks and opportunity of a Party, men of all qualities ingaging; this was the Cause, which, if it had not then and from that Originall taken fire to kindle a Warre in a little more time, and from another Place, would have found combustible matter. Nor can occasion be long wanting to Improbability. But the Prince of *Orange* his Fact was so fortunate, as to find Patronage in the Hatred of another. For he, upon the Sentence pronounced by the Duke of *Alva* against him, his Brother, and many great persons, tooke up Armes, with so much the fairer pretence, by how much it seemed not only just, but glorious to defend himselfe, to recover his owne, and to vindicate his Associates, his Son, and Countrey in their Rights and Liberties. In the Relation of which Warre managed by the Duke of *Alva*, and his Successour *Ludovico Requesenes*, I shall contract my selfe; especially where I have no more, nor no certainer Intelligence then others. For which two Reasons I have enlarged my discourse in the Dutchesse of *Parma's* Government, and shall doe, in that of *Don John of Austria*, and of *Alexander Farnese*: For I can promise many Animadversions concerning them, out of the Mopuments of Letters in my hands, which are not common. Yet in this Summary, if there be any thing, (as I presume there will be diverse) which I know, and is unknowne to others; I shall not faile to give it you at full.

Some thought the future Calamities were presaged, by a Boy borne at *Liege*, with two Heads, foure Feet, and as many Hands, portending as they said, the Monster of a Confederation to be made out of the joynt Forces of sundry Nations; which soone after came to passe. This Terrour was increased in minds already disposed to feare, by a Fire immediatly after happening in the City of *Mechlin*. For a sparke falling among the Gunpowder, at the Mills, by accident, or perhaps upon designe, tooke hold of 60. Barrells, with such a horrid thunder and Earthquake, that in most of the Cities of *Brabant* the men and houses trembled at the dreadfull noyse. Though in regard these Powder-Milles used to be distant from Townes, there were but few men slaine; yet there might have been fewer, and would be daily, if as we sever seditious persons, left by coming together they set the State in a Combustion; so the Elements that make Gunpowder were kept a sunder. But *Alva* more moved with the Losse, then with the Prodigy, laid the foundation of a Fort at *Antwerp*, modelled by the

the great Engineere *Paciotto*, approved of by the Judgment of *Serbellonio*, raised by the hands of 2000. Workmen, with extraordinary Speed and Successe, because he used but one man's contrivance, and one man's counsell. It was built in the forme of a Pentagon, at every one of the sides was a large bulwarke, to foure of which, the Governour gave his owne name, and titles, *Ferdinando*, *Toledo*, *Duke*, and *Alva*, the fifth he suffered to be called *Paciotto*. But this Fort, though it long continued a patterne to all the new Plat-formes of *Europe*: and that *Paciotto* got himselfe a great name by it, being from thence called the Inventour of the moderne Fortification; yet it was not by all men equally esteemed, as for other Causes, so particularly for the Situation, upon that banke of the *Scheldt* which looketh towards *Brabant*, in so much as when the Enemy from *Holland* attacques the Towne, it cannot beat them off; as it would have done, had it been placed on the other side the City, against the mouth of *Scheldt*, opposite to *Holland*. But 'tis excused by some, that say, when *Alva* built this Fort, he rather considered how he might defend himselfe from the Towne, then the Towne from the Enemy. And they add, that the place was discreetly chosen, as opportune for the bringing in contribution from those Provinces subject to the *Spaniard*, which indeed is most considerable in the building of Forts: a convenience they had wanted in case it had looked towards *Holland*. Though, I suppose, *Serbellonio* had not this in designe. For when he raised this Fort, *Holland* was no lesse obedient to the King, then *Brabant*: and therefore he would have provided for contribution from both. But I conceive by that Site he intended the Security of the Fort it selfe. For when all the Levell between that and *Holland* lyes so much lower, that the River is kept off by huge Piles of wood, lest it should overflow the Fields and Villages; it had been very inconsiderate, to have fortified where the Enemy tearing up the Wood-piles, the very water would have besieged the Place, and have forced it to yield. To which danger it is not subject, being seated on the higher ground. Though afterwards when the *Low-countries* were divided, and *Holland* brought into the power of the Enemy, that fell out, which was not at first thought of, the Advantage of bringing into the Fort Supplies out of the Provinces in obedience to the King of *Spaine*.

At the same time, from the councill of Twelve, nominated by *Alva* to determine without Appeale the causes of all Delinquents in the late Tumults, by reason of their frequent Sentences of Death, called the Councill of Bloud, *William Nassau* Prince of *Orange*, *Anthony Lalin* Count *Hochstrat*, *Florence Pallantius* Count *Culemburg*, *William* Count *Bergen*, *Henry Brederod*, and the other Lords fled out of the *Low-countries*, were upon *Alva's* command, summoned to heare their Accusations and Impeachments, read by the King's Advocate, and to cleare themselves of the crimes charged against them. But they, presently sending a Paper to the Duke of *Alva*, wherein they denied his Councill to be a lawfull Court of their Companions of the *Golden Fleece*, held it their safest course at a distance to defend their Common cause. The Prince of *Orange* made suite to the Emperour *Maximilian*, and implored his and the *German* Princes Assistance, that by their Authority, the Difference with the Duke of *Alva* might be composed. Unlesse perhaps he did it, that under pretence of making his Peace, the *Spaniard* might not looke into his preparations for a Warre. Nor did *Cesar*, or the Princes of the Empire deny their Patronage to the *Low-country-men*. But the Duke of *Alva* answered to the

F f

Letters

1568.

It's Figure, of
five sides,

The Architect.

The Site by
some disliked.Hier. Coneftag.
li. 2.
Defended by
others.
Adrian. Stoper-
nus contra
Coneftag.But with argu-
ments ill joinedThe reason
why it was
built in that
place.The Councill
for examin-
ation of the Tu-
mults.
The Duke of
Alva summons
the Belgick
Lords to an-
swer their Im-
peachments.They protest
against his pro-
ceeding.The Prince of
Orange sues for
the Patronage
of the German
Princes.Who treat
with Alva,
But in vaine.

1568.

The Duke of
Alva gives
sentence against
the Lords,

Sends the
Prince of
Orange's Son
into Spaine,
where Amb.
Morales was
his Tutor; a
great Philoso-
pher and Di-
vine.

The Prince of
Orange ap-
pears enraged.
In his Apology

1581.

But is not so,

The Councell
of twelve con-
demnes diverse
others,

Alva razes Cu-
lenburg-house.

New terror
from Spaine,
By reason of
Prince Charles
his misfortune.

And the Lord
Montiny's
death.
Of Charles
Prince of
Spaine.

Letters written by *Maximilian*, and to the Duke of *Bavaria's* Embassa-
dour, (whom the rest of the *German* Lords, as one respected by the King,
had chosen to represent their Desires to the Governour) that he did not
this of himselfe, but by command from the King; and so hastning their
cause to a Hearing, yet expecting the number of dayes given for their Ap-
pearance, when within that time none of them came in, the Duke of
Alva, according to the power deputed to him by the King in that case to
heare and determine, pronounced the Prince of *Orange*, his Brother *Lewis*,
and the rest that were summoned by Edict, guilty of High Treason, and
confiscated their Estates. Likewise he put a *Spanish* Garrison into *Breda*,
a Towne of the Prince of *Oranges*, and taking his Son *Philip-William*, a
Child of thirteene yeares old, from the Vniversity of *Lovaine*, where
he was a Student, sent him into *Spaine*: where under the name of
Catholique Education, the name of *Hostage* was concealed. This the
Prince of *Orange* seemed passionately to resent, execrating with continu-
all and publique Exclamations, the cruelty used to a boy of thirteene, whom
neither his own Innocence, nor the priuiledges of the Vniversity of *Lovaine*,
could protect from Injury. Yet many, upon very good Grounds con-
ceived his Son's Captivity was pleasing to this subtile Prince, measuring all
things by his own Advantage. For if the King of *Spaine* prevailed, and
consequently he himselfe should lose all he had, yet his Majesty might be
mercifull to the boy, bred up a *Spaniard*; but if, as he hoped, it should
otherwise fall out, he had a younger Son, *Maurice*, Companion in his
Father's Fortune, and Heire to his Estate. By the said Councell of twelve,
all such were particularly condemned, as the Duke of *Alva*, upon Exami-
nation by Inquisitours sent through the Provinces, found to have violated
Churches or holy Pictures, or to have assembled at Sermons, Confisto-
ryes, and turbulent meetings, or to have conspired against the King;
either by wearing Cognizances, and owning the names of *Gheses*, or by
taking Armes, or lastly by assisting the Rebels with their Endeavours,
Counfels, or Forces. Yet the wiser sort thought this to be an unseasonable
Course: and that rather, till the Heads had been cut off, the Body should
have been gently handled and laid in a sleepe, lest if it should be in moti-
on, that agility might easily decline the blow made at the head. With the
like fury the Duke of *Alva* commanded them to pull down *Culenburg-
House*, Where the *Gheses* first received their Denomination: and upon
the place setting a Marble-pillar, writ upon the Basis, as a monument to
posterity, in foure Languages, these words, "In this Area stood the
"House of Florence Pallantius, ruined in memory of the execrable Treason
"hatched therein at severall times, against Religion, the Roman Catholique
"Church, their King, and Countrey. This Spectacle was rendred more hor-
rid by the late newes from *Spaine*, that Prince *Charles* was imprisoned by
the King his Father's command; and that *Florence Momorancy* sent (as
you have heard) into *Spaine* by the Governesse, was by warrant from the
King a Prisoner in *Segovia*. It was thought the same objections were against
him, that were against his Brother Count *Horne*: but the Prince lost him-
selfe by his Favours to the Low-countrey-men. Indeed the Judgement
upon *Montiny* was certainly known, he being condemned a yeare after,
to lose his Head; but the cause of Prince *Charles* his Death, which hapned
in this yeare, the more uncertaine and obscure it was, the more litigiously
do Writers strive to examine it; most men having a naturall Ambition to
search into Secrets, and peep by things before their eyes. Whatsoever I my
selfe

selfe have by my Industry discovered that concernes Prince Charles, I shall impartially unfold, not regarding the conceptions of others.

Charles prince of *Spaine* was of a furious and violent nature, and noted to be so from his Childhood, at which time being presented by some Hunters with Levorets, he killed them with his owne hands, that he might have the pleasure of seeing them gaspe and dye. The *Venetian* Embassadour tooke notice thereof, and from thence made a Iudgment of the Child's barbarous inclination; with as much probability, as long agoe the *Areopagites* censured the Boy that put forth the eyes of Quales. This I have read in the Letters touching the Affayres of *Spaine*, writt by the said Embassadour to the Senate of *Venice* And the Prince himselfe dayly manifested the truth of these coniectures, by his cruell and monstrous disposition, not being at many times Master of himselfe; as the Archbishop of *Rossana* the Popes Nuntio affirmed, writing to Cardinall *Alexandrino*. And the Child grew more headstrong by reason of his Father's absence; and the indulgence of *Maximilian* King of *Bohemia*, who, with his Queene, *Mary* Daughter to Charles the fifth, governed *Spaine* for King *Philip*. This his Granfather *Charles* the fifth perceived, when after the Resignment of his Kingdomes, returning out of the *Lowcountrys* into *Spaine*, he grieved exceedingly to see the Nature and Education of his Grandchild, then but eleuen yeares old. But King *Philip* having tryed many Remedyes, at last made experience of the Vniversity of *Alcala*, sending his Son *Charles* thither, accompaigned with *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, and *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*; in hope that conversing with such a confluence of learned men, as his body by the change of ayre, so his mind might recover by the change of Company. but Prince *Charles* being removed from his Father, not from himselfe, the sicknesse of his mind altered not with the Place, but somewhat increased by an accident: for falling from a high Ladder, he pitched upon his Head, and hurt his braine so dangerously, as the Physicians despairing of his life, they were ready to lay him out, when the Body of the blessed *Didacus* being brought into his Chamber, as he was a dying, King *Philip* (who had come post from *Madrid*) vowed, that if the already beatified *Didacus* recovered the Prince, he would be an earnest Suiter to the Pope to give him the title of *Saint*. Whereupon immediately, beyond all expectation, he was restored to life. But this wrought no cure upon the Manners of the phantastique youth, altogether differing from his Father. Which made King *Philip* more harsh towards him, and the Prince better pleased with any thing then his Fathers Sight. This Aversenesse grew as the Prince did; and the King dayly more offended and distrustfull of his Son; from time to time put off the Match concluded beweeene Prince *Charles* and the emperour *Maximilian's* Daughter; forbidding him to meddle with Affayres of State, in that point of time, when the Prince thought it but a modest Ambition for a youth of twentietwo to expect the Crown. From hence sprung his Hatred to his Father's Favourites and Counsellours which he thought were Spyes over him, and told all he did to the King, advising his Majesty to deferre the Match, and to lay Commands upon him not to act in publique businesse: for which hee sometimes threatened them with Revenge. From hence likewise sprung his Favour and Patronage of such as hee knew had offended his Father, and were by him deserted, especially the *Low-countrimen*; whose Embassadours, the Marquesse of *Bergen*, and the Lord *Montiny* were very

1568.

His disposition.

What con-
jectures were
made from it.Quint. 5.
a 9.I. B. Castano
afterwards
Urban VII.Feb. 4.
Aloys. Cab in
Philip the 2.
l. 2. 6. and
8. and. Adrian
l. 19. and 20.
Hist.Charles the 5.
liked not his
Grandchild,
Aloys. Cab. in
Philip. the
Second. 2 l. 6.
P. Charles sent
To Alcala to
study.Lyes at the
point of Death.Recovers mi-
raculously.How unlike to
his Father.Their mutuall
aversion out of
the Letters of
Castan. the
Popes Nuntio
to Car. Alex.
30. Aprill.
Upon these two
points.
Out of the
same Letters
to the same
person. 4. Feb.
His hatred to
his Fathers
Servants.
His Patronage
of the Low-
countrimen.

1568.

More violent
then it ought to
have been,
His purpose
to go for the
Low countreys

His Endeavours
to binder
the Duke of
Alva's Belgick
Expedition.

Out of the said
Letters to the
same man.

April. 30.

He reveales his
Designe to Don
Iohn, Mar-
quesse Pescara.
Duke Mid.
Rioson.

Who first dis-
swades him.
Afterwards
acquaints the
King with it.

The King seeks
helpe from
God,

And Counsell
from prudent
men what to do
in the Case of
his Son.

1456. Paul.
Emil. in Gar.
7 and Harzits
in Philip the
Good,

Who being to
take post by
brake of day,
Was seized at
midnight.

Rui Gomez.
Prince of Eb.
Gomez. Figueroa
Duke of
Feria, Antonio
de Toledo Pri-
our of Leon,
and Aloyfio
Quiscada.

gratious with him, and often privately called into his Bedchamber; and it is reported he defended their Cause more passionately, then became him: making them a Promise that he would himselfe goe into the Low-countreys to settle those Provinces. And whereas the Governelle formerly complained to the King, that many Letters of high concernement, written to his Majesty in *Spaine*, were returned into the *Low-countreys* to their hands against whom they were written, I thinke it not improbable, that it might proceed from that Familiarity betwene the Prince and the *Low-country*-Embassadours. Sure I am, when the Duke of *Alva* being to goe for the *Low-countreys* tooke his leaue at Court, and came to kisse the Prince's Hand, his Highnesse cast a terrible frown upon him, and replied, No man should go thither but himselfe. And when *Alva* said that he was sent before by the King, to quiet the Tumults raised in the *Lowcountreys*, where it was not safe to venture the Heire apparent to the Crowne, The Prince in a rage drew his Dagger, saying, I will prevent thy Iourney. The Duke hardly declined the Blow, and, when he saw the furious youth strike at him againe, grasped him hard betwene his Armes, in the posture of a suppliant, kneeling, and beseeching him not to offer Violence to an old and faithfull Servant: but still notwithstanding his youth and fury, the Duke held his Hands: till the noise of their Struggling brought in the Waiters, that were but on the other side the Hangings, then the Prince withdrew. From this time, he resolved, whether his Father would or no, to passe into the *Low-countreys*, and from thence to *Germany* to his Mistris; acquainting his vncle *Don Iohn* of *Austria* and two others with his Resolution, earnestly desiring them to go along. *Don Iohn* shewing him how difficult it was, and indeed impossible to be effected, when he saw his perswasions wrought not, and found the Prince obstinately bent upon the voiage, imagining the King would know it by some other, to whom the rash inconsiderate youth would impart his Counsell, he himselfe ingaged the King by the Discovery, fearing if he kept it secret, he might be held accessary to the Princes Flight. The King commending *Don Iohn's* Fidelity, and being informed of his Son's Intention by many others, and lastly by *Raymont De Tassis* his Majesty's Principall Secretary, hearing that he had layed Horses at severall Stages for the Speeding of his Iourney, remained in a sad suspence: yet before he would fix his resolution, his Majesty commanded Prayers and Supplications to be made in all Churches of the Towne, and desired the Advise of certaine great learned men, well knowne unto him, The Opinion of *Martin Azpilcueta* Doctour of *Navarre* the famous Casuist (for this of all the rest I have only seene) was briefly, that the King could not, without grievous sinne, neglect the safety of his Kingdome; but it would be neglected, if he permitted the Prince to go away, who as farre off, and therefore more confidently and and publicly bandying against his Father, would distract the Kingdome into Factions and Partyes; just as it hapned to *Charles* the seventh of *France*, upon the difference betwene him and his Son *Lewis*, when he fled into *Burgundy*. But the Father was put out of his doubts by his Sons hast, who, as *Raymond* brought word, had appointed the next day for his Departure. Therefore the King would no longer deliberate; but taking along the Prince of *Ebora*, the Duke of *Feria*, and two others, about twelue a clock at night entred his Son's Bedchamber, who was fast asleepe, and taking away his Sword, which he had laid under his Pillow, bade him rise immediately, and blaming him that having frustrated so many gentle

gentle Remedies used by his Father, he had forced him to a sharper course, but more seasonable for his Son, he opened his Cabinets, and tooke out his papers, discharged his old Servants, and gave the Prince in custody to some of his owne chusing And now the unfortunate Prince, who but a while since was continually waited on by the Lords and Grandees of *Spaine*, striving to kisse his Hand; seeing himselfe guarded by a few men, and those Enemies, that observed his words, his looks, and almost dived into his Thoughts: after six Months, when he found his Father not moved with Embassages in his behalfe from the Princes of *Europe*, and Petitions presented from his own Kingdomes: falling into a Sicknesse, caused partly by an obstinate Refusall of his Meate, partly by his sometimes intemperate eating, and drinking Wine too much cooled in Snow, besides the distempers of his mind, if he were not *poisoned*, he dyed upon Saint *James* his Eve. Foure dayes before (having for a long time equally slighted the cure of Body and Soule) God turning his Minde, he called for his Ghostly Father, and confessing his Sinnes, with great compunction, sending one to his Father to begge pardon for his Disobedience, holding a halloved Candle in his hand, gave up the ghost. I know this Relation will not please some, that greedily swallow downe the foulest Surmizes, without any distinction or respect to Truth or False-hood: for whose palates, if I were minded to dresse my Discourse, I might instance the Rebellion of the Moores at this very time, and make *Prince Charles* their Incourager, and say, that he solicited *Selimus* the *Turkish* Emperour, by *Michesius* the Jew; fled out of *Spaine*, as I have formerly related. I might likewise move a jealousy, that the Faction of the Low countrey-Covenanters was assisted by *Prince Charles*, and might interpret that to be the reason why they resolved to send into *Spaine* many thousands of *Calvins* Catechismes translated into *Spanish*, whereof the Governesse (as I told you) sent Intelligence to King *Philip*: & Pope *Pius* the fifth wrote to his Majesty, that some Chest fulls of them were found at *Lyons* and *Thoulouse*. Nor should I passe over the Death of Queene *Isabella*, Wife to King *Philip*, there being but a few moneths between the Prince his Death and her's, as if their too much Familiarity (for *Isabella* should have beene married to *Prince Charles*) had been the cause of both their fates. Lastly, I might tell you, how the Prince had a designe upon his Father's life, either out of affection to the Crowne, or hatred to the King, grounding my conjecture upon common fame, which spread so farre, that to my knowledge this verse of *Ovid* was used to that purpose in the Low-countreys; first applied, as they say, by *Opmerus*:

FILIVs ante DIeM patrIos InqVIrIt In annos.

Wherein both the Prince's Fact, and the yeare of his Death, are expressed in numerall Letters. But this kind of learning, as darke and intricate, I willingly leave to those Writers, that by Interpretation of such Oracles are ambitious to be famed for acutenesse of wit, and divination; they seeming to me, besides their uncertainty, to have no colour of Truth. For not to speake of the Love betwixt the Queene and Prince, which if it had been true, the King to breake that League would have hastned, not put off, the Princes Marriage with his Cosen-german; if the Prince had plotted any thing against his Father, he might every day have executed it by himselfe, and with his owne hands: as being young, and coming resolved against an unprepared old man: or if he would have raised Tumults

and

1568.

A guard set upon him in his Lodgings, his Infelicity,

His religious Death.

Our of the Letters of Castan. the Popes Nuncio to Card. Alex. 27. July. Didacus de Chiaves.

Causes, that might sound probable, for the imprisonment and death of Prince Charles.

The Rebellion of the Moores in Spaine.

The Belgick Faction countenanced by him.

Anr. Gabie. in vita P. II. l. 3. c. 3

1566.

Too much familiarity with the Queen his Step-mother, A Plot to murder his Father

Lib. 1. Metamorph. MDLXVIII.

But all these Causes were uncertaine, Or rather false

1568.

January 21
What the King
wrote concern-
ing his Son's
Imprisonment.

Didaco Cardi-
nall Spinosa.

January 24
What he caused
to be divulged
privately.

And publicly
The said Nun-
cio to the said
Cardinall.

January 27
Charles the
fifth's Prince
Charles.
The Low-
countreys in
great feare,
An Ambuscado
layed for the
Duke of Alva.

The Prince of
Orange's first
Expedition out
of Germany in-
to the Low-
countreys.
Forces sent to
begin the War.
Out of Juliers.
Out of Artois.
Out of Frisland

The first Army
defeated by
Avila.
The second by
Colonel Cossè
sent from King
Charles of
France.

and called in help, no doubt but he had needed many hands: and consequently, when the Prince fell, those of his Party (I suppose) could not have stood; yet the Princes Death was the losse of no mans Life. Nay the King to lessen the envy both of his Son's Imprisonment and Death, knowing himselfe aspersed by diverse persons, in particular, by *Mary* the Emperesse, the Prince's Aunt, and desirous to match her Daughter to the Heire of so many Kingdomes, would he not have pretended the cause of such Severity to have been his Son's impious Designes? Notwithstanding, in his Letter to the Emperess, he denied that his Son was found guilty of any treasonable Intention, but said, it was fit he should be imprisoned for his own, howsoever for the Kingdome's Good. And a few dayes after his Son's Commitment, sending the President of his Councell of *Castile* to the Archbishop of *Rosana*, the Popes nuncio, he assured the Bishop from the King, there was no other reason of that Change (as the Bishop himselfe wrote to Cardinall *Alexandrino* in the President's words) then his Majesties Resolution to prefer Religion and the Safety of his Subjects before his owne blood, which compelled him in a manner, to sacrifice his only Son: lest he should have been more than ingratull for the great benefits God had bestowed upon him. Afterwards his Majesty inserted in his Letters to forreine Princes and to his owne Kingdomes, that the Rumour spread abroad of a Plot which his Son had upon his life was idle & false. But this fortune proved peculiar to the two *Charles'es*, the Grand-father & Grand-childe, that the one's Desire to resigne, and the other's to invest the Sovereignty, very much busied the wits of Writers. The *Low-countrey*-Lords and Commons affrighted with the King's forrein and domesticall Severity; every man as his conscience accused him, shifted for himselfe, few hoped for Pardon, many thought of Armes and Revenge. In so much as *Alva* himselfe hardly escaped at the Monastery of *Greene-vaille*, to which he was going in devotion: an Ambush being laid in the woods, by *Ressorius Nobott* to surprize him by the way. And when he came thither, he was in danger to have been murdered in the very Monastery by *Charles Ressorius*, his Brother, who had taken the habit of a Monke, pretending feare of the Duke.

But now the Prince of *Orange* professing himselfe the King's Enemy, made his Addresses to the Princes of *Germany*, and partly for Religion, partly for Kindred's sake, moving them to take Armes, with his Friends in the *Low-countreys* and *France*; it was so ordered, that the Provinces were to have at one time a tripartite Invasion. From *Juliers* the *Nobots* the Brothers, *Dui*, *Villers*, and others were to passe the River of *Mose*, under the Command of Count *Hochstrat*. *Francis Cocquevill* that to the *Low-countrey*-Exiles had joyned some forces raised upon the Borders of *France*, was to fall upon *Artois*. *Frizeland* was committed to *Lewis* and *Adolph* Brothers to the Prince of *Orange*, and to *Justus Schouwenberg*. The Prince himselfe being, after these Beginnings, to follow with a strong Army; had chosen *Brabant* for his head-Quarters, many having great hopes, that he would shortly beat *Alva* and the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countreys*. But *Hochstrat's* Forces received first a Repulse by *Sancho Avila*, beyond the *Mose*, and afterwards, joyning Battaille with him, a Totall overthrow: *Villers* and *Dui* being tooke Prisoners. *Cocquevill's* Army, against whom the French King at *Alva's* Request, had sent *Cossè* a Colonell of Horse, was forced to retreat into the Towne of *Saint Valery*, and there defeated, the Commanders carried to *Paris* and beheaded. Thus was

thanks



John Siginus Count Aremberg
Governour of Frisland
Generall at y^e Battaille of Hilligel.

thanks returned by the King of *France* to the Duke of *Alva* for sending Count *Aremberg* with his Auxiliaries into *France*, and the agreement made at *Baion* on both sides religiously observed. But in *Friezland* the businesse began in a farre different manner, *Lewis* and *Adolph* of *Nassau*, with other Commanders, had entred that Province, and Possessing themselves of *Dam* and some other Townes made a halt neare the Bay of *Dullart*, which Bay was gained by the Sea, with a memorable destruction of thirty three Villages swallowed up by the salt water at one time. To stop them here, Count *Aremberg* Governour of *Friezland* met them with the *Sardinian* and *Spanish* Forces, of *Gonsalvo Bracamonte*, and his owne *German* Regiment, whereto were added some Companies of the Gentry of *Haynolt*, and *Artois*, newly arrived from *France*: And indeed he was very fortunate in his first Skirmishes, the *Spaniards* being particularly incouraged at the sight of *Dam* (out of which thirtie yeares before the Emperours Army had beaten the Duke of *Gelderland*, and won a famous Victory) with like valour they regained the Towne, putting to flight the *Nassavians*. The next day *Aremberg* coming up to them, lodged his Army neare *Winschot*, and the Abby of *Hilligel*, well knowing the place was full of blind Pits covered over with Rubbish and the water standing in in them. Therefore considering himselfe to be the weaker in Horse, and that *Nassau* had the advantage of the place, he only skirmished with them, & though *Lewis* offered him battaile, yet declined it, expecting the Count of *Megen* with *Martinengho's* Horse which lay at *Groening*. But in the mean time, whilst *Aremberg*, as if he did but play with *Nassau* and meant not to hurt him, was publicly censured by the *Spaniards*, desirous to fight a Battaille: the Generall not able to indure ill language, professing that such precipitation would hazard all, regarded Rumour more then Safety, and leading out his men (rather following them) avoided as much as he could the Pits of water; but not aware of an Ambush laid by Count *Lewis* at the bottome of a hill, set his men in battaile and began the fight. Where resolving to stop the mouthes of those base Detractors, by a cleare evidence of his Courage and fidelity, beholding *Adolph* of *Nassau* valiantly rallying his men on the other side the field, he put spurs to his Horse, and charged him; and though he was shot by the way, yet the fiercer for his wound, first discharged his Pistoll at *Adolphus*, and then ran him to the heart with his Sword; and *Aremberg* himselfe, his Horse being first killed, and he mortally wounded by *Adolph*, reviving the example of *Brutus* and *Aruns Tarquin's* Son, fell dead to the ground, *Adolphus* dying not far off. The rest of Count *Aremberg's* Army, ignorant of the wayes, falling upon Ambuscadoes, were by the *Nassavians* either cut off, or miserably shattered, dearly paying for their unseasonable Valour. And though upon the place was lost the flower of the *Spanish* Army, seven of their Ensignes, and five Captaines being slaine, and the six Cannon of the *Groine* taken (which had their names from the first six Elements of Musick) with great Summes of Money for the Souldiers Pay. Yet all the rest was nothing, compared with the sole losse of *Iohn* Count of *Aremberg*. He was of the House of *Lignius*, called Lord of *Barbanson*, before he had the Title of Count of *Aremberg* by his Wife, a *German* Lady. No Commander was ever famed for more Valour and Fidelity, which moved the Emperour *Charles* to make him Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*: and King *Philip*, to trust him with the Governement of the Provinces of *Friezland* and *Overyssel*. Lastly the Emperour *Maximilian* created him a Prince of the

1568

The battaille
between Count
Aremberg and
Lewis of Nassau.

1277.

Aremberges
men victorious
at first.

Commanded by
Scemkey.
Charles Duke
of Gelders.

The place
where they
fought.
Aremberg
would have put
off the fight.
Curtius
comes Martinengho.
The Spaniards
raile at him.

He joynes
battaille.

Out of the Letters
of Mic.
Barbanson to
the Dutcheff of
Parma.
30. May. Delr.
l. r. Alt. Belg.
With his owne
hands kills A-
dolph of Nassau.
By whom he
himselfe is
mortally wounded.
Tir. Livy. l. 2.
The Spaniards
put the sword.

Vt Re Mi Sol
Fa La.
The merits of
Count Arem-
berg.

1568.

His death di-
versly reportedThuanus l. 41.
and others.
Count Megen
dyed not at this
time.Anno. 1572
January 8.
Pierius Vinse-
mius in his
Hist. of Friez-
land,
But foure
yeares after.The Duke of
Alva proceeds
against the im-
peached Lords
and Gentlemen.His friends
disswade him.First, he puts
to death 19.

the Empire. Yet the Constancy of a Generall which he ever maintained in all former Battailles, he quitted in this last, not being able to suffer abusive Tongues. The like impatience a few Months before caused the Death of *Momorancy* Constable of France, a man equall to the greatest; only that he might not be suspected, as some taxed him, to spare his Cosen the Prince of *Condè*, or his Kinsmen the *Colligny's*. Iust so Count *Aremberg* to silence the Slanderers of his Fidelity, cast himselfe away, fighting and dying more valiantly then wisely, lest there might be a Jealousie upon his Faith. I know some relate it otherwise, and impute this unhappy successe to Count *Aremberg* himselfe; who either in contempt of the Enemy, beaten in the last dayes Skirmishes, or ambitious of the whole honour which he would not share with Count *Megen*, precipitated his owne and his Armyes Fate: as it is likewise written in vulgar Histories, that he was slaine not by the hand of Count *Adolph*, but of a Common Souldier. But I follow Authours that were present at the Fight. And easily I shall prove their mistake, who affirme in their Writings that a few dayes after, when the victorious *Nassavians* were forced to raise their Siege from the *Groine*, Count *Megen* dyed shot with a Musket-bullet; who, notwithstanding, foure yeares or there about after this Battaile, governed *Friezland* by commission from the Duke of *Alva*, in the place of Count *Aremberg* deceased. The name of *Charles Brimè* Count of *Megen* is read in the Inscription of a votive Monument erected at *Leopard*, when he was Governour of *Friezland*, in memory of his escape from that fearfull Deluge of water in the yeare 1571. And not till the 8 of *January*, the yeare following the Inundation (as I find recorded in the Annals of *Friezland*) dyed *Charles Brimè*, a great Souldier, and for his knowledge in civill businesse much esteemed by the Governesse *Margaret* of *Austria*.

The death of Count *Aremberg* encouraged not the mind of the Prince of *Orange* and the Confederates more, then it exasperated the Duke of *Alva*, and hastened his March into *Friezland*, to prevent *Lewis* of *Nassau* from joyning forces with the Prince of *Orange*. But the Duke fearing that in his absence some Tumult might be raised in favour of the Lords, his Prisoners, freed himselfe of that suspicion: especially being intriged for the losse of Count *Aremberg*, & at the newes brought him that *Grave Lewis* had hanged many *Spaniards* in Revenge of his Brother *Adolph's* Death. And though diverse of his Friends did not so well approve his Resolution, but indeavoured to perswade him there was no danger of a Tumult in the *Low-countrys*, so long as he had for his Security such Hostages as those Prisoners. And that it was no more to be doubted, that the *Low-countrey-men* would out of their affection forceably attempt any thing for the Liberty of the impeached Lords; then it was to be hoped, that the same affection would dissuade them from stirring, lest by a popular offence they might wrong those Noble-mens private cause. Yet the Duke of *Alva* despising this Advise, as one that long experience had made jealous, and of his owne nature was averse to other mens counsells, which he looked upon with the aspect of a retrograd Planet, especially when they offered themselves; on the first of *June*, Nineteene noble Covenanters were condemned of High Treason, by the Councell of twelve, and by the Duke of *Alva's* Order beheaded in the Sand-market at *Bruxells*. Eight whereof dyed religiously, the other Eleven like Hereticks as they were, obstinately; and therefore the bodies of those were buried, but the other (all but foure Lords) being tyed to Stakes, and their Heads set upon Poles, were left

left in the Fields, and the same course was afterwards taken with the rest. For the next day, in the same place, foure Gentlemen more suffered the same death, in which number was *Villers* and *Dui*, Commanders lately taken at the Battaille of *Juliers*: and though both of them dyed equally good Christians, yet not with equall sence, for *Villers* publicly protested, that *Alva* had condemned him to free himselfe of the Obligations *Villers* had laid upon him: but his Judge himselfe should not long be unsentenced. Contrarily, *Dui* gave humble thanks to the King and the Duke of *Alva* for that end; and prayed the people to pardon and pray for him. Likewise at *Uilvord*, *Anthony Stral*, late Consul of *Antwerp*, *Casembrot* Secretary to Count *Egmont*, and others, imprisoned for the same Fact, were in the same manner condemned and beheaded. The *Provoost*-Marshall that gave order in the Duke of *Alva's* name for their Execution was *John Spel*, a great stickler in Causes of Life and Death, who, a while after, being found guilty of many hainous crimes, was by the Duke of *Alva's* command hanged up, to the great Joy of the *Low-country-men*. But these punishments seemed only to usher in the Death of the two Counts; the last Scene of whose sad Tragedy was acted with a great Terrour to the Spectatours, and (which the Authour wishes had not been) with their greater Indignation.

The Counts *Egmont* and *Horne* had now been prisoners for nine months in the Castle of *Gant*. In which time I find all possible meanes used to the Duke of *Alva*, to the King, to the Emperour, to the Princes Electors, and to all the Companions of the *Golden-Fleece*, without whose joynt consents it was pretended none of the Order could be put to death. But they that most earnestly solicited the cause were *Mary Momorancy*, Sister to Count *Horne*; and *Sabina Palatina* of *Bavaria*, Count *Egmont's* Lady. And indeed her Petition, sent into *Spaine* by *Octavio* Duke of *Parma* and his Wife *Margaret* of *Austria*, cannot well be read by any one without commiseration. Either where she remembered the King of the *Customes* observed in the causes of his Companions of the Order; quoting the Lawes, and instancing Examples; or where She put him in mind of the severall painfull services done by her Husband, even before he was 18. yeares of age, both for the Emperour Charles, and for King Philip himselfe: The many undaunted hazards of his Life at *Algiers*, in *Gelderland*, and in his warres with France. Lastly, she humbly prayed his Majesty, to be mercifull, and not suffer an unfortunate Mother, and eleven innocent Children, with so sad a losse and Disgrace, to wander through the World, a miserable and continued example of humane Calamity. Notwithstanding, the King's Advocate proceeded to the Examination of witnesses, taking foure moneths of the nine to prove the Impeachment, and leaving to the Prisoners the other five moneths, for their defence. The whole procelle, if I had time to give it you as it lyes by me, in a volume: I doubt not but I should in this place satisfie many, covetous of such novities. But I hold it more agreeable to the History's Honour, and the Reader's hast, to set down only the heads. It was charged against the Counts, *Egmont*, and *Horne*, "that they had plotted with the Prince of *Orange* and other Noble-men, to dispossesse the King of the *Low-countreys*, and to divide the Provinces among themselves. To that end, were their indeavours of expelling cardinal *Granvell*, who looked into their Designs. Nor would they leave off their Enigmaticall Cognizances of Hoods, and Arrowes, the manifest signes of their Conspiracy, till they had inforced his Majesty to call the Car-

G g

"dinall

1568.

Then others,
Risorius.
Carloi.
Dui.
Villers.

Yet more.

John Groncit
Spel, Prevoist
de Campagna,
ou Drossart
rural.

Famianus
Strada.

Many intercede
for the Counts
Egmont and
Horne.

Mary wife to
Count Mans-
feldt.
Sabina Coun-
tesse of Eg-
mont.

October 1.
Her humble
Petition to the
King.

The King's Ad-
vocate still fol-
lows the cause
against the
Prisoners.
Charges them
both.
Among diverse
other things,
With these
Particulars.
The summe of
their Indict-
ment.

1568.

He concludes
this to be mat-
ter enough for
Sentence of
Death to passe
upon them.

C. Egmont's
Province.

Count Horne's
Province.

“dinall out of the *Low-countreys*. That they did not onely know of the
“Covenant; but that *Casembrot*, *Egmont's* chiefe Secretary, who had
“made his Lord privy to his taking of it, was not only not turned away, but
“did his ordinary meniall Service, as before. And *Horne*, who was ob-
“liged, as Governour of the place, to have assisted the Generall *Bea-*
“*vor*, sent by the Governesse to drive *Villers* and the rest of the Cove-
“nanters out of *Tournay*, had consulted with the Magistrate about the
“expelling of *Beavor*. That both of them were professed Patrons to the
“Covenanters, the Consistorians, and Merchants, promising them to live
“and dye with them. That they treated at *Dendermond* with the Prince
“of *Orange* his Brother *Lewis*, Count *Hochstrat*, and some few confede-
“rates, to stop the King's passage into the *Low-countreys*, and were often
“present at such Meetings. That they opposed not the *Gheuses*, when
“they plundred Churches, which Picture-seuffle was begun in *Flanders*
“Count *Egmont's* Province. And that Count *Horne* had suffered some of
“them at *Tournay* to escape out of prison; by name, one of the chiefe In-
“cendiaries, *Ferdinand Martin*, more then once committed to the Jayle
“for Sacriledge. That they had not been ayding to Magistrates of Townes
“ (whereof they themselves were Governours) requiring their Assistance
“against those Violaters of holy things. That they had explained the
“Governesse's Commands against Hereticks, contrary to the Gover-
“nesses mind, granted them Churches to preach in, and done other
“things (of which many Particulars were instanced) contrary to the
“Duties of such persons as were Governours of Provinces, Privy Coun-
“sellours, Knights of the *Golden-Fleece*, and Subjects to the King of
“*Spaine*. For all which, lawfully charged, and proved against *Egmont*,
“and *Horne*, the Kings Advocate earnestly moved the Court, that Sentence
“might be pronounced against them, as Traitours, their Estates confis-
“cated, and they condemned to lose their heads. To this *Egmont* and
“*Horne* (as both their causes were of the same nature) premised, that “saving
“to themselves all advantages in Law, which bound them not to render
“an accompt of their Actions to any, but to the King, who together
“with the Companions of the Order, was the only legall Judge over the
“Knights of the *Golden-Fleece*; they answered severally, but so, as to the
“greatest part of the Charge they pleaded, not guilty. Many things
“they interpreted; some they confessed, but alledged they were done le-
“gally. That they had consulted about changing of their Prince they ab-
“solutely denied; and *Horne* very much complained, as if he were wrong-
“ed with such an imputation. As to that of consulting to barre the *Spa-*
“*niards* entrance into the *Low-countreys*; *Egmont* denied not, but that
“in the meeting at *Dendermond*, some such thing was spoken by *Lewis* of
“*Nassau*, the rest dissenting; and therefore it was not necessary he should
“advertise the Governesse of a conference, wherein nothing was conclu-
“ded. How they proceeded with the confederate Gentlemen, they ex-
“plained: That they made some Concessions to the Covenanters, the
“Picture-breakers, and Hereticks, but such as they were forced to, by
“necessity, and the good of Religion, which without doubt had been
“otherwise subverted in *Flanders*, wherein no lesse then threescore thou-
“sand men went armed to Sermons. Nor without a Toleration would they
“ever have restored their Churches to the Catholiques, as they did. Nor
“was it lesse needfull to give some way to them at *Tournay*, and in *Tour-*
“*nacese*, the Hereticks being there the stronger party. That they justly
“opposed

“ opposed the Cardinall, as pernicious to the Government of the Provin-
 “ ces. That *Casembrot* was retained in *Egmont's* Family, for the Service
 “ he undertooke to do against the Church-Robbers. That *Tournay* being
 “ then well pacified had no use for *Beavor*, and therefore they consulted
 “ about sending him away, especially being requested so to doe, by those
 “ of *Flanders*. Thus in order severally, and respectively, they answered
 to the other parts of their Impeachment; which if I should but run over,
 would be an infinite worke, Count *Hornes* particular charge consisting
 of 600. heades. How they cleared themselves I define not. Truly I know
 many of those very Objections were made against them both, to his Ma-
 jesty, by the Governesse. Nay their designe of dividing the Provinces I find
 to be discovered euen by the Bishop of *Osnaburg*, in *Westphalia*, who gave
 intelligence thereof to the Governesse by *Cobell* one of his Councell; ad-
 ding that he heard it long since from Count *Suarzburg* coken to the
 Prince of *Orange*, and by *George Holly* a German Colonell, when they were
 merry at Supper, where they said the King of *Denmarke* would put in for
 a share. All which the Governesse inserted in her Letters to the King, as we
 have related in the yeare 66. Notwithstanding the people giving their
 Judgement, either out of hatred to the Duke of *Alva*, or out of love to
 Count *Egmont*, acquitted him, and laid all the fault upon *Alva*, as one that
 envied *Egmont*, his old Rivall in the Warres. They likewise reported, that
 he bare a grudge to Count *Egmont*, because, long since, the Count won
 many thousand Crownes of him at Dice: and afterwards, in a publique
 Solemnity, when they shot at markes for a wager, the Duke of *Alva* lost it,
 the Low-country-men shouting for Joy, that one of their Nation had the
 victory over a *Spanish* Generall. Which Stories either false, or little tri-
 fling matters, yet remembred by the vulgar, were brought in, to foment
 their pitty. And I verily believe in the proceesse of this Triall, a greater
 Odium was cast upon the Duke, then he deserved. Nay I have read, how
 it was affirmed by very worthy men, that after their sentence was
 brought out of *Spaine*, *Alva* wrote to the King; that he was every day
 slower to put it in execution, because he fore-saw what mischief would
 insue: and that the King, incensed against *Egmont* (partly for the pro-
 mise of his Faith made when he was in *Spaine*, but not performed, par-
 tly for the many complaints against him, writ to his Majesty by the Gover-
 nesse, and aggravated by Cardinall *Spinosa*, then the great man at Court)
 blamed the Duke of *Alva's* Slackness, & commanded him according to for-
 mer Order, forthwith to dispatch him. Yet the Duke deferred execution, til
 the Prince of *Orange* invading *Brabant*, he was forced to meet him with his
 Army. Perhaps this Relation may not gaine like credit with all persons; but
 howsoever no man's Malice to *Alva*, shall deterre me from writing what
 I have from good hands receiv'd As also the peoples Favour to *Egmont*,
 shall not make me omit the clearing him of a Crime, which I find by
 many objected against him, That he received great Sums of money,
 which made him winke at diverse things acted in his Provinces, such as
 he being a military man, and not considering of what dangerous conse-
 quence they were to Religion, did not imagine to be so prejudiciall to
 the Church. Yet this offence, not touched in his Impeachment, wherein
 nothing was pretermitted, either by negligence, or out of Favour, I sup-
 pose to be a Fiction. Howsoever *Egmont* and *Horne* were brought from
Gant to *Bruxells* the third of June, and by the Duke of *Alva* President of
 the Councell of twelve (the King having inabled him by peculiar Com-

1568.

Some of these
 Heads the Go-
 vernesse had
 objected a-
 gainst them to
 the King.
 August. 20.
 1566.

The People doe
 not thinke
 them guilty but
 conceive all
 this to be the
 malice of C.
Egmont's Ri-
 vall, *Alva*:
 Whom the
 Count had
 foyled.

The Duke of
Alva not so
 culpable in
 this, as some
 imagine.
 In *Adrianus*
Stoepens.

See the yeare,
 65.

Whether Count
Egmont bribed
 by the Rebels,
 connived at
 them.

The Duke of
Alva pronoun-
 ces Sentence of
 death upon the
 Counts *Egmont*
 and *Horne*.

1568.

July 1.

Count Egmonts Letter
to his Majesty
after Condemnation.

All night long
Count Egmont
prepared him-
selfe for death.
He is brought
to execution
the next day a-
bout noone.

Beheaded

In the same
place and man-
ner Aled Count
Horne.

Strange lamen-
tation for C.
Egmonts death

Not without
Threats.

mission to exercise Authority over the Knights of the Golden-Fleece) Sentence of Death was pronounced against them, and *Martin Rithovius*, Bishop of *Ipres* sent to acquaint them with it, and assist them in their last necessity. And *Egmont*, though it much troubled him he should come to an end so farre below his Merits, yet collecting himselfe, as became a Valiant man: and only carefull of his Wife and Children, wrote in French to the King. The Copy of which Letter sent by *Christopher Assenwill*, to the Governesse, I here give you; "Sir, since you are pleased that Sentence of Death must passe upon your humble and faithfull Subiect and Servant, who never aimed at any thing but your Majesties Service; for advancement whereof, as my past Actions testify, I neither spared my paines nor fortunes; but to a thousand dangers have exposed my life, which never was so pretious to me, but that if it might any way be offensive to your Majesty, I would a hundred times before this have exchanged it for death. Therefore I doubt not, but when you shall fully understand the Carriage of Businesse in these parts, you will clearly perceine how iniuriously I have beene used, whilst they have perswaded your Majesty against me, in things that never entred my Imagination. I call God to witnesse; and I pray that he will revenge it upon my soule, that must this day appeare before his Iudgment-Seat, if I have neglected any part of that, which I beleive'd to be my Duty towards my King, and Country. I therefore beseech you, Sir, I, that shall petition your Majesty no more, that for the Reward of all my painefull Services, you will please a little to commiserate my Wife, and eleven Children, with the rest of my Family, which I have commended to some few Friends yet left me And presuming your Majesty, out of your native Clemency will not deny me this, I go to suffer death, which I willingly imbrace, assuring my selfe my end will give many satisfaction. From *Bruxells* the fifth of *June*, at two of the clock after midnight, in the yeare 1568. Your Majesties most humble, most faithfull, and most obedient Subiect and Servant, prepared to dye, *Lamorall Egmont*. This Letter for the King hee gave to the Bishop of *Ipres*; and confessing his sinnes to him, spent the rest of the night in reconciling himselfe to God, and arming of his minde to suffer. The like did Count *Horne*, assisted by the same Prelate, and other Divines. In the morning, being *Whitsun-Eve* a Scaffold, hung with blacks, was set up in the Market-Place, guarded with the Regiment of *Juliano Romero*, whereon were laid two Cushions, before a silver Crucifix. About Nooneday Count *Egmont* was brought thither, accompanied with the Bishop of *Ipres* and *Romero*: after some few prayers, he put off his *Damaske-Gowne*, threw away his Hatt, and speaking a few words to the Bishop, fell upon his knees before the Crucifix, and his night-cap being pulled over his eyes, the Executioner that lurked under the Scaffold, and was once (as it is said) his footman, stricke off his head. Presently after, Count *Horne* with the same constancy was by the same Executioner beheaded; both their heads being for two houres set upon two speares, for the City to behold. Their Bodies were immediately carryed into the next Churches, and the day after, together with their Heads, sent to the chiefe Cityes of their owne Provinces, and there honourably buryed. The miserable Death of Count *Egmont* (for he was generally beloued) was lamented by the Low-countrymen with greater Splene, then Sorrow; Some whereof despising danger, dipt their handkerchers in his blood, and kept them, either as Monuments of Love, or Incitements to Revenge. Others kissed his leaden Coffin, and without any feare of an Informer; publicly threatened Vengeance,

Vengeance. Inſomuch as diuerſe Perſons noting the Low-countrymen's Violent affections to his Memory, and their deteſtation of the very name of *Alva*, ſaid, that by *Egmont's* death the Confederates were firſt eſtabliſhed; and foretold, that all the Lowcountreys would in a ſhort time, contrary to the Duke's Expectation, be involved in Tumults. This Prediction gave credit to the report, that preſently after it rained bloud in the Fields about *Lovain*: the Multitude eaſily believing, what their Hatred ſuppoſes to be done in Heaven. And indeed there are that doubt not, but it would have been more policy in the Duke to have made their Execution private, and not preſented that diſtaſtfull Scene and Pompe of *Egmont's* Tragedy to the people. For they doe ill, that make the Favourers and Pittyers of the Cauſe Spectators of the Punishment. But *Alva* reſolving to make an Example of Terroure, which hee then thought neceſſary, ſlighted Hate or Envy. It is reported the French Embaſſadour, who privately beheld the Execution, wrote to King *Charles*, that he had ſcene in the Market-place at *Bruxells* his head ſtruck off, whoſe Valour had twice made France tremble; intimating the loſſe of the French Nobility at *Saint Quintin* and *Graneling*: the firſt of which Battailles was almoſt, the ſecond altogether purchaſed by the Courage and conduct of Count *Egmont*. He dyed in the fortieth ſixth yeare of his age, leaving by *Sabina* of *Bavier* (to whom he was married at *ſpires* in preſence of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth eight, Daughters and three Sons; the eldeſt inheriting his Fathers Vertues; the ſecond nothing but his Hatred to the Spaniards; the third, who was faithfull to the King, only left Iſſue to the Family. He had a Brother that followed the Emperour *Charles* into *Africa*, and dyed in *Italy*: a Siſter married to Count *Vadamont*, Mother to *Frances* Wiſe to *Henry* the third of *France*. The Nobility of his Houſe was ancient, their Power much greater once, when the Dukes of *Egmont* were Lords of *Gelderland*. He tooke his name from *Egmond* a Towne in the fartheſt part of *Holland* neare the weſterne Shore, of which he ſtill wrote himſelfe Count; though he was Prince of *Gavera* a Towne upon the bankes of *Schelt*, not farre from *Gant*. *Charles* the fifth created him knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, King *Philip* truſted him with the Government of the moſt noble Provinces of *Flanders* and *Artois*. He was a man for the Heroicall Vertues of his mind and body, worthy a farre better Fate; though the very infelicity of his Death (as Compaſſion looks upon all things through a multiplying Glaſſe) did not a Little increaſe the opinion of his Vertues. Nor was it any diſadvantage to his Children, reſtored by King *Philip* to all their Father's perſonall and reall Eſtate. But *Philip* Count of *Horne*, who was likewiſe Knight of the *Golden-Fleece*, dyed foure yeares elder then Count *Egmont*: his Brother the Lord *Montigny* being for the ſame Cauſe condemned and beheaded in *Spaine*, whither he was by the Governeffe ſent Embaſſadour with the Marqueſſe of *Bergen*. Nor was Count *Horne* of a leſſe noble family then Count *Egmont*, being deſcended of the French *Momoraneyes*, and had courage equall to his Honour, as appeared at the Battaille at *Saint Quintin*, and in the magnificent diſcharge of two great offices, of Admirall and Captaine of the life Guard. Hee firſt trayled a Pike under the Emperour *Charles* the Fifth, to whom he was a Subject for *Horne*, an Imperiall Caſtle betweene *Gelderland* and *Brabant*, whence he had his Title of Count, though he was poſſeſſed of many other Townes and Caſtles within the Kings Dominions. Indeed his death could not have beene moderately lamented, but that *Egmont* had conſumed all men's Teares.

1568.

And preſages.

Confirmed by a portents from heauen as was commonly believed. From hence ſprang the hatred to *Alva*.

A ſaying of the French Embaſſadour, *Charles ix.* Count *Egmont's* Eloge.

The merits of Count *Horne*.

After

1568.

The Duke of
Alva's Expe-
dition against
Lewis of Nassau,
Vitelli defends
Groningen.
Count Arem-
berg's Funer-
rall.
Alva's March.
Bolduc.

He sends out
his Scouts.

Their ridicu-
lous mistake.

Occasioning a
military Pro-
verbe.

Groningen.

The number
of Alva's Ar-
my.
Lewis of Nas-
sau's Forces.
His Trenches.

Affaulted by
the Spanish.

The Nassavians
run.

Many lost in
their flight.

After this, the Duke of *Alva* resolved to move speedily to *Friezland*, sending before, with part of his Forces, *Chiapino Vitelli* his Campe-Master-Generall, who entring the *Groine* Valiantly defended that Towne, against *Lewis of Nassau* that late downe before it. Then the Duke in person, having payed a Souldiers Duty to Count *Aremberg*, and with the sad Military Ceremonies waited on him to his Grave, went about the end of Iune from *Bruxells* to *Antwerp*, leaving *Gabriel Serbellonio* there in Garrison, with eight Companyes of *Germans* for defence of the Fort and Towne. At the *Bus* he stayed till *Cressonerius* came up with seuen-teeene Field-pieces; marching thence, in the beginning of Iuly, he passed the *Mose* at *Grave*, from thence he went to *Arnhem* in *Gelderland*, and so to *Daventry* in *Over-Tsell*, where he rested a while, till his Scouts should bring word, if the Bridges were strong enough to beare the weight of his Cannon: they had not rid farre, but hearing Drummes beate a pretty way off, and presently discovering foure Ensignes, they galloped back to the Duke, and told him, the Enemy was coming hard at hand; though he could not well believe it, yet because his Scouts of several Nations brought the same Intelligence, he forthwith commanded his Colonells and Feild-Officers to set his men in Battalia, and sent out others to discover the Enemyes nearer Approaches and their number. These were no sooner in the Field, but they saw foure gallant Banners displayed, and as many Waggon covered with Canvasse, and greene Boughes, in which a Bride, married that morning, who dreamed not of a warre, was riding towards the next Village; with a great sort of countrey fellowes leaping and playing about her. When this Newes was brought to the Army, they made not better Sport at the Folly of the Scouts, then they did, at the simplicity of the Country people, when an Army was so neare them; and all that suddaine preparation for a Warre being changed into Mirth, they entertained the Bride in her passage with a Volly of Musket-Shot. The memory of this Accident is still fresh in the mouthes of the *Wallons*, who ever, when they send out their Scouts, if they shew any Feare in their Returne, aske them, in a military Ieere, if they have seene the Bride. But the Duke of *Alva*, angry at this delay, and sharply rebuking them that were the Causes, entred the *Groin* on the fifteenth of Iuly about Noon-day, and at that very houre without alighting or changing of his Horse, he himselfe, attended with a few others, rode on, to discover the Enemy, that lay three miles from the Towne. At his returne, leaving the Duke of *Brunswick* to keep the City, by day-breake (for it was time to be quick) he marched against the Enemy. His Foot were almost 12000, his Horse 3000, most of his Captaines and Officers old Souldiers and Commanders. *Nassau* had as many Foot, but was weaker in Horse, and hearing of the Duke's Approach, had retreated six miles, and intrenched himselfe with suddaine workes cast up in a watrish Ground. The Duke followed him, and commanded *Gaspar Robbley* Lord of *Bill* to take 1200 *Spanish* and *Wallon* Musketteers and Dragoones, and fall upon the Campe at two severall Quarters, not so much in hope to beate them out of their Trenches, as to try their Strength, and hold them play, till *Cressonerius* brought up the Cannon. But such was the Fury of the Musketteers, or rather such was the Cowardice of the Enemy, especially being puzzled with a Mutiny of the *Germans*, that running away on both sides from their Cannon, they stroue who should fly fastest. The rest, firing their Carriages retired, and many; while they retreated, observing no Order nor Command, either sunke with

1568.

with their Horses in the Bogges and ditches, or basely casting away their Armes were trampled upon by such as followed the Chase. Above 300 of them were slaine, of the King's men but nine; and doubtlesse the Execution had been greater, if the Duke had not founded a Retreat, fearing lest in that darke weather his Souldiers, by an error not to be repaired, might be engaged in blind cosening holes, and pits, which the Countrey was every where full of. But five dayes after, his Excellence compleated his Victory. For commanding *Cesar Davulo*, Brother to the Marquess of *Piscario*, and *Curtius Comes Martinengo* with some Horse to chase the Fugitives: he himselfe, with his Army, returned to the *Groine*, about one a clock at night, and before it was day, the Duke, that could not sleepe out an opportunity, marched againe into the Field, and on the 21. of July pursued the Enemy.

Nassau made a halt in the entrance of *West Friezland*, at the Village of *Geming*, between the Bay of *Dullart* and the River *Ems*, at his back he had *Emdden* a City that tooke part with him: from whence by the River *Ems* he might expect provisions, and his Brother the Prince of *Orange* coming out of *Germany*. About him were many Marthes, and the way so confused, by reason of the water, that it frightened the pursuers. Only on his Front, amidst the low and sinking mudd, there was one passage upon the top of a strong Banke that over looked the swelling Billowes, and ran directly into the Campe and Village: which Avenue was made inaccessible by ten pieces of Cannon planted in the mouth of it. Thus had he chosen and guarded the place where he incamped. But feare can never be sufficiently intrenched. Their feare was increased by a second Mutiny of the *Germans*, that began to be seditious before their former losse. For when divers Companies of theirs, because they were not payed, came about *Nassau's* Tent, railing and crying that some of their Countrey-men were ready to die for hunger, having in two dayes space not eaten a bit of bread: and therefore threatned to go over to the enemy, *Justus Schomwenberg* promising that next day they should have foure French-crownes a man, the mutiny was quieted: but this money (the Duke as I said falling so suddainly upon them) could not be paid; the Souldiers therefore, in their stand at *Geming*, after their flight, claimed promise, and mutined more fiercely; which the Duke understanding from the Prisoners taken, and the newes being purposely divulged through the Army, so inflamed the Souldiers courages, that almost all the Captaines, with great contest which Nation should be honoured with the Service, begged leave to fall upon their Cannon, the greatest danger of the Warre. The Company of *Lopez Figueroa*, that Marched on the Duke's left hand when he led the Army along the River Banke, was commanded to try their Fortune; the most whereof were armed with those huge Muskets that hardly could be managed upon Rests, which, as we said formerly, were first brought in use for Field-Service by the Duke of *Alva*. And whilst the Duke made shew as if he would charge the Enemy in the Front, covering his men from their Cannon with Gabions, [or baskets filled with earth] in the meane time keeping them in play with some light Assaults, they that were to attempt the Cannon falling upon their knees and powring out their prayers to God, (which they repeated after *Figueroa*, remarkable for his devotion to the Mother of God,) waded through the Mud and Water, and came upon the Flanke of the steep hill where the Cannon was planted. Few at first guarded the place, as that which secured it selfe: present-

ly,

July 21.

The Battaile
of *Geming*.The Site of
Lewis of
Nassau's Campe
Dicco.Their Feare
made the greater
by a second
mutiny of their
Souldiers.
Which coming
to the eare of
the Spaniards.

Dicco.

Some make an
appearance of
charging the
Nassavians in
the front,Others assault
them on the
flanke.

1568.

And take their
Cannon, open-
ing the way
for their fel-
lowes to doe
execution.

July 26.

The greatest
that ever was,
Equall to the
Enemy's cow-
ardice.

The newes of
this Victory in
a wonderfull
manner comes
to the Groine.

Bern. Mend.
l. 3.
Groningen.

Tit. liv. l. 1.
The like hap-
ned among the
old Romans.
The number of
the slaine,

The Spoile,

The subtil
Flight of Lewis
of Nassau.

Tacit. l. 2. An-
nals. The Re-
semblance of
this Victory
over Nassau, to
that of Germa-
nicus Caesar
over Arminius
in the very
same place.

ly, fresh men coming in to help their Fellowes, after a sharpe conflict, they tooke the Cannon, and opened the only Avenue by which the *Spanish* Army could march up to *Nassau*. This advantage being close followed by the *Duke*, he sent men, that not only tooke their Campe and beat them out of their Workes and Trenches, but that in their Flight, along the higher and lower grounds, as farre as the River *Ems*, for six houres together did execution upon them, for (as *Hubert a Valle* that was present at the Battaille wrote to *Margaret of Austria*) never men fought either with greater Cowardice, or Stubborneſſe: if it were a Fight, and not rather a meere Slaughter. Many of the *Germans* throwing their Armes to the Ground, as if they meant to strike, were killed so much the sooner; Many were swallowed in the Bogges and Fennes, into which they crowded and thrust one another as they ran; Many were cut to pieces offering their backs to the Sword, as guilty slaves doe to the Whippe. But the greatest part were drowned in the River *Ems*, whereinto they leaped, though they could not swim, and were loaded with their Armes, which immediately sunke them. Onely a few good Swimmers made sport to the *Spanish* Army, that from the banke-side shot them with their Muskets, like so many Ducks. They say, those that accidentally failed in the Bay of *Dullart*, seeing such abundance of *Montero's* swimming downe the water (for the Sea, that ebbes and flowes at certaine houres, when it was low water drew away from the River the Spoiles of the dead bodies) knew that a Battaille had been fought and great execution done, in the adjoyning Fields: and by the fashion of the *Montero's* much differing from other mens hatts, and worne by the *German* Souldiers instead of Helmets, they supposed the *Spaniard* to be Master of the Field. By which meanes, when the messenger presently dispatched from the Duke of *Alva*, came to the *Groine*, beyond all expectation and Faith, he found the Towne already acquainted with the newes, the Merchants and Mariners having told them of the victory. Thus, long ago when the *Romans* fought with the *Sabines* by the River of *Anio*, they at *Rome* seeing the *Sabines* Armes floating upon *Tiber*, into which the River *Anio* falls, prevented the Messengers by their fore-knowledge of the joyfull Tidings. Touching the number of the slaine, the Reports of those, present in the Fight, were diverse; The most credible is, that there fell six Thousand of the Enemy, and no more then Seventy of the King's men. Though twelve miles in length being strewed with Carcasses of men and Horſes, presented it as a huge and horrid Slaughter to the eye. The Spoile was likewise great, twenty of the Enemies Ensignes taken, ten great Cannon, and those six muscull Field-pieces lost by Count *Aremberg*, with a vast quantity of furniture belonging to *Nassau*, *Hochſtrat*, and *Schouwenberg*; in a word, all their Carriages and Baggage came into the *Spaniard's* hands. *Hochſtrat*, the day before the Battaille was carried sick out of the Field. *Schouwenberg* fled in the beginning of the Fight. Of *Nassau* the Rumour was at first uncertaine, for his Armes and the Suite he wore that day, were brought to the Duke of *Alva*: afterwards, it was knowne, that changing his Cloathes he swam the River; and left those he put off, purposely in the Field, that they might imagine him slaine. In this Province of *Friezland* *Germanicus Caesar* conquered *Arminius*, by the banck of *Visurgus*, another River of *Friezland*, the memory of which overthrow was now revived. Iust so, the *Romans* for their Sport killed the barbarous people swimming the River, till they were weary with the Sport; so *Arminius* fled disguised; so the Battaille

con-

continued till darke night; so the Fieldes, for as many miles, were covered with dead bodies. Nor was the Monument lesse proportionable, which either Generall out of the Enemies spoyles erected for Posterity to behold. Only when the *Roman* set up a Trophy, his modesty omitted to name himselfe: the *Spaniard* boldly put in his owne Title. Fame therefore in that Inscription inserted the title of *Germanicus*, but envy in this, soone blotted out the name of *Alva*. I know some that accompt this victory a miracle, wrought by the Prayers of *Pius* the fifth, who both by Letters and Supplies of money had animated the Duke of *Alva* against the *Gheses*. Indeed *Christopher Assonvill*, an intimate Counsellour of the Duke's, describing the Battaille writes, that when he considered the place chosen by *Nassau*, on the one part to be so fortified by nature and Art, as might well have contemned a greater Army: on the other part, to be taken by so suddaine a storme, and so few men, he could not thinke this victory lesse then a Miracle. And the Duke of *Alva*, after he had won the Field, the first thing he did, dispatched away a Messenger that very night, with the newes to *Pope Pius*; who, as he had devoutly prayed to God for good Successe, so now having obtained his desire, commanded three Thankes-giving-Dayes to be solemnly kept in three of the greatest Churches of *Rome*, which was accordingly performed with great Solemnity, and the addition of Cannon-shot and Bonafires. But though I will not say this was miraculous, in regard a farre lesse mutiny and consternation uses every day to worke stranger effects: yet when I looke upon the attempt of the *Spanish* Forlorne-Hope, how they being to run the apparent hazzard of their Lives, when *Lopez Figueroa* advised them to call the Communion of Saints to their Assistance, falling on their faces and imploring, after an extraordinary manner and with many zealous Prayers, the Patronage of the Blessed Virgin, and the Tutelar Saint of *Spaine*, fearlessly and fortunately among the enemies Cannon began their Conquest; truly out of these premises I may boldly conclude, that if at this Battaille there was more then humane help, the Devotion of the Spaniards called downe Victory from Heaven, and their heroicall courage merited such a Day.

In the Returne of the conquering Army, a bold and wicked fact was committed, that greatly tooke off the Generalls and his Officers Ioy. The *Sardinian* Brigade marching in the Reare, when they came within sight of the place, where awhile before many of their fellow Souldiers were lost vnfortunately, together with Count *Aremberg*; their Bloud rising, they resolved to be revenged, and leave a memorable example of their fury; For before day-breake they fired the next Villages: beginning at the Towne where they heard the *Spaniards* in their flight were by the Countrey men betrayed to the Victorious *Nassavians*. From thence dividing themselves, they dispersed the fire among the Townes adjoyning, which so kindled, the Houses being built of combustible materialls, especially the wind conspiring with their Wickednesse, that from the Bay of *Dullart* to the farthest prospect of *West-Friezland* nothing was presented to the eye but dreadfull Flames. The Duke of *Alva* amazed to see the Countrey burne, and suspecting it to be a Stratagem of the enemy, when he found that it was the Villany of his owne men, commanded the whole Army to stop the Brigade that had fired the Countrey, and calling before him their Colonell *Gonsalvo Bracamonte* reproved him for suffering at the present that Mischiefe to *Friezland* and the King, (for they had burnt

H h

some

1568.

Of this Spanish
Trophey you
will read more
in this booke
and in the be-
ginning of the
eight.

This Victory
attributed to
the prayers of
Pius v.

July 27.

Who gives God
thanks for it
with great so-
lemnity,

Whether it may
be thought a
Miracle,

The Piety of
the Spanish
Souldiers.

The fury of
the Sardinian
Legions

Revengeing
Count Arem-
berg's death
with the firing
of many Villa-
ges.

1566.

The Duke of
Alva punishes
this burning
Brigade.

1568.

According to
the old milita-
ry forme.

Val. Max. l. 2.
cap. 2. de Dif-
cipl. milit.

How great a
losse the Coun-
trei had by this
fire.

Alva returns
victorious to
Groningen.

Orders the af-
faires of that
City.

The coming of
Duke Federico
Alva's Son.

The Prince of
Orange's Army
raised by the
joint assistance
of the Princes
of Germany.

How great this
Army was,

How payed,

William Lu-
me's Vow.

The fame of
this Army,

some Townes that were his Majestyes Patrimony) and for their former Contumacy, whereby they had importunately forced their valiant Generall *Aremberg* to fight Some of the Souldiers which began it, he commanded to be hanged upon the place; others, especially the Supernumeraries of the Brigade, which seemed to be accidentally involved in the Fault, and Colonell *Bracamonte* himselfe, he adjudged to change their *Militia*, for this was a kind of warlike penalty, still retained out of the Discipline of the Antients, that often degraded their Souldiers, a Horseman to a Footman, and a Footman into an Archer, to make them sensible of their Errours by disgrace. But this was no great Punishment to the ordinary sort, that were received into other Regiments with little or noe disadvantage. The Captaines, Lieutenants, Ensignes, and above all the Colonell was afflicted with the Ignominy, who were all to be reduced into the Ranke of Common Souldiers. Therefore some of them, particularly the Colonell resolved rather to leaue the Warre then fight with such dishonour. But the Duke of *Alva*, satisfied with what they already suffered, a while after restored the Colonell to his Command. The Brigade being in this manner punished, but the Losses of the province unrepaired, which were rated at no lesse then a Million of Crownes; Victorious *Alva* entred the *Groine* upon Saint Iames his Eue, whose assistance he had found in the day of Battaile: and commanding the Townsmen to receive *Gniffius*, long since designed Bishop of the place, and Count *Megen* Successour to *Aremberg* in the Governement of their province: for defence of both by the directions of *Vitelli* and *Paciotta*, the Duke began to build a Fort like that of *Antwerp*. Things thus ordered in Holland, he was met in his returne to *Bruxells* by his eldest Son *Federico* Duke of *Oscha* great Commander of the Order of *Calatrava*, who brought him from the King 2500 Foote, and a good summe of money, a necessary supply against the Preparations of the prince of *Orange*.

For now the Prince of *Orange* was upon his March with a vast Army raised in *Germany*, diverse of the hereticall Princes willingly associating in hatred to the *Spanish* House of *Austria*. This League was advanced by a generall indignation upon the newes of Count *Egmont's* and Count *Horne's* death: the Envy to *Alva* thereupon increasing: and much aggravated, by a Booke against His Tyranny, written and published by the Prince of *Orange*. There was in his Army when he mustered it at *Aquis-Grane* 28000 men, that is 16000 *German* Foot, and 8000 Horse; *French* and *Low Dutch* 2000 Horse; and very neare as many Foot. To the *Germans* the Prince Elector Count *Palatine*, the Duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the City of *Strafsburg* had promised foure Months Pay; to the *French* and the *Low-countreymen* a *Spanish* Merchant at *Antwerp* had ingaged for 1800 *French* Crownes a month, during the said terme. To maintaine the Horse was undertaken partly by the Prince of *Orange* and his Brother, partly by the very Commanders of Horse, *Casimire* Son to the *Palsgrane*, Count *Swarzenburg*, two of the Dukes of *Saxony*, Count *Hochstrat*, and William *Lume* one of the Counts de *Marca*; the last of these, a deadly Enemy to the *Catholiques* is said to have made such a barbarous Vow as once *Cl. Civilis* (who likewise commanded the *Hollanders*) that he would never cut his haire till he had revenged the Deaths of *Egmont* and *Horne*. With these Forces the Prince of *Orange*, sooner then could be imagined, passed the *Rhyme*, and incamping along the banke of the *Mose* not farre from *Maestricht* filled the *Low Countreies* with strange Reports.

ports and Terrour. Indeed the Duke of *Alva* in appearance extremely slighted such Rumours, being a notable Dissembler of military Dangers, and one that feared nothing more then to be thought to feare. So that when a Captaine with very much Trouble in his Face, amplified the Newes, and told him, how many Princes and Kings had entred into League against *Spaine*: among whom he numbered *Denmarke* and *England*; the Duke answered merrily, he knew what accompt to make of that League, nor was such a conspiracy of Rebels any way formidable: the King having more Princes that tooke part with him. For with the King of *Spaine* was confederated the Kings of *Naples*, *Sicily*, and *Sardinia*, the Duke of *Millaine*, Prince of *Burgundy*, and the *Low-countries*, besides the King's of *Peru*, *Mexico*, and *New Spaine*: but herein the Confederations differed, that in theirs the dissimilitude of Nations and dispositions and (if no other obstacle) their severall Interests must needs cause disagreement, and in a little time dissolve the union. Whereas in this, what pleased one pleased all, and consequently it would be eternall. And truly, *Alva* was not so jealous of a forreigne Enemy, as of the Natives, knowing himselfe hated by a great sort of them; nor could he thinke the Prince of *Orange* durst ever have attempted to bring a Warre into the *Low-countries*, if he had not beene invited and assisted by the *Low-coun-treymen*. Especially when so many Robberies and Murthers had been done upon the high way by the banished *Gheuses*. Which because they sheltred in the Forests were called *Wood-Gheuses*. The common Terrour was increased by a fearfull apparition in the Aire of two Armyes in Battalia, seen on a cleare night to brandish their glittering Pikes, as if they were ready for a charge. The Prodigy, because seen in diverse places, was beleived; and therefore more such stories were dayly told; which made *Alva* looke to himselfe. So that fortifying the Frontier Townes and those he most doubted, he hastened with his Army to *Maestricht*, that from thence he might incounter the Prince of *Orange's* Designs, and by keeping the banke of *Mose* hinder him from passing the River. But the Prince's subtilty and boldnesse carryed it. And this was his first Stratagem in the *Low-country-Warre*, wherein he plainly shewed, how great an Enemy declared himselfe against the King. For his Horse finding the River foardable between *Rurimond* and *Maestricht*; the *Mose* being then accidentally at a low Ebbe, the Prince helped his Fortune with Art, in this manner. He tied his Horse together, and made them stand crosse the River, to breake the Streame (as *Julius Caesar* did, when he passed *Ligeris* and *Cicoris*: and some others of late time have done) by this meanes the force of the Current being abated and repelled, he commanded his Foote to wade over silently in the Evening: and that night with inobserveable speed, or rather by an incredible Attempt he deceived the Kings Guards, and safely arrived on the farther Shore with his Army. which was so suddaine and unexpected newes to *Alva*, that when *Barla-mont* told him the Enemy was come over, the Duke asked him, if he thought them to be an Army of Birds, that had flowne over the *Mose*. But the Prince of *Orange* entring *Brabant*, and confidently incamping within six Miles of the *Spanish* Army, the next day drew out his men, and with Drummes beating and Trumpets sounding, faced and offered Battaille to the Duke of *Alva*, whose Campe-Master *Chiapino Vitelli* was of opinion, that the Enemy, wet with the River, and weary with their March, should have beene fought, before they had incamped; nor did he as yet

1568.

Which *Alva* seems to contemne. His answer to a souldier frighted at the number of Princes confederate against the King of *Spaine*.

1565.

Alva suspects the *Low-coun-treymen* in general.

Particularly the *Wood-Gheuses*. Wonders in Heaven. Christ. Affon. vlt. Se.

The D of *Alva* slays at *Maestricht* to attend the Prince of *Orange's* Motion. But the Prince of *Orange* passes the *Mose* With rare Artifice and celerity.

l. 7. bell. Gall. l. 1. bell. Civ.

Beyond the D. of *Alva's* imagination.

The Prince offers battaille to the Duke.

Vitelli holds it best for the D. to fight him.

1568.

The Duke is
otherwise re-
solved.

And will go no
higher then
light Skirmi-
shes,

How Strada
comes to know
the particulari-
ties of those
little fights.

Two Troopes
of Vitelli's
horse inter-
cepted.
Vitelli himself
escapes

Chafes at the
mischiefe done
to his Mare,
Threatens to be
revenged for it,

And according
ly falls upon
the Prince of
Orange's Rere,
Does very great
execution,
Takes 150.
Horse,
His Merry say-
ing to the Duke
Still the P.
of Orange uses
all provocati-
ons to bring
Alva to a Bat-
taile.

Who is not
moved, but pla-
ces the assu-
rance of Victo-
ry in Delay.
Chiap. Vitelli.

thinke the fight was wholly to be declined : but that it concerned the *Spaniards* in point of honour to make some Attempt upon the now insulting *Germans*, and let them know the Valour of the Royall Army. But the Duke (foreseeing that money could not long hold out to pay so great an Army, which would therefore moulder away, especially upon the approach of winter) resolved, with the least hazard to himselfe, to elude the enemy. His principall designe was to keep them from getting into any strong Towne, lest they should make their Pay out of the Plunder of the Countrey. Yet scarce any day passed, but (as the Armies lay close together) they had some Skirmishes, and Fights, commonly about victuals; the Prince of Orange's men being still the Challengers. Which Fights how they were managed, and with what daily successe, I could particularize. For *Raphael Barberino* Knight of *Saint Steven*, an eminent Commander, & a very great Mathematician, sent to *Rome* Diaries of all Actions in the Campe, directed to his Brothers *Francesco Barberino*, *Proto-Notary Apostolicall*, and *Antonio Barberino* Father to *Pope Urban the Eight* : under which Prince, no lesse supream in Learning, then Religion, it is my happinesse to write this History. But out of those Letters, whereof I have Copies, I hold it best to give you only some choice Passages; omitting the rest that were either of the same kind, or not so remarkable.

The third day after he had passed the *Mose*, the Prince of Orange advanced to *Tongerren* : thither presently marched the Duke of *Alva* to defend the Towne; neither incountring nor declining him, only having an eye upon his Motion and Designes. It fortun'd, that *Vitelli*, with two Troopes of Horse, about Sun-set going to discover the Enemy, fell upon an Ambuscado, and with a rout and the losse of some men, returned safe to the Army : only the Mare he rode upon, had a slight hurt, and because he loved her above all the Horse in his Stables, she being an excellent galloper; that night, when he was set at Supper with his old Friend and Companion *Raphael Barberino*, telling him with much vexation how fearefull he was to lose her, he threatned, if he lived one day longer, to make the Enemy repent that ever they hurt his Mare. Nor was it a vaine bragge : for next morning by breake of day drawing out some horse, most of them *Spaniards* and *Burgundians*, when he observed the Prince's Rere to March at a distance from the Army, dividing his Forces and giving halfe to *Camillo Gonzaga* Count de *Novellaria*, he fell upon the Enemy, with such a suddaine violence, that he killed about 400. of their men, lost only fiftene of his, and tooke, besides diverse Waggons loaden with Armes, and Ammunition, 150. of their Horse; and bringing in triumph to the Duke of *Alva*, said, "Looke you, Sir, how many Horses my Mare hath foaled. Notwithstanding, the Prince of Orange the very next day offered battaile to the Duke, but he assuring himselfe, the enemy would sooner want meate & mony then confidence, held it his safest course to break them with delays; which iraging the Prince, sometimes with Crosse-Marches he turned upon the Duke, sometimes, to draw him on, sounded a Retreat, as if he were affrayd his men had gone too farre; and a while after, fired the Townes and Villages, in sight of the Enemy, to bring the demurring *Spaniard* to a battaile. But this *Hannibal* found a *Fabius Cunctator*, one that could be moved neither by the desperate fury of the Enemy, nor by his own men's impatience, and almost downe right Railing (for this *Dictator* had likewise his Master of the Horse, that was eager to fight) nor lastly, by the invitation of any prosperous fortune. But as

a prudent man looking upon the Future, he preferred not Rumour before safety, and would rather have the victory, which he promised himselfe, slow and secure, then dubious and bloudy. Especially, after he had intelligence that shrew'd signes of discord appeared in the Prince of *Orange's* Army. Nor was the Duke of *Alva* deceived in his conjecture. For the Prince of *Orange* having, but to no purpose, founded the affections of many Cities, from whence he hoped for Money and Ammunition, had not been a full Moneth in *Brabant* before his Souldiers mutined, *Captaine Malburg* being slaine in a heate by his own Company, and the Prince himselfe had a Pistoll discharged upon him, but, the bullet lighting upon the Scabberd of his Sword, escaped the Danger. The rage increased in the Campe, and would not easily have found a stop, but that newes of Succour out of *France* gave hope to the Prince of *Orange*, and struck feare into the Mutineers. His Army therefore moved with all possible speed to receive the French Forces, conducted by *Francis Hangeft* Lord of *Jenlis*, consisting of 500. Horse and 3000. Foot.

In his March, the Prince of *Orange* tooke *Centron*, in the Territory of *Liege*, where he found plenty of victuall, besides the great summes of money for Fine and Ransome paid him by the Abbot of that Monastery, and diverse other persons of quality. From thence he went directly to *Tienen*, to joyne with *Jenlis* that was come within three miles of the place. But because the River *Geta* ran between them, to secure the passe, he placed some light horse upon the banke mixt with Musketeers. The Duke of *Alva* that never left the Enemy, was at his back with an Army of neare upon 16000. *Vitelli* led the Van, and finding the Prince of *Orange* his Designe, sent *Barberino* on the spur to the Duke, who brought up the Rere, to let him know in what condition the Enemy was, and how easily he might be routed as he passed the River. The Duke commanded him not to fight, till he had more certaine intelligence. But the Enemie wading over with part of his Army, was now possessed of the farther banke, and had left behind, under the command of Colonell *Philip Marbet* Lord of *Loveruall*, two thousand Fire-locks and 500. Horse, most of them *Gascoignes* and *Wallons*, men chosen out of his whole Army, to keep the King's men in play with continuall skirmishes, till their fellowes were got to the other side the River. *Vitelli*, angry to see the Victory slip out of his hands by the Generall's Delay, with a great part of his men fell upon the Regiment left, commanding *Barberino* to gallop to the Duke, and acquaint him with his Resolution. The Duke of *Alva* disliked it not (rather because it was already, then that he wished to have it done) and turning to his Son *Federick* said, "thou seest that Hill made good by their Horse, thither thou must; fire upon them from this opposite Hill with six Field-Pieces, and with some commanded men chosen out of that Wing of Spanish-Horse and Foot, beat them from their Post. *Federico* did more than his Father bad him, for he drave them from their Vantage-ground, and joyning with *Vitelli* turned his Cannon upon them, which very much contributed to the Victory. For now they fought with like but not with equall Forces, because such of the Princes men as had not yet passed the water, terrified with the charge, and fearing *Alva* had come on with his whole Army, sometimes resolved to take the River and fly: sometimes encouraged by better men, returned and fought, that between the irresolution of fighting and flying, so many were slaine, as *Vitelli* doubted not, but if all the Spanish Army might passe the River, the Enemy

1568.

The Orangians mutiny.

The Prince of Orange's danger

Recruits sent him out of France.

Of the Flight at the River Geta.

The Prince of Orange having taken Centron or San Truyen intends to passe the River, and joyne with the French Auxiliaries. Tienen.

Alva commands Vitelli not to engage.

The Prince passes the River leaving part of his Forces behind.

Which Vitelli charges.

Alva sends to his assistance his Son Duke Federico,

He takes the Hill.

The Fight.

Vitelli would gladly have pursued them beyond the River.

my

1568.

Barberino sent
to signifie his
desire to the
D. of Alva.

Who orders
the contrary,
very much
offended.

The Fight re-
newed upon the
River bank.

The Orangians
cut to pieces.

Vitelli's vali-
ant gallantry,

Highly com-
mended by the
Duke of
Alva.
The number of
the slaine.

Count Hoch-
strat's death.

The remainder
of the routed
Forces surround-
ed in a house.
Which the
King's men
fire,

Their severall
kinds of death

my that day would be totally destroyed, and therefore tooke great care to let the Duke of *Alva* know so much; who standing on a higher ground very sparingly sent downe his men. Nor was *Barberino* (that of himselfe, as well as on *Vitelli's* Command desired to fight) lesse carefull to deliver his Message, and use his best perswasions to the Duke for the taking of that opportunity. He told him, "*the valiantest of the Enemy were slaine, and the rest apparently conquered, for their hearts were gone; therefore if the whole body of the Army advanced, before they were reincouraged by joyning with the French, no doubt they would be clearly routed.* But *Alva* angry at the haist made by *Vitelli*, as if he meant to force him to a battile, like one that loved his owne wayes, and therefore brooked not another man's Advise, said to him, "*you will not then let me dispose of the Warre? get you back immediately to Vitelli, and command him to stoppe his men upon the banke, and no more send to me about fighting; for thou, or any man else that shall presume to advise me in this kind, I sweare by the Kings head, shall never returne alive.* Vpon this Answer *Vitelli* and *Federico* ordering their men to passe no further, turned all their fury against such as stood, strongly maintaining the Fight with *Hochstrat*, nor was the face of the Enemy's battaile alike in all places, here they were frightened and fled, and both sorts being slaine, despaire making them valiant they renewed the battaile, and retarded the Victory. Some of the prince of *Orange's* Men, that followed, Colonell *Lovervall's* Colours, looking like fresh supplies, turne'd head, and with the violence of dying persons desperately charge'd *Vitelli* with a strong Impression opening and shattering the Body of Horse that stood close about him, *Vitelli*, that neither stirred from his Resolution, nor his ground, charged Colonell *Lovervall*, in the Head of his Men, grievously wounding him; then fell upon his Cornet, and wresting the Colours out of his hand, lifted them up adding fresh courage to his men, and not only cryed, Victory, but won it; they say, when he brought the Cornet to the Duke of *Alva*, the devise whereof was pillar a with his motto, "*Valour cannot fall, till Conquerd by a greater Valour*, the Duke before many great Commanders, said, truly "*Valour it selfe is this day conquer'd by the valour of Vitelli.* In two hours were slaine no lesse then two thousand of the Enemy, most of them by the Sword, the common end of battailes. Some men of quality were taken prisoners; among whom was Colonell *Lovervall*, hurt in three places, afterwards put to death at *Bruxells*. But he whose losse more troubled the Prince of *Orange*, then all that fell that day, was *Anthony Lalin*, Count *Hochstrat*, shot in the battaile, and presently set upon a fresh horse, who being carried off by his owne Souldiers, not long after, publicquely professing himselfe a Catholique, dyed. Of the King's men very many were wounded, but it is sufficiently known that only fourescore were slaine. A hundred and fifty of the Enemy still kept in a body, & possessed themselves of a house hard by; resolved, as if they had beene in the Fort at *Antwerp*, not to yield, but upon Treaty and Conditions. And when the Royalists, that were to march away, could not get them out, the Duke commanded them to make a Ring about the house, and set fire upon it; immediately two Souldiers drave to the doore a Cart loaded with hay, under which they secured themselves, and firing it with their Matches, the house was easily burnt downe, involving those within it in unavoydable Ruine. It was a cruell and miserable Spectacle to see some stifled with the flame, fall with the house: whilst others striving to make their way, ran furiously upon the Souldiers

Souldiers bended Pikes, like wild Boars upon the Huntmen Spears; many reverſed their Muſkets and Swords ſhooting and killing themſelves, or one another, to prevent the *Spaniards* Triumph, or glory in their deaths. In the meane time, part of the beholders of this Gladiator-like madneſſe pitied, part hiſſed at them, and laughing gave the Enemy thanks for ſaving them ſo much labour and loſſe of Powder and Bullet: wiſhing all their Foes might die as gloriouſly. Many of the Royall Army were of opinion, that if their whole forces had fought, as *Vitelli* propoſed, the Enemy's ſtrength would have been broke in that one battaile. But *Alva*, beſides that he was naturally ſelfe-opinioned, doubting the ſituation of the place, and faith of the *Low-countrey-men*, reſolved to play his game warily. And now the Prince of *Orange* recruited with Succours out of *France*, might probably have repaired his Lōſſes, if he had not found by immediate experience, that his Souldiers were increaſed, and likewiſe his iniſfortunes: as being daily more and more ſtrainted for want of Victuall. Wherefore his hope failing, which had perſwaded him and his, that if he could enter *Brabant* with an Army, diſerſe Cities that favoured his quarrell would preſently revolt; nay finding thoſe very Cities as well provoked as fortified againſt him, after he had incamped himſelfe nine and twenty ſeverall times, and ſtill ſaw the Duke of *Alva* marching on his Flanke, who being an old Souldier ſtill got the advantage in ground, and might at his owne pleaſure hinder him from coming to any City, but by no force nor policy could himſelfe be drawn to hazard the fortune of a battaile: adviſed by *Jenlis* and the reſt of the *French* Commanders, he reſolved to joyne himſelfe to the Prince of *Condè*, at that time reviving the third Civill Warre of *France*. Eſpecially becauſe *Gerard Groſbeck*, Prince of *Liege*, not only denied him paſſage into *Germany*, but commanding his ſouldiers to man the Walles & diſcharge their Cannon, frighted the Prince of *Orange* from the Suburbs; Which Affront He barbarouſly revenged, by firing certaine Monafteries, and ſo marched with his Army into *Haynolt*, where he plundered with extraordinary cruelty, the Villages and Houſes of many Gentlemen that had ſigned the Covenant. It was ſuppoſed he did ſo, becauſe they promiſed to ſerve in the Warre, and came not. But at *Queſnoy*, fighting above the rate of his uſuall Skirmiſhes with the Duke of *Alva*, that conſtantly followed him, ever cutting off ſome part of his Rere: he routed ſome Companies of *Spaniards* and *Germanſ*, and ſlew many of them, *Sancho de Avila*, & *Ceſar Davilo* that indeavoured to make them ſtand, being themſelves ſore wounded. This was ſome revenge for his former Lōſſe. But at his entring into *France*, by a threatening Meſſage from King *Charles*, delivered by Colonell *Arthur Coſſè*, who with his *French* Brigade guarded the Borders, he was commanded not to come upon *French* ground with his Army. Which notwithstanding, he marched on, but was conſtrained to alter his determination by a furious mutiny in his Campe, his men reſuſing to beare Armes againſt the King of *France*, and demanding pay of the Captaines with their Swords in their Hands. The Prince afflicted with ſo many Miſeries at once, increaſed by the extraordinary ſharpeſſe of the Winter, and conſidering his uncertaine condition, that had neither any place of ſtrength, nor money to pay the Army, as he had promiſed: ſelling part and pawning the reſt of his Houſehold-ſtuffe, and Ammunition (which was all he had now left) the Souldiers were by that meanes ſomewhat pacified, and he, with part of his Forces, having diſbanded the reſt, about the yeares end returned into *Germany*.

1568.

Some of them
diſpatch one
another.

Opinions touch-
ing the Enemy's
being ſuffered
to paſſe.

The Prince of
Oranges Army
growne greater,
and likewiſe
his Neceſſities,

Strange to ſee
how oft he
changed his
Quarters ſtri-
ving to take
ſome Towne
or to circum-
vent the
Duke,
But all in
vain.

He thinks of
going for
France,
Is kept out of
Liege,
Plunders the
Country
about it
And diſerſe
Villages in
Haynolt,
Does ſome
miſchiſe to
the D. of *Alva*.

Is prohibited to
enter *France*.

And his hopes
there failing
returnes into
Germany.

1568.

The Duke of
Alva having
rid himselfe of
the Prince of
Orange, sends
an Army into
France under
the command
of Ernest C.
Mansfeldt
To very good
purpose.
Ber. Mend.
lib. 4.

He enters
Bruxells tri-
umphantly.
The Pope sends
him a Helmet
and a sword.

Which he re-
ceived with
great state.
May 1.

And as great
Envy.

He erects his
owne Statue.
In Fashion.

Signification
in Apolog. An
1581.
Designer.

Inscription.

Workeman
James Jung-
eling.
This rendered
him extreme-
ly odious to the
Lowcountry-
men.
And to the
Spaniards
Ho Gabr. 1.8.
c. 12.

Germany, to waite a more auspicious time for renewing of the Warre.

But the Duke of *Alva*, now freed from the warre, sent into *France* to the Assistance of *Charles* the ninth against the *Hereticks*, 2000 Horse, and 3000 Foot under the Command of *Ernest Count Mansfeldt* to returne thanks to the King, for declaring himselfe against the prince of *Orange*. And Count *Mansfeldt's* Service did not a little contribute to the Victory at *Monconture*, where his valour was particularly inflamed with Emulation of *Lewis* of *Nassau*; who that day leading the maine battaile of the *Hugonots*, Count *Mansfeldt* that had the opposite Command, though his Right Arme was shot, first forced *Nassau's* Horse to make a stand, and then routed them. But the Duke of *Alva* having as he designed it, beate the Prince of *Orange* out of the *Lowcountreys*, without a generall day of battaile, and with little Losse to himselfe: in the beginning of January made his triumphant entrance into *Bruxells* appointing a publique Thankes-giving-day for his fortunate Successe. His Glory was increased by the Honour of an Embassadour from *Rome*, who presented him from *Pius* the fifth a *Helmet* and *Sword* richly sett and in chased with Gold and precious Stones, solemnely consecrated by his Holinesse, and sent to the Duke of *Alva*, as to the Champion of the Catholique Religion. This extraordinary Present he received with great devotion in the Church, at the hands of the Bishop of *Machlin*, whilst he was celebrating divine Service. The rest of the day was spent in tilting and such warlike Sports. But all the Beholders were not joyfull at heart, many being touched either with Griefe or envy, and some that wished the Prince of *Orange* should have lost the Victory, would not have had it won by the Duke of *Alva*. It added to their indignation, that a Tilt-yard was made of that very place, where a few Months before the *Low-countrey* Lords were beheaded. They stomackt him yet more, because, being more ambitious of Honour with Posterity, then fearfull of Hatred from the present times, he commanded the Cannon taken from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, in the battaile of *Gem-ing* to be melted: and made himselfe a Trophie of the brasse, to be set up in the Fort at *Antwerp*. It was his Effigies in compleat Armour, bare-headed, his Right Arme naked, and his eye upon the Towne, treading upon two brasse-Statues, signifying two of the three Estates of the *Low-countreys*, the Lords, and Commons; as the Author of the *Designe*, *Arias Montanus* affirmed, and the Prince of *Orange* interpreted, laughing at the Pride of *Alva*, that erected himselfe a statue trampling upon the Nobility and People of the *Low-countreys*. These two prostrated Figures, had many Hands, and were armed with Petitions, Purles, Axes, and Torches: their faces Vizarded; their Eares and Necks hung with little dishes and Wallets, the Accoutrements of the *Gheuses*. Vpon the Marble pedestal all was this Inscription. "To the most faithfull Minister of the best of Kings, *Ferdinando Alvarez*, Duke of *Alva*, Governour of the *Lowcountreys* for *Philip the second King* of *Spaine*, because extinguishing Combustions, beating away the Rebels, restoring Religion, executing Justice, he settled Peace in the provinces, this Statue was erected. The sides of the Basis were cut into diverse Emblems, below was written, "Jungeling his Workmanship out of brasse taken in the Field. It was wonderfull to see with how generall Hatred and Envy this Statue was looked upon. The *Low-countreymen* inwardly fretting, as if they were daily conquered in that Monument, and their Nation daily triumpht over. The very *Spaniards* themselves were angry at the Duke, that chose rather to sing his owne Praises,



Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt
Governour of Luxemburg
Campe-master at y^e Battaille of Gemblac
Generall of the French Expedition.

Praises, then to heare them spoken by others. Nor was there any subject of discourse more frequent in the Court of *Spaine*. The Prince of *Ebolo* deriding his old Competitour, for calling himselfe *most faithfull Minister*, because he inverted the Honour due to his Prince, and transfer'd it to himselfe. This made some cry up the modesty of the King, who a few months before, when a rare *Italian* Statuary offered that, without expence to the King, he would set up his Majesty's Armes, and Portraiture over the gates of every City in *Lumbardy*; the King, commending the man's good will, answered, "he had rather have a *Worke-man* that, with any expence whatsoever, could set up his Image in Heaven. Which words of the Prince were infinitely extolled by the Court policy, that *Alva* for setting forth himselfe so vaine gloriously, might be the more eminently scorned. Nay the structure was not very pleasing (as it is said) to King *Philip*, by whose command, foure yeares after, it was removed. Perhaps the King did it, to take away the *Low-countrey-mens* Distast; or rather his owne, offended that another should have a Monument raised out of a Victory won by his Majesty's Army, and which his owne purse paid for. And it was conjectured, *Alva* had knowledge of the King's displeasure, because the other Statue (for he had two of the same model, cast by the same *Worke-man*) was not sent into *Spaine*, as he once resolved.

But nothing so much incensed the Provinces against the Duke of *Alva*, and the *Spaniards*, as the new Taxes, being the tenths of all commodities to be sold, and the twentieth part of goods immoveable; but the hundredth part of all, the *Low-countrey-men* were to pay at once. For thus they said the Exchequer might be replenished, which the Warre had emptied; and likewise the Provinces secured. Because *Spaine*, ingaged in a long Warre with the *Moors*, and now setting forth a chargeable Fleet against the common Enemy, could afford small supplies. Nor was it reason to expect any thing from King *Philip*, and unseasonable to divert him, wholly applying his Indeavours and Expences for the Defence of Christendome. But the Estates, that to settle these Taxes were summoned to *Bruxells*, would not yield to the Tenths, "because they should thereby lose their Traffique, the only Subsistence of the *Low-countreys*. Indeed how could the Merchants and Artificers brooke the payment of many tenth parts out of one Commodity? for before Cloth, or Hangings, and other Stuffs were woven and put off their hands, they must pay the Tenths of wooll, so for thread, then for weaving, and dying, and such like parts of manufacture, and thus the price of Commodities being enhanced, they should have no buyers: the *Worke-men* would go to other Nations, and the *Low-countreys* be reduced to extreame Poverty. The Duke of *Alva* might consider what advantage it had been to England, since the *Low-countrey-men*, above 200. yeares agoe, forced by an inundation of the Sea to leave their Countrey, had taught the English the art of Weaving, which before they understood not. Many other Manufactures were yet in the *Low-countreys*, not known to their Neighbours, whereby they would be greatly enriched if the *Worke-men* should go and live among them. All this prevailed not with the Duke in the midst of his command, victorious, and no enemy appearing; who therefore assured himselfe the *Low-countrey-men* would easily obey.

But the *Queene* of England in the interim somewhat startled him, and made *Alva* thinke of a new enemy. A *Biscaine* man of warre with foure Pinnaces sayling out of *Spaine*, and bound for the *Low-countreys*: con-

1568.

The Court of
Spaine scorne
him for it.
Rui Gomez.

The more, com-
paring his con-
fidence with
the King's
Modesty.
Ant. Herrera
l. 3. 2 part of
his History.

The King him-
selfe is dis-
pleased.

Which *Alva*
was not igno-
rant of,
Mich. van Il-
felf in his Hist.
and mer. l. 3. 6.
Belg.

Of the Taxes
he exalted,
The tenth,
The twentieth,
And 100. part
The cause of
these impossi-
ons.

The Estates de-
sire him to re-
mit the tenth
part.

But *Alva* is
not to be mo-
ved.

A contest be-
tween the D.
of *Alva* and
the *Queen* of
England. M.
Ilfelf's Hist and
Meyran. l. 3.
& Thuan. l. 44.
and Meurs. l. 5.
and B. Adrian.
l. 20. & Aloyf.
Cabrera. l. 8.
Hier. Coneft. l. 3

1568.

Occasioned by
her intercepti-
on of his
Moneys,

He seizes the
goods and ships
of the English
in the Low-
countreys,
So doth her
Majesty, the
Low-countrey-
men and Spa-
niards commo-
dities in Eng-
land,
The Queene
will not admit
of his Embas-
sador.

May 20. 24

The Portugall-
Fleete with
their Indian
Freight taken
by the English.

A new Embas-
sage from the
Duke.

The Queen's
Answer.

Barberino's
Relation.

The Originall
Strada saies
he hath by
him.

voying of money to pay the Duke of *Alva's* Army, a vast summe (200000. Ducats, as some Writers affirme, according to others 400000. nay there is one that saies 800000.) forced either by a tempest, or for feare of Pyrats, came into an *English* Harbour. The Queene resolving not to part with that Treasure, first commanded an account of it should be taken, then causing them to unlade; under pretence of the Kingdome's necessity, it was carried to the Exchequer: *Guerrao Despèò* the *Spanish* Embassadour, and his Majesties Admirall *Stephano Serra* protesting against it, to no purpose. The Duke of *Alva* bitterly resenting the Injury, made an Imbargo in the *Low-countreys*, arresting all the *English* Merchants Goods, and Shippes: the like was done in *Spaine*. On the other part, the Queene of *England* seized upon all the Commodities of the *Low-countrey-men*, and *Spaniards*; so as they were upon the very point of Proclaiming Warre on both sides. And *Christopher Assonvill* sent into *England* by the Duke to demand the money, and to compose the matter in controversie, found the Queene so offended and enraged, that he was commanded backe to the place from whence he came, the Queene refusing to treat upon conditions with *Alva*, or any man else, but the King himselfe. She was so peremptory (as I have read in *Assonvill's Letters*) because shew knew the *Moore*s intended to rebell in *Spaine*, and the *Germans* were againe preparing to invade the *Low-countreys*: she her selfe, in the meane while, being enriched with dayly Prizes taken from the *Low-countrey-men* and *Spaniards*. At the very same time 14. *Portugall-shippes*, laded with *Indian* Merchandise, Ignorant of the Quarrell between the Nations, thinking they might passe securely, were surprized by the *English*: and it is not to be imagined how much that Booty inflamed those *Islanders* with a desire to continue a difference so advantageous. Which made the *Spaniard* the more earnestly to labour the composing of it. And to this end *Thomas Raggeus* was sent into *England*, on whose prudence the Duke of *Alva* much relyed, who was afterwards, when the King knew him better, made his Treasurer. *Raggeus*, though he could not prevaile with the Queene, that was resolved to keep the money, yet so won upon her, as she was no longer deafe to an Agreement. Then the Duke sending over the *Marquesse Vitelli* with *Raphael Barberino*, and his Secretary *Turrius*, the Queene received them more gratusly, and publicly explained her selfe, that she understood the money appertained not to the King, (whom she never had any Intention to wrong in any kind) but to the *Genoa-Merchants*: that she had use for it at the present, and would hereafter returne it to the owners faithfully, and with interest. This Answer was reported to the Duke of *Alva*, from the *Spanish* Embassadour and *Vitelli*, by *Barberino*, who advised him (notwithstanding the Queene intended not Repayment, since no Merchant could demand the Money) to take into consideration whether the *Low-countrey-men* or the *English* would be more prejudiced by the Quarrell. And further told his Excellence, that he had taken notice of 80. *Low-countrey* and *Spanish* Ships under Arrest in the *English* Ports, their lading dayly decaying, and imbezelled. And therefore the Embassadour and *Vitelli* held it best, that matters should not be aggravated with new causes of offence, for they hoped that in a little time, the fury of both sides being allayed by mutuall Losses, at last with equall Dissimulation they would fall to their antient intercourse. For the Duke's better satisfaction therein, he delivered him a Breviate, wherein he had stated the controversie. All this was truth, as afterwards appeared when the

the contestation being ended, the losse of the *Low-countrey* and *Spanish* Merchants was found so farre to exceed the damage of the *English*, as these were forced to refund above 200000. Florens. Nevertheless *Alva* would not desist, either from revenging the Injury done by *England*, or from exacting the Tribute he had begun to demand of the *Low-countreys*. That, he thought, concerned the King in point of honour: and though he knew *this* for the present would hinder the Exchange and Traffick, yet he hoped those Losses would be soone repaired. Especially, since his mony was intercepted by the *English*, he held it just to aske Supplies from the *Low-countrey-men*, for whose benefit that money should have been employed. When the Duke therefore to his Requests and Admonitions added Threats, & the Estates pretended the People's wants; there was a note subscribed with an unknowne name scattered in the Presence, directed to the Duke of *Alva*, in these words; that "if he acted *Themistocles*, & to raise money brought two Goddesses, *Perfwasion* and *Violence*; they would play the "Andrians, & to prevent Payment, interpose as many, & as great Goddesses, "Poverty & Impossibility. Thus while the Contest was kept a foot, on the one part with Petitions and Complaints; on the other, with often varied Edicts, & Commands; & yet, the yeare ended without any thing concluded; at last, the Duke of *Alva* in a Rage advertised the Provinces, That "the State was committed to him alone, and he only would be carefull of it. In "the meane time they ought to obey his just Commands; and call to mind, "that diverse Cities engaged in the *Rebell's* cause might be fined, if he so pleased, in farre greater Summes then he demanded. Now therefore with "cheerefull obedience they should redeeme their Delinquencies; the rather, "since he looked not after the money for his owne use, or to send it into "Spainne to the King, but only therewith to defend and secure the *Low-countreys* against the danger of the times. He likewise tooke away the priviledges of diverse malignant Cities, charged others with Garisons, and struck feare into them all. In so much as most of the Provinces consented to the 100. part; some commuted, and bought out that Tribute with ready money: But many taking time to deliberate, dispatched Agents into *Spainne*, petitioning to be eased of the tenth part: but the hundreth part (more they were not able) they offered to pay. Which Affront though *Alva* deeply stomackt; yet fearing the power which his Enemies at Court had with the King, he thought it best to dissemble his indignation. And to win the Peoples hearts, he resolved at that instant to publish, what he had long deferred, a General pardon for the late Tumults.

Three yeares before, *Margaret* of *Austria* had earnestly solicited the King to grant them This Pardon; because she saw, that every day many *Low-countreymen* in feare of punishment, either left the Provinces, or there conspired with some of their own Faction; as if with their Number their Safety would increase, because a Multitude is easiest pardoned, and where all offend, none suffers. But the King, not sending the Pardon under Seale, till two yeares after, to the Duke of *Alva*; and he delaying Publication till another yeare; both of them lessened the favour, by protraction. Howsoever *Alva* omitted nothing that might gloriously set off that benefit to the *Lowcountreymen*. For going to *Antwerp*, he commanded Supplications to be made in the great Church of our Lady, he himselfe in a rich habit (after Sermon, which was preached in *Low-Dutch* by the Bishop of that City) being present with all the Lords of the Councell, at the Archbishop of *Cambray's* Masse. Towards the end of the Sacrifice, the

1568.

Nothing is concluded.

The D. of Alva proceeds in exacting Tribute from the Low-countrey men.

Who refuse to pay Taxes.

Plutarch, in Themistocles.

Feb. 1570.

Whereat he is enraged writes threateningly to the Provinces.

And proves as good as his word. They yield to the Duke in some shins, for the rest they petition the King.

July 16. Sent to him March 25.

A generall Pardon long since desired by Margaret of Parma.

Sent too late by the King to Alva.

And yet the Promulgation by him deferred. The Fore none Ceremonies at the Promulgation. Prayers. Sermon in Low Dutch. Ma^ce.

1568.
The Popes
Letter read.
An Oration in
French.

Interrupted.

The afternoon
Pompe.

Out of Count
Mansfeldts
Letters to Marg
of Parma 9.
of August.

A Stage in the
Market place.
The Duke upon
a Throne.

The Cryer
reads the K.
Letters in
Low-Dutch
and French,
But so low that
few heare him.
Out of the
Letters of
Christ. Affonv.
to Marg of
Parma.

July 17.
And fewer like
of what they
heare.

Princesse Ann
Espoused to K.
Philip.

August. 11.
Anne Daughter
to the Empe
rour Maximilian and Isabella Daughter
to King Henry.

The Duke of
Alva desirous
to attend her
Highnesse into
Spaine. and to
leave his Go-
vernment of
the Low-
countrys.

51 Septem.
The King as-
sents.

And nominates
his successeur
Who was long
a coming.

Archbishop read *Pius* the fifth his Letters, wherein he absolved all those that had complied with the Hereticks. Vpon which subiect-matter the Bishop of *Arras* made a Speech in *French*, exhorting the people to give thanks to God for that mercy of the *Pope* and *King*, and for the indeavours therein used by the *Duke of Alva*, their Governour. Whilst he amplified this point, he was taken with a suddaine qualme, and carried out of the Pulpit, diverse persons making a superstitious Construction of the Accident, as if he had undertaken a cause that Fortune favoured not. In the Evening the *Duke*, attended with a great Train of Lords and Gentlemen, came into the great Market-place, filled with an infinite Crowde (his Souldiers guarding the Streets, and standing mixt among the Townsmen.) Then his excellence ascending a Theater fate downe in a golden Throne, (having on, his hallowed Sword and hat, which I told you were sent him by the *Pope*, pretious both for their Consecration, and their jewelles,) and commanded the Cryer, that stood by him, to read the King's Decree; wherein his Majesty granted the *Low-countraymen* an Act of Oblivion, and Indemnity, The man read it in *French*, and *Low-Dutch*, but with such a hoarse vnaudible Voyce, that very few understood him. Which was perhaps an Accident; perhaps, so ordered by the *Duke*, who had rather the *Low-countraymen* should measure the benefit by the greatnesse of *Pompe*, and the glorious Newes of a Generall pardon, then by the Decree it selfe, containing so many Exceptions. But the just contrary hapned. For the people upon sight of so magnificent a preparation, promising themselves all they could desire: whatsoever fell short of their Expectation, they accounted as taken from them. Besides, the Multitude that looked on, and could not get neare the theater, not knowing how farre the Pardon extended to particulars, were easily deceived by such as watcht there, on purpose to extenuate the Kings Favour. And many of those that stood neereft, by reason of Clauses of Exception, not yet thinking themselves sufficiently secured, were observed to depart very melancholique and doubtfull: and contrary to the *Duke of Alva's* Expectation, no bonefires were made that night, to signifie their Joy and thanks. In the mean time *Princesse Anne*, daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, came into the *Low-countrys*, she having beene after the death of *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, to whom she was promised, espoused to his Father *Philip*; it being fatall to that Prince to have his designed Wives, either taken from him in his life time, or after his death enjoyed, by his owne Father. The *Duke of Alva* was an earnest Suiter to the *King*, for leave to waite upon the *Princesse* into *Spaine*, thinking it would be an honour on so good an occasion to quit the *Low-countrys*, which, by beating the Enemy, he had sufficiently preserved for the present: and secured, as he thought, for the future, by the Forts which he had built. And though at first the king consented not, yet in the end, displeased at some thing done by *Alva* in his Govetnment, and that he had not, as he was commanded, published his Royall Pardon for those Tumults (if Count *Mansfeldt*, long since alienated from *Alva*, wrote truth to the Dutchesse of *Parma*) his Majesty resolved to call him away from the *Low-countrys*, and named his successeur, of the Bloud Royall, *Iuan de la Cerda* Duke of *Medina Celi*, Viceroy of *Navar*, who notwithstanding, came not till two yeares after, and then presently resigning the burthen of the *Low-countray* Warre to another, he himselfe returned into *Spaine*. At which time it was the common newes, that *Cardinall Granvell*, ioyned in commission with *Mary*

Princesse

Princess of Portugall, Wife to Alexander Farnese, should succeed in the Governement of the Low-countreys: though all their Wilhes were fixed upon her mother in Law, Margaret of Austria Dutchesse of Parma. But the Duke of Alva (before the designation of his Successour) leaving the businesse of conducting the Queene into Spaine to Maximilian Count of Bolduc, Admirall of the Belgick Seas; and sending in his owne Place, his Sonne Ferdinando de Toledo, Caesar Davalo and Mondragonio with his Regiment, (all of them a while after returning into the Low-countreys, but only Caesar Davalo, who served Don Iohn of Austria in the battaile of Lepanto and the Warre of Tunis) In the meane time the Duke himselfe fell againe upon his demands of the tenth, and twentieth part; on conditions, which he had often altered, and the people as often refused, with like willfullnesse of both sides. The Low-countreymens obstinacy was increased by their intelligence, that Alva had but a little time to stay among them, which the People wished, and therefore easily believed: so as their feare of a falling man was lesse; and his indignation greater, in regard he thought they insulted over his departure.

Another cause of their dissent, was the new and suddaine Calamity of the provinces. For upon All-Saints Eue, the Sea excessively swelling, and in some places overflowing, in others bearing downe the banks; such a prodigious and unheard-of Deluge covered certaine Islands of Zelandt, a great part of the Sea-coast of Holland, and almost all Friezland: as that Inundation which forty yeares before is said to have swallowed up threescore and twelve Villages, was not so high as this by a foote. There was not only an incomparable losse of Fortunes, but of men. In the very compasse of Friezland twenty thousand persons were drown'd, sunke and swept away, at the rising and falling of the water, (which at both times was alike merciesse) whose bodies with the Carcasses of Cattell, House-hold-goods, and broken ribbs of Ships, floated over the Fields, the Land now being indistinguishable from the Sea, and, as they affirme, presenting to the eye a modell of Noah's Flood. I find in the History of Friezland that many men, who had climed to the tops of Hilles and Trees, ready to give up the Ghost, were timously saved by boates, which the Magistrate sent out to gather up the remainder of the Shipwrack. Among the rest, upon a hill by Sneace they found an Infant, carried thither in the Cradle, lying besides a Cat, and soundly sleeping, neither in feare of Shipwrack, nor the Flood. The Duke of Alva moved with this losse of the maritime parts of the Low-countreys, for some months forbore to presse the point in Controversy, nor resolving absolutely what generall future Course to hold. For his Court was divided in opinions, Arguments were held on both sides, the wiser sort disputing, "That his reason deceived the Duke, who perswaded himselfe, the Treasury could be supplied by the Excise, which would impoverish the Provinces, therefore was not likely to continue long. That the Duke had done ill, to boast in his Letters to the King, how he by a compendious way, by Excise had found out the Golden Mines of Peru: for, he would have noe better fortune then King Antigonus his Treasurer, who upon the discovery of a Kind of Spaw at Edepsas, which cured such as dranke the water, when he imposed a Tribute upon all that used it, his Coveteousnesse was immediatly deluded; the Well and impost drying up together. And the like Tribute, being set upon Merchandise in the Lowcountreys, would in like manner lose them all the benefit of Trading. How much more considerate was Charles Duke

1568.

In the interim Alva returns to his demands of the 10 and 20 parts.

An Inundation in the Low-Countries. November. 1

Greater then any in mans memory.

What a destruction is made. See Pier. Winsem. l. 2. Hist.

A rare Accident. This calamity draws off the Duke from insisting upon the Taxes. Some perswade him to desist altogether.

Athen. l. 3. c. 1. Dignol.

1568.

Others argue,
that it was just
and Necessary,

And diverse
meere put a
strick upon the
Duke of Alva,

At length He
qualifies the
Edict and pro-
poseth is the
third time.

April.

The City of
Bruxells re-
fuses it with
notorious con-
tumacy.

Alva provides
against them
Forces and
Halters.

See further in
the Prince of
Orange's Apo-
logy. 1581.

But suddaine
Newes diverts
him,

So that he is
forced to leave
the designe of
Taxes,

Which had in-
faithly prej-
udiced the Duke,
and occasioned
the Revolt of
the Low-coun-
treys farre
more then all
his cruelty,

The Hollan-
ders anciently
free from Tri-
bute,

Tacitus de
Moribus Ger-
manorum Idem
l. 4. Annal.

The exaction
whereof caused
their Rebellion
against the
Romans.

of Burgundy, that when he thought to impose the hundred part upon all vendible Commodities; being told what prejudice would follow by the departure of the Merchants transferring the Mart into some other Countrey, abrogated the Innovation. And when Commerce was gone, what could remaine to the Netherlands, but solitude from their owne poverty, and slavery from their enriched Neighbours. On the contrary some argued, that the Treasury being exhausted by a Warre maintained by the Spaniards not willingly but upon compulsion, necessitated by the Tumults raised within the Provinces, it was therefore requisite the Provinces should defray the Expence, especially at this time, when the English threatened them with hostility. Others, as they had put the Duke upon the Project of the tenth part, so they affirmed, that it concerned him to be constant to his resolution: pretending it was for his honour, but indeed aiming to bring upon him the Envy and hatred of the Low-countreys, in order to his Ruine. Whose Counsell, as futable to his rigid nature, he obstinately followed. Wherefore threatningly complaining, that the Low-countrey-men were so stubborne meere in contempt of the King's Majesty; without further delay, he commanded the Edict tempered and qualified with new moderation, (but now immutable) to be published at Bruxells, where by reason of his presence he expected their readiest obedience. But they unanimously resisted. In so much as they shut up their Shops, and all that day the Bakers, Butchers, and In-keepers would sell nothing. The Duke passionately enraged to see before his eyes, in the principall city and place of terror, such confidence in the people; that very night, commanded some of them to be hanged, upon their Signe-Posts. And now the Souldiers were in Armies, and the Hang-man ready with a Rope, when the Messenger that brought newes of the taking of Brill by the Ghesers, like a god coming downe upon the Stage, untied the knot of that intricate and dismall Tragedy. For Alva struck with that unexpected losse, at last gave over the odious dispute; for two yeares together continued with no other fruite, but that, aggravating their hatred to the Spaniard, it ripened the Plot of their Revolt. Indeed it plainly appeared, how great a provocation to Rebellion Taxes are, when people having other grievances, have that burthen added. For the Low-countrey-mens complaints of Alva's Pride and Cruelty went no further then hate and execration; so that lately when the Prince of Orange came with an Army, the Cities, though offended with the Duke of Alva, sent no Assistance to the Prince. For punishment falls but upon a few; and by how much it spurrs on the multitude with hatred, by so much it curbes them with feare. But Taxes are accompted every man's particular Losse, and they that be therewith grievously oppressed, lose their feare together with their fortunes; and not regarding future prejudice, seeke a Generall, meere to defend themselves from present injury and dammage. This hath beene the familiar practice of other Nations, but particularly of the Low-countrey-men, whereof the major part, especially the Hollanders, were antiently exempt from all Taxes and Contribution; being reserved by the Romanes, like their armes, only for the warres, as we read in their History. Nor of old was there any other cause of their Rebellion under Tiberius Caesar, but that O-lennius their Governour inhaunted the small Tribute which they formerly paid, and when it was inhaunted did severely exact it. With whom their prayers and petitions not prevailing, their refuge was a Warre, which for many ages they obstinately maintained against the Roman Generalls.

And

And truly when I looke upon the Counsell of the Prince of *Orange*, that so often cast the Dice in hope to win the Government, it seemes his Fortune never smiled, till the occasion of this Tribute was presented. For he stirred a little in the time of *Margaret Dutchesse of Parma*, raising those Insurrections about the Bishops, the Inquisitours, and the Councell of *Trent*. Yet these being composed by the King's grace and goodnesse, and the greater part of the Lords adhering to the Governesse, fearing Count *Egmont* especially would not suffer him of his Friend to become his Prince, he durst proceed no further at that time. But when the Duke of *Alva* by his Severity lost the hearts of the Lords, and among the rest had impeached and condemned the Prince of *Orange*, then he joyned the common cause, as he strove to make it, with his owne: and openly tooke up Armes, safe in point of reputation, because there was one to whose execrated name the Warre would be imputed. But the Cities being terrified with the suddaine punishment inflicted by the Duke, the Prince of *Orange* found by experience, that in the new Impression of a feare (whose first Fit is the strongest, and by continuance lessens, till it be shooke off) it is to no purpose, so long as the humour that hath weakened the people, is undigested, to sollicite them to rebell. But when the Cities, as well those that continued faithfull to the *Spaniard*, as those that stood suspected, were pressed to pay Taxes, the hatred of the Generality increasing, overcame their Feare; the people growing more confident when they heard that the Duke of *Alva* must be gone. Then the Prince of *Orange* knew his time was come for maturing a Rebellion; and founding of that Government which he had long designed. Therefore whilst *Alva* fixt all his Care upon raising the Taxes, the Prince of *Orange* laid hold of the opportunity to draw the people from their obedience to the King: and encouraged by the secret Intelligence which he had with many Townes, ready to revolt, levied Souldiers at his leisure; and kindled such a fire of Warre in the Low-countries, as for so many yeares space could never be put out with the ruines of battered Cities, nor extinguished with a torrent of blood.

The Warre was begun upon the Sea of *Holland*, as if they had now already found their strength, and were sensible from the very first in what part they should establish their Dominion. And notwithstanding this Rebellion was often intended and attempted by the *Gheuses*, as well those of Corporations called the City-*Gheuses*, as the High-way-men called the Wood-*Gheuses*, yet the Water-*Gheuses* (for so they were commonly called) were they whose fortunate Audacity carried it. The Commander in chiefe of these Water-*Gheuses* was Count *William a Marcha*, Baron of *Lumè*, professing his enmity to the Duke of *Alva*, in his Colours; wherein was painted ten pieces of money, to inflame the fury of his men by putting them in mind of the tenth part. The first that tooke Commissions with him were, *William Blossus Tresslong*, *Lancelot* bastard Son to *Brederod*, *Bartholomew Entese*, *Sonoi*, and diverse others. These had Letters of Mart from the Prince of *Orange*, and orders to scoure and rob the Sea-Coast of *Holland*, and *Friezland*. And out of hatred to the *Spaniard*, and desire of Free-boote, whereof the Prince of *Orange* was to have a fifth part, they executed their Orders, and robbed from the mouth of the *Ems* to the *English* narrow Seas: where if at any time they met with Ships too strong for them, or fled before a Tempest, they commonly secured themselves in some *English* Harbour. But the *Queene* her selfe refusing to protect them, as common Enemies, upon request made to her by the Duke

1570.

And now for the same reasons the P. of *Orange* solicits their Defection, Having often tryed other waies to bring them to it.

At last he compasses his desire

The People being imboldned upon the newes of the Duke's present departure.

The Duke of *Alva's* Losse at Sea.

The Water-Gheuses, Their Generall,

His Principall Officers,

They turne Pirates,

Are prohibited the Ports of England.

of

1570.
Vorna.
They take the
Towne of Brill.

April 1.
Destroy all
things Sacred.
Beate the Spa-
nish forces.
Gulielmus
Blofius Tres-
long.
A wonderfull
change fol-
lowes.

Dordrecht or
Dort revolts
from the Spa-
niard.

And Vlushing.

John Treslong.

And Enchuy-
sen.
And almost all
Holland.
And a great
part Zeland
being now out
of feare of the
Duke of Alva,
and jeering him
for the losse of
Brill.

The revolted
Townes put
themselves into
the Prince of
Orange's
power.

of Alva they, having boarded and taken a *Biscaner*, were by tempest driven into *Vorna* an Isle of *Holland*, the People supposing them to be Merchants cast upon that Coast by the Storme. Where, imboldened by their late perills they fell upon the *Brill*, a Port-towne of *Zeland*, and before the Townsmen were aware that they brought Warre, not Merchandise, with unimaginable successe, no man resisting, they tooke the Place, upon *Palme-Sunday*: and *Lumè* leading them on, broke the *Saintes Images*, in pieces; and omitting no kind of Irreverence to holy things or Orders, so fortified the Ports, that when Count *Bolduc* Governour of *Holland* by *Alvas* Command came against them, they not only gave him a strong Repulse, but likewise *William Treslong* with incredible Confidence fired some of his Ships accidentally severed from the Fleete. Vpon report of the taking of this Isle, as if the *Scarlet Colours* had beene hung out for Signall of battaile to the Provinces, tis not to be told what wonderfull changes through all the *Low-countreys* immediately insued. For many Cities favoured the Covenanters, some invited them, others stood neutrall, and would neither admit of *Alva*, nor revolt from the King. A few were sensible of their Allegiance, and tooke armes for the *Spaniard*. *Dort*, the Chiefe City of *Holland*, when Count *Bolduc* fled thither, and demanded entrance for his men; it being cunningly given out, that the *Spaniards* were upon their March to distraine for the tenth part; would not let him in, but shut their Gates against him as an enemy. *Vlushing* a port Towne of *Zeland*, and the bulwarke of the Ocean, upon an Exhortation at *Masse* made to them on Easter day in the morning by the Parish Priest, who hated the *Spaniard*, & perswaded them to maintaine their Liberty, turned out the *Spanish* Garrison, with such a popular fury, as they hanged Colonell *Alvarez Pancecho*, Kinsman to the Duke of *Alva* at *Treslong's* request, in revenge, as hee said of his Brothers death, foure yeares before, beheaded by *Alva's* Order: and the Hereticks themselves were earnest to have him put to death, that *Vlushing* might not hope for pardon, from the Governour's just Anger. A while after *Enchusen* lying over against *Friesland*, which among the chiefe Ports of *Holland* had till then continued loyall, revolted from the Duke. *Enchusens* example was followed by *Horne*, *Alcmar*, *Edam* and other Townes of *North-Hollandt*. And in *South-Hollandt*, *Goude*, *Oudewater*, *Leyden*, *Gorcom*. So that besides *Amsterdam* and *Schoonhoven*, that were still faithfull to the *Spaniard*, the Duke of *Alva* lost almost all *Holland*, and a great part of *Zeland*, which had so shaken off the terroure of his name, that they wrote publique Libells against him; and as soone as *Brill* was taken, pictured him with a paire of Spectacles put upon his Nose, by *Lumè* standing behind his back: for the *Low-Duch* call Spectacles *Brills*, and they have a jeering Proverb when they hamper a man, that they put Spectacles on his nose, and a Snaffle in his mouth. These Figures therefore signified, that *Alvas* Severity was now bridled. But they that made them little dreamed, what a world of Mischiefe hung over their heads, in the hand of this great Generall, one that despised such ridiculous toyes. And though some of the Cities I have named, wavered at the very first, resolved to rebell, not resolved to whom they should submit: yet partly despairing, out of the greatnesse of their crimes committed against the Church and Churchmen; partly out of an obstinate determination never to indure the new Taxes, they finally came in, to the prince of *Orange*; and as if he had beene their King, *Lumè* moving it, tooke an oath of Fidelity to him. From him they received

received their Garisons, Shipping, and Armes: he disposed of all places of Governement, made Lawes, bestowed and ordered the Revenuestaken from the Clergy; such Multitudes out of *France* and *Great Britaine* flocking thither in hope of plunder, that within lesse then 4. Months, in the Port of *Ulusling* lay a Fleete ready rigged, and manned of a 100. & 50. sayle, which made diverse bold Attempts upon Townes and Shippes of the *Spanisb* party; wherewith in ten yeares space, during which time they had many Sea-fights, the *Hollanders* were but once overcome, to be for ever after Conquerours, as the *Spanisb Historians* themselves affirme. So that it seemes these were but prelufory Victoryes, by which at this time the *Hollanders* Strength by Sea exceedingly increased. Thus at last the water brought forth this new Common-wealth; Ambition being the Mother, Herefy the Midwife: and Terroure like Thunder, making her fall in Labour before her time. Truly when this last Occasion of Rebellion was controverted, the Bishop of *Namure*, writing to *Margaret Dutcheffe* of *Parma*, concludes, that the tenth and twentieth part was the price wherewith the Prince of *Orange* purchased the Maritime Provinces, and his new Principality. But in this so thick and suddaine a Defection of Cities, though the newes of losse upon losse extreamely vext the Duke of *Alva*, for in *Zutphen*, *Overyssell*, *Gelderland*, and *Friezland*, the Successe of the Prince of *Oranges* Kinsman *William Count Bergen* was no lesse fortunate; the Cities and Townes there being partly taken by storme, partly submitting out of Affection, or Feare. Yet whilst the Duke of *Alva* only thought of keeping out the *French* and prepared against a Land-Winde, not against a storm from Sea; nothing more amazed him, then to heare that *Lewis* of *Nassau* had taken *Mons* the chiefe City of *Haynolt*, by the assistance of the *French*: because he doubted this was the beginning of a war which (it was comonly reported) *Charles K. of France*, perswaded by *Lewis* of *Nassau* and *Gaspar Colligny*, had designed against the *Low-countreys*. For King *Charles* having concluded a Peace with the *Hugonots*, and received the greatest of their Faction into his Favour and Grace at Court, suffered himselfe, as it was said to be overruled by the Admirall *Gaspar Coligny*, so farr, as to send forces into the *Low-countreys* to assist the *Nassaus*. And now the Drum was beat for them in *France*, and because *Colligny* was to be Generall by the Kings appointment, he invited to *Paris* the Flower of the Hereticall Nobility, under pretence of doing honour to the King of *Navarre* at his marriage with the King of *France* his Sister, but indeed hoping to strengthen himselfe by the accessse of those Lords; diverse of which, and those the subtillest of the Faction, were loth to trust themselves in the Kings power, and wondered that *Colligny* who a few yeares before, when the King sent for him to Court, returned answer, that "*in France there was no Count Egmonts*", should now with so much confidence come in person, and be the Decoy to bring his fellowes to the Royall City, and into the King's hands. Notwithstanding the Admirall, because he saw *Mons* taken by the *French*, the Peace with *Spaine* broken, and a Peace for that end concluded with the *Queene of England*: not doubting but the designed warre would follow, raised as many forces as he could possibly get among the German P. laboured to underminethe faith of the *Low-countrey* L. & by a certaine Instrument of his tryed to corrupt *Alva's* Campe-Master *Vitelli*, promising him the place of greatest honour and benefit in the *French* Army, if he would in time come over, and serve the King of *France*, ready now to possesse himselfe of the *Lowcountreys*. And

K k

after

1570

*Their new
Commonwealth**The predatory
Fleets very
much in-creased and
constantly victorious.*
Bernard Mend.
l. 16.*Making the
Taxes their
Pretence.*

July 24.

Anno 74.

*Many other
Townes revolt.
Doesburg
Zutphan, Har-
derwick, Old-
den sal, &c.
Lewis of Nassau
takes the
City of Mons,
assisted by the
French.*

May 25.

*With their
Kings leave
procured by
Gaspar Coligny.**Who with too
much confidence
trusts
himselfe to the
King.**Endeavours to
win the Low-
Country Lords.
And makes
high offers to
Vitelli.*

1570.

The Marquesse
Vitelli's noble
carriage.

Of Mons reco-
vered by the
Duke of Alva.

J. B. Adrian.
l. 18. & Thuan.
l. 36.

Duke Federico
attaches the
Towne.
The French
bravery.

The Spaniards
pitch their
Tents.
Women-spies.

Punished.

Bern. Mend.
l. 6. 2 Reg. c. 10

The Abbey
D'espine taken
by the Besiegers

The Armyes
sent by Coligny
to relieve the
Towne.

Grues battaille
to Federico,

Is defeated.

Vitelli's bold
venture.

Thuan. l. 54.

John. Men. l. 7.
& Bern. Mend.
reckons but
twenty
Prisoners put
to death.

And after his first Repulse, when *Coligny* sent againe, and shewed him-
selfe as impudent a Buyer of anothers faith, as he was a Seller of his
owne: *Vitelli*, intraged at the receipt of more Letters, by the same Mes-
senger; in his presence, sealed as they were, threw them into the fire, and
bad him get out of his sight, and carry back that Action for an Answer to
the Admirall his Master.

The Duke of *Alva* informed by *Vitelli*, and advertised from the *Span-
ish* Embassadour in France, of the Designes and houely proceedings of
the Hereticks at *Paris*, though he could not at first believe the King of
France to be an enemy, being privy (as some write) to the King's Plot a-
gainst the Hereticks: yet hearing of the losse of *Mons*, he thought it best
to confide in the King no longer: therefore neglecting the Warre from
Sea, he sent his Son *Federico*, and *Chiapino Vitelli*, with part of his forces
before, to besiege *Mons*; he himselfe with the rest of his Army resolving
immediately to follow. When *Federico* came neare the Towne, some com-
manded French Horfe sallied out, lest the *Spaniard* should sit downe
without resistance. Indeed they conceived it a punctillo of honour to give
the Enemy proofe of their valour before they be coopt up within Walles &
works; Though in that skirmish *Vitelli* was shot in the left Thigh, which
was no little grief to the King's men: yet they lodged the Army in the place
he had appointed. The next day, after they had intrenched themselves,
they found in their quarters certaine Women of *Mons* that came, under
colour of selling herbes, to discover the strength and resolutions of the
Spaniards. All which, by *Federico's* Order had their petticoates cut off a-
bove the knee, a military punishment, wherewith the *Spanish* use to shame
that Sex: not unlike the old custome of the *Ammonites*; and being first
carried through the Campe, and laught at, they were with this Disgrace
sent back to *Mons*. A while after the *Monastery D'espine*, which was for-
tified by the Towne, in regard of the neare distance, was twice assaulted
by the *Spaniards*; who at last, after hot dispute, beate out the Garison,
and tooke it. The Admirall this while omitted no endeavours to relieve
the besieged, lifting Horfe and Foot upon the Borders, and appointing
for their Commander in chiefe (as he said by order from the King, *John
Hangeft* Lord of *Jenlis* (Brother to *Francis de Jenlis* lately slaine.) Who
though advised, by a letter sent post from *Lewis* of *Nassau*, not to fight
till the Prince of *Orange* was joyned with him: impatient of Delay, and
of a partner; that must share the honour of delivering the Besieged, and
being encouraged by the cheerefulnesse of his Army consisting of six or
seven thousand; at *St. Gissen*, not farre from the Towne besieged, with
more Valour then Discretion he gave Battaille to Duke *Federico*, who o-
mitting no duty of an Active Generall, defeated him with the losse of al-
most all his men. That day the boldnesse of *Vitelli* was admired, who
not being as yet cured of his wound, and neither able to go nor stand, ne-
vertheless could not be perswaded to keep his Tent, but made himselfe
be carried upon a hand-barrow which he saw by chance, and so sitting or-
dered the battaille with the Generall *Federico*, planted the Ambuscadoes,
and did all that belonged to the Campe-Master's place. Then appearing
in the head of the Army among the thickest of those that fought, his
voice, his hand, and even his presence was very much conducing to the
Victory: though his wound festring upon the cold he tooke, his recovery
was despaired of, and it had like to have cost his life. *Jenlis* they say, lost
twelve hundred men, the *Spaniards* no more but thirty. *Jenlis* himselfe
and

and six hundred of his Souldiers, whereof about six score were Gentlemen, coming into the *Spaniards* hands, part were imprisoned in the Forts next adjoyning, and the rest hanged up. Such as fled out of that unfortunate battaile, and hid themselves in the Woods, were by the *Country* people whom they had cruelly used awhile before, with like cruelty murdered. But *Federico*, whose name grew glorious from that Field, returned with his Victorious Army to the next Village, to give publique thanks to *Saint Leocadia* Patronesse of *Toledo* (whose body at that time was there preserved) spending the day in warlike pompe. And to fill *Spaine* with the newes, the Duke as haughty in Ostentation, as in Action, sent Captaine *Bobadilla* to the King to gratulate his Majesty for the victory won by his Majesties Armes and Influence.

In the meane time, the Prince of *Orange*, animated with fame and hope of the rebellious Provinces, was the more confident to march the second time against the Duke of *Alva*: and bringing into the Field 6000 Horse, and 11000 Foote, in the beginning of July passed the *Rhine*, and the *Mose*, & storming *Ruremond* in a cruell manner, entred *Brabant*, forcing a passage into *Haynolt*, to relieve his Brother *Lewis*. In the way, he traversed his ground to *Lovaine*, a City faithfull to the King, but forbore to use violence against it, upon the Receipt of 16000. Crownes. *Mechlin* having a while before refused a *spanish* Garison, and therefore unable to make resistance, yielded. The same fate had *Nivel*, *Diest*, *Sichem*, *Thienen*, and other Townes, that either out of Feare or Love submitted to the Rebels. *Bruxells*, constant to their Loyalty, kept out the Prince of *Orange*. *Dendermond* and *Oudenaerd* were stormed and plundered; Many Villages, not strong enough to resist, redeemed themselves with money. And indeed the *Lowcountreys*, if ever, at this time were truly miserable, being invaded by forren Armyes, by Sea, and land. The Seacoast was spoiled and harressed by *Lumè*. The parts bordering upon *France* by *Lewis* of *Nassau*. Those confining upon *Germany* by Count *Bergen*, and the Inland-Country by the Prince of *Orange*. Nor did they only take Townes, kill such as made resistance, and rob houses, with the Licentiousness and Avarice of Souldiers, but with barbarous Inhumanity spared no age nor modesty: tyrannizing over the Rest and Monuments of the dead, which they spleened as much as the Living: especially holy things and Persons; no money could buy the Lives of Priests, but with exquisite and shamefull cruelty they were tortured to death. Some Writers expressly describe this Priest-Shambles, which the *Gheuses*, and and *Lumè* of all the *Gheuses* the bloudest Butcher, set up in many Cities, with as much glory to the Sufferers, as dishonour to the Iudges and Hangmen. And though in some places the King's Army (Sacrilege excepted) used their Victory afterwards with greate Cruelty. Yet because the *Gheuses* began to them at *Brill*, and likewise, contrary to their faith obliged by oath, had plundered *Amorsfort*, the severity of the *Spaniard* seemes to be somewhat more pardonable, as done by Example. I am sure, for this very reason, the Hereticks in their owne Annalls doe confesse, the Prince of *Orange*'s men were infamous in the *Low-countreys*: and he himselfe that was thought at first to have taken armes for Protection of the *Netherlands*, against the Tyranny of *Alva*, now by making no distinction between Friend and Enemy, grew to be generally hated; the people complaining that they were fallen among a multitude of Tyrants. But the Prince of *Orange*, slighting the distaste of the Cities, came into *Haynolt*, within

1570.

Those that escaped the fight
knockt in the head by the Boores.

The victorious Army full of jollity.

The second expedition of the Prince of Orange from Germany into the Low-countreys to relieve his brother Lewis. He takes Ruremond by storme, Passeth by Lovaine for a summe of money, Mechlin yields. He takes other Townes in his March, Bruxells holds out, Guelm a Mar. Lud. Guelm. Four Armies of the Enemy at one time harressing the Low countreys Pouring their fury upon things sacred and the Priests

Gulielm. Episc. de cruceitate. In 21. Mart. Gorcom. Sur. in com. Arnold. Havr. l. 15. de erect. Episc. Johann Meurl. in Orang. l. 7. and others. This makes the Prince of Orange's Army illspoken of. He hastens to Mons;

1579

Admiral at
Alva's Tren-
ches.

Tryes to breake
through in
vaine.

The Joy in the
Duke's Campe.

For the Massacre
at Paris.

Henry. IV.

Gregory XIII.
A Thankgi-
ving day, upon
the same occasi-
on, at Rome.

Which causeth
the Prince of
Orange his
Despaire.

And retreats
from Mons.

His Campe
assaulted in
the night by
Spaniards in
their Tents.

Their consti-
dence,
The Prince of
Orange's
danger.

fight of the besieged, in the month of *August*; where he found the Towne straitned, and as it was commonly thought, not able to hold out long against the *Spaniards*. He wondred much to see the fortification of the *Leaguer*, no lesse strong for mastering and keeping in the Garison, then inaccessible to the assaults of any that should come to their Reliefe. Diverse pieces of Cannon played upon *Bartimont-Port*, from a hill which with a worke running on the left hand, and a line from thence, almost inclosed the Towne; many little Redoubts at convenient distance standing on the Bulwarks, which flanked one another, and secured the whole. These Intrenchments whilst the Prince of *Orange* vainely endeavoured to passe, being entertained with some pickeering (for *Alva* was resolved not to venture a battaile) he heard about evening in the *Spanish* Campe a great joy expressed by three Volleys of Shot, and the cheerfull sound of Drums, and Trumpets, the light of Bonfires shining through the Army: whereat being very much troubled, his Spyes brought intelligence, that two dayes before, by King *Charles* his Command, the great Massacre of the *Hugonots* was executed at *Paris*: which because it hapned at the Marriage of *Henry* King of *Navarre* (afterwards King of *France*) and *Margaret* Sister to King *Charles*, upon *Saint Bartholomew's Eve*, the Massacre it selfe was called *Bartholomew's Eve* or the *Parisian* wedding. A strange attempt it was indeed, but a just punishment of Traitors, conspiring against their King. The *Pope* when he had the newes sent him from the Cardinall of *Lorraine*, set apart a day of publique Thanksgiving to God the just Revenger, in the Church of *Saint Lewis*, and published a Bull of extraordinary Indulgences to such as should pray for the heavenly assistance to the King and Kingdome of *France*. The Prince of *Orange* amazed at the suddaine accident, and doubting the Event of the Warre; because the Admirall *Coligny* and the rest of the Hereticall Princes being murdered, no Aydes from the King of *France* could now be hoped for, by these of the adverse Faction; held it his best course to try the fortune of a battaile with the Duke of *Alva*, before the newes of the Massacre came to his Souldiers eares. But *Alva* still cautelous kept himselfe within his Trenches, and from thence safely battering the Towne; the Prince of *Orange*, when he saw he could neither make any impression into his Campe, nor draw him out, fearing lest the *French* Commanders the chiefe strength of his Army, upon notice of the Massacre at *Paris*, should change their mindes and leave him; wrote to his Brother *Lewis*, That hee should provide for himselfe, and give way to his fate; and so retired with his Army to *Mechlin*: not without some losse received as it commonly happens in a Retreat: For almost 200. commanded *Spanish* Foot, and about 800. Horse; all of them so habited, as they might bee distinguished by one another in the darke; broke into the enemies Campe in the night, and killing their first Centrees, fell into the Tents that were next at hand, with great Terroure and Slaughter; and before the Enemy could bring their men together, no lesse then foure hundred of them were slaine, or burnt (for they fired their hats that were tharched) and with this victory retired. Doubtlesse the Execution had been greater, but that the fire, which at first affrighted them, presently after discovered the Stratagem; whereupon many *Spaniards*, as they were easie to be known being all in white, were cut off; some of which, running before their Companions, got as farre as the Prince of *Orange's* Tent, who had a Dogge lying by him on the bed, that never left barking, and

and scratching him by the face, till he awaked and rose: in the meane time his men came in. The rest of the night was spent in feare and care, by breake of Day his Army moved, and he by long Marches passing the Rhine came to Delph in Holland. Not long after, Lewis of Nassau (who was the most astonished and stricken at the Admiralls Death, because he had perswaded him to trust himselfe to the King upon his Royall word) yielded up the Towne to Alva, upon no contemptible Conditions; and went to Dilemburg, the chiefe Seate of the Counts of Nassau. Alva having taken the Towne ere he had lyen three Months before it, though at the same time whilst he besieged it he himselfe was besieged by the Prince of Orange, it so much advanced his fame, by conquering Enemyes on both sides him, that he recovered all the Prince of Orange had gott in Flanders & Brabant, with more speed, then Clemency; fining some Townes, & sacking others. Particularly Mechlin a very faire and rich City awhile before yielded to the Prince of Orange, was exposed to the fury of the King's men, that pillaged it for three dayes together. But even that Calamity wanted no good Prefidents. The Souldiers carryed most of their Plunder to Antwerp, and sold it, according to their ordinary course, dogg-cheape. Whereupon a priest of the Society of Iesus, exceedingly beloved by the Townsmen of Antwerp, meeting some Factours, his Friends, told them of a greate bargaine to be had, and fit for Christian Merchants, if with their money they would redeeme the Plunder of Mechlin, which the Souldiers had sold for little or nothing, and returne it to the Owners at the Price they themselves paid for it: for so the men in misery would be lesse sensible of their losse, which, if it came into the Brokers hands, would cost dearer. And in the meane time the Merchants should be no loosers in their money, but great gainers in their fame even among men; but with God no doubt this kind of Traffick was most advantageous. These religious Merchants liked the Motion. The greater part of the plundered Goods were bought for a small summe; not standing them in above 20000 Florens, whereas they were prized at 100000. At the Rates, which the Merchants paid, the Owners had them againe; only some few Parcells, their Proprietaries not appearing, were distributed among the poore. Nay (as there is a certaine pleasure in relieving the necessitous) the same Merchants making a Purse, upon the same Priest's Exhortation, bought great store of Victuall, and therewith lading a Ship sent it to the Poore at Mechlin. In that Ship (which is more to be admired) I finde the Souldiers, perswaded by the same man, besides other household stufte, laid aboard above a hundred rich Vestments, which they freely presented to the religious men and Women. But notwithstanding the Duke of Alva escaped not the Peoples Curse's for that Plunder. Though by his Letters, soone after published, he laid the fault upon the perfidiousnesse of the Mechliners, who, to frame a pretence for yielding to the Prince of Orange, had a while before refused a Garison from the King. But in Gelderland Federick acted with no lesse Valour, then Dispatch, though with more Cruelty then his Father, His storming and plundering of Zutphen brought such a Terror upon the rest of those Provinces, that Count Bergen, before victorious, within a month after flying, (all the Rebels Garisons being mouldred away) left him the whole Countrey. This while in Zealand Colonell Mondragonio with 2000 commanded men, chosen out of the whole Army, passed his Foote over the Sea, that was about five Miles broad, and with admirable Courage raised the Siege before Tergoas

1579.

Septem. 19.
Mons yielded
to Alva.

His just com-
mendations for
that victory.

He recovers all
the Prince of
Orange had
taken.
The sack of
Mechlin.

Peter Trigose.

The charity of
the Antwerp
Merchants
towards the
Plundered.
John Botes in
vita Albani &
ex Hist.
Societ. Iesu
Ann. 1572.

The Souldiers
plory.

Alva strives
to cleare him-
selfe from the
Infamy of
Sacking
Mechlin.
The Victory
won by Duke
Federico.

And Mondra-
gonio.

at

1570.

Goes
Of Feb. 20.

Ann. 72.

The destruction
of Nardem,

Which make
the Spaniard
odious. Mich.
Ist. in
Hist. sui temp.
Fran. Har. in
Annal. Belg.
& affi fere
omnes.
Of the Siege
of Harlem.

Federico de-
spaires of
taking it,
His Father
chides him.

The Harlemer
provokes the
Spaniards with
new Scorne.

The Spaniards
jeere to the
Towne.

Their Answer.

Their mockery
of holy things.

at the Mouth of the *Schelt*; and partly killing, partly routing the Enemies Forces, tooke the whole Island of *Zuid-Beverland*. Which exploit is rendred much more gallant, because *Mondragonio* doubled it with another of the same nature, but of more danger, passing his men to *Schelt* an Isle of *Zeland*, the naming whereof shall serve instead of a furtlier Relation of this great Attempt. But the destruction of *Nardem* upon the Borders of *Holland* brought a farre contrary Successe to the victorious *Federico*. For howsoever that Towne by reason of their foule Rebellion, and siding with the Hereticks, deserved to be made a singular example: yet the Revenge exceeded their demerits: for being all put to the Sword, even the weake and innocent, their houses fired, and their Wallles levelled with the ground: it was not a Punishment, but a Crime. The newes of that Ruine augmented by the cunning of the *Gheuses*, was told with so much, not terrour, but hatred of all the *Hollanders*, never to be forgotten towards the *Spaniard*; as their mindes being hardned with despair, they were resolved to suffer any thing, rather then do what *Alva* would command them.

Particularly *Harlem*, a noble City of *Holland* (which *Federico* had attacked, invited by the convenience of the faithfull Towne of *Amsterdam*) not onely with scorne rejected the pardon he offered them, but receiving a new Garrison from the Enemy, to cut off all hope of Reconciliation, publicly renouncing the old Religion; breaking the holy Images, violating and robbing the Churches, they held out eight months Siege, with equall contempt both of the enemy and their Lives. In so much as *Federick* despairing of successe would have returned into *Brabant*, but that *Alva* grievously offended at his Son's Irresolution, wrote to him, that "if he thought of going, he himselfe, though he were carried in his bed, would come, or (in case his Sicknesse so increased that he were not able to remove) he would send for his Wife out of Spaine, and give Her a Commission to be Generall instead of her Son. But though the young Duke, out of countenance with this Reproofe, used all kindes of Stratagems to take the Towne; yet they, every day more bold and stubborne, omitted nothing defensive or offensive, dayly shewing their contempt by new reproachfull, and insolent expressions. Many times they hanged their spanish Prisoners over the Walls in sight of the besiegers. And when the Leaguer shot into the Towne a man's head, with this writ upon it, "the head of Philip Conin that came with 2000. men to relieve Harlem: and afterwards another, with this Inscription "the head of Anthony Painter, that betrayed the City of Mons to the French: those of Harlem, in requitall cutting off the heads of eleven Prisoners barrellled them up, and in the night rolled the vessell into the Spanish Campe, with this direction writ upon it "The Citizens of Harlem to the Duke of Alva, that he may have no farther pretence to make warre upon them for the tenth part, have payed ten heads; and for Interest, because they have been long in his debt, have sent him the eleventh. Moreover with impious Scorne they set up Altars on the Bulwarks, dressed them with Saints Pictures, and putting on Copes and Vestments, sung Hymnes before them, as if they were offering their devotions; and on the suddaine, their sport turning into fury, they tooke the Effigies of Priests and Religious men made of straw, and first whipping, then stabbing them, cut of their heads, and threw them into the Leaguer. There were some that set up Saints Images, and Christ's the Prince of Saints, for markes to the Spaniards, when they were ready to give

give

give fire : and by such mockery frighted the pious Souldiers from shooting. But their sacrilegious Pageantry escaped not unpunished. For it was observed, from that very time *Harlem* fell into a miserable condition: which grew worse & worse, till in a most wretched manner, consumed with famine, they were by God's just judgment, forced to yield to mercy. For 'tis evident, that of 1600. Garrison-Souldiers (to which number they were reduced when the City was rendred, whereas at the begining of the Siege they were 4000.) scarce 700. escaped with life. The other 900. with almost 400. Townsmen, most of them Incendiaries to Rebellion, principall Instruments of Heresie, being adjudged by *Federico de Toledo* to be put to the sword, or hanged, or drown'd (which fatall Spectacle continued many dayes) they dearly payed for their jeering God Almighty. The Siege of *Harlem* was memorable for many Passages. They revived the antient invention of Carrier-Pidgeons. For a while before they were blocked up, they sent to the Prince of *Orange's* Fleete and to the nearest Townes of their owne party, some of these Pidgeons, which afterwards being dispatcht away when necessity required, with letters fastned under their wings, remembering their severall Masters houses and their young ones, they flew back to *Harlem*. By these winged postes the Prince of *Orange* encouraged the Townsmen to hold out for the last three months : till one of them, tired with flying, lighted upon a Tent, and being shot by a Souldier, ignorant of the Stratagem, the Mystery of the Letters was discovered. After that accident, no Pidgeon could flie over the Leaguer, though not of that kind, but the Souldiers would strive who should kill her. The *Harlemers* likewise had a gallant Regiment of Women, that in repairing the breaches, and defending of the Workes, might compare with the industry of the men. Their Colonel was onely *Goody Kemava*, a woman of a manly spirit, neare upon 50. yeares of age. Under her command and conduct they were imboldened to doe Souldiers Duties at the Bulwarks, and to salley out among the Firelocks, to beat up the *Spanish* Quarters, to the no lesse encouragement of their owne men, then admiration of the Enemy. Yet nothing was more admirable, then the Townsmens obstinacy, who, notwithstanding they had lost three great Armies, and had hardly any shelter within their Walls, shot through, as they say in ten thousand, three hundred, and sixty places ; yet would not heare of a Treaty, or conditions. And when the Garrison was brought to a small number : both day and night upon the Walls they so well performed the duties of many, that if at any time the King's men chanced to appeare never so little above their Trenches, they were in a moment taken off with Musket-bullets, and those shot, as for a wager, from many parts at once. Nay, I have heard, that the *Spanish* Souldiers partly to mocke the enemy, partly to make them spend their powder, would many times put their Helmets upon faggot-sticks, so as they might be seen but to cock above the Workes : which in an instant were shot at and hit by the Besieged. Lastly, though they were inforced by famine, for the two last months to eat Mice, old Shooes, and every nasty thing : yet they lost not their fury, resolving to sally out, and rather die fighting, then, by yielding to mercy, have their throats cut like beasts ; and they had done accordingly, but that as they marched out of the Port, their Wives and Children, with pittifull Shriekes and imbraces, stayed them. To conclude, the Siege of *Harlem* was rendred Illustrious by the resemblance it bare to the Siege of *Sancerre*. In the same month, *Sancerre* in *Aquitaine* was besieged, and

1570.

Not unpunished
August 1.
They yield to
mercy.

Very many put
to death,
Alva's Son.

The remarkable
Accidents
happning at this
Siege.
Carrier-
Pidgeons.

A Regiment of
Women.

The wilfulness
and cruelty of
the *Harlemers*.

The Siege of
Harlem and
Sancerre.

and

1573.
Compared.

Thuan Hist.
l. 55.
How many
Royalists were
slaine and hurt
at the siege of
Harlem.

Roan 1562.

How many
Covenanters
were killed.
Bern. Mend.

Lumè discon-
tent.

His Commissi-
on taken from
him by the
Prince of
Orange.

He is impriso-
ned.

Banished the
Low-countries.

Arnold Haven-
sius l. 1. de
nov. Episcop.
An. Camer. in
Hist. Belg. l. 5
& Fran. Haræus
in Annal.
He dyes.

and *Harlem* in *Holland*. Both these Cities were Rebels to their King, and their Religion: both, because at first they were in vaine attempted by the Royall Party, were no more assaulted, but carefully close besieged. The Women of both Townes, with like courage tooke up Armes: there was a kind of *Kennava* at *Sancerre* that perswaded & gave example to the rest. Both Towns shewed like obstinacy, that holding out ten Months, foolishly hoping for reliefe from the *Rochellers*; this as long, & as idly, relying on the Prince of *Orange*. At last both Garrisons, conquered by Famine, in the same Month of August, almost upon the same day, rendred themselves: *Sancerre* upon Articles, *Harlem* to Mercy. But in that, more were hungersterved, above five hundred perishing for want of food; insomuch as a Girl of three yeares old newly dead and buried, was most horridly digged up, and eaten by her owne Father and Mother. In this, more dyed by the Sword, for it consumed no lesse then thirteene Thousand, and diverse Persons of great quality. For there was lost of the King's part, the Governour of *Graveling* *Cressonerius*, that noble Engi-
neire, Generall of the Artillery for this Expedition; *Bartholomeo Champio* of *Pisaura*, no lesse famous for his quick designe in fortification, which appeared in many places; but *France* had the best prooffe of his Skill at the Siege of *Roan*. Besides those that were carryed off the Field wounded, and halfe-dead: as *Norcarminus* Governour of *Haynolt*, *Valentine la Mott* Successour to *Cressonerius*, *Iuliano Romero*, *Gaspar Bill*, *Roderick de Toledo*, all great Colonells, and their Generall himselve, Duke *Federico* Son to *Alva*: with about twelve Captaines more, and Multitudes of Common Souldiers; whereof the *Spaniards* confesse they lost no fewer then foure Thousand. Of the Confederates were slaine *Willam Bronchorst*, Baron of *Battemburg*, Lievetenant Generall to the P. of *Orange*; *Ybaldo*, Riperda Governour of the Towne & Garrison of *Harlem*, *Lancelot Brederod*, *Derdeindius Gallus*, and *Peter Iansen*, all exquisite in the art of Fortification, *Hadrian Iansen*, *Martin Prutius*, *Lambert Wirtzenburg*, and other principall Commanders. Whereunto may be added the banishment of *Willam A Marcha* Count *Lumè*. For he (as no man will take a fault upon himselve) when he had fought unfortunately at *Harlem*, charged the States with his Misfortune, because they were slack in paying of his men, and almost in plaine words threatned to fall upon them with his Army. Therefore by Command from the Prince of *Orange*, who (as I conceive) looked not with equall eyes upon the man boasting himselve to be the sole Infranchiser of *Holland*; he was put out of his Lieuetenant-Generalls Place, which was conferr'd upon *Willam Battemburg*, and being reduced to the quality of a private man, with *Entesius* and others of his Followers, was committed Prisoner. And after his release, being convicted of a Plot against the States (of whose ingratitude he published his Complaint in Print, That he who had freed the Maritime Provinces, and taught the world by experience that the *Spaniards* were conquerable, should be rewarded by the *Hollanders* with such Vsfage) he was condemned, as well by the Prince of *Orange's* Sentence, as by a generall *Odium*, to depart the *Low-countries*. And foure yeares after, when he had once more taken up Armes, against *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, losing the battaile of *Gemblae*, he fled to *Leyden*, and there bitt with a mad dog, or poysoned at a feast, dyed this wickedly stout man. The surrender of *Harlem*, as it is the common fate of Conquest gained by long Sieges, brought more Fame then benefit to the *Spaniard*. For the Army being not a little wasted, and retarded with
some

Some mutiny, *Duke Federico* sitting downe before *Alcmar*, upon the approach of winter, was forced to leave the seige. Nor was there any better fortune at Sea. The confederated *Gheses* in a Sea-fight taking *Maximilian Henin*, Count of *Bolduc*, Governour of *Holland*, and *Zeland*, and Admirall of the Belgick Seas, an active Souldier, and very intimate with the Duke of *Alva*. In that Fight, it is reported Count *Bolduc's* Admirall (the *Hollanders* called her the *Spanish Inquisition*) forsaken by the rest of the Fleete, for 28 houres together fought with twentie saile of the Enemy, and her men brought from the Number of 300 to 80; and those all but fiftene wounded, at last was forced to yield. Yet this losse was recompenced with some Townes reduced by the *Spaniards* in South-*Holland*, and at the Hague they tooke Count *Philip Marnixius Aldegund* a man of great place and account among the Confederates: infomuch as the Prince of *Orange* threatned, whatsoever was done to Count *Aldegund* should be suffered by Count *Bolduc*.

In the meane time *Lodovico Requesenes* came from the Governement of *Millaine* into the *Low-countreys* guarded only with two Regiments of *Italian Horse*, under the Command of *Mutio Spaganio* and *Pedro Busto*. He was by the King appointed Successour to *Alva*, because *Iuan de la Cerda* declined the Governement, despairing that any good could be done in the *Low-countreys*; so leaving both the Burthen and the Envy upon *Alva*. And he with his Son *Federick* returning immediately to *Bruxells*, delivered the provinces and Armies to *Requesenes*; and December being now begun, imbarqued for *Spaine*, after he had six yeares governed the *Netherlands*. All the Hereticall Commanders were not equally pleased with his departure; it troubled some of them, who conceived his Fortune was decreasing, and that the people could be moved to Rebellion with no stronger Provocative, then their Hatred to the Duke of *Alva*. But the Prince of *Orange*, that Publicly hated, and privately admired the Duke, was glad to be so ridde of him: never hoping to compasse his Designes, whilst he had *Alva* for his Enemy. Nor were the Catholiques all of one minde. For some thought his Departure a happinesse, being irreconciliably distasted at him, because (as they sayd) he had found the *Lowcountreys* brought to a peaceable Condition by *Margaret of Austria*; and by his Cruelty to the Lords, & Exactions upon the Commons, had left the Provinces troubled and exasperated; and they feared, that, as from thence *Holland* and *Zeland* tooke occasion to revolt, so the rest of the adjoyning Provinces, infected with the same Contagion would have shortly renounced their Religion and Obedience. But others, in a kind of middle way; as the *Romans* said of *Augustus Caesar*. that he should either not have bene borne, or not have dyed; affirmed, that it was to be wished, *Alva* had either not at all come to the *Lowcountreys* or had not departed at that time, when the Prince of *Orange* had fortunately matured his Plot, and could not be taken off by an amicable way, nor broke more surely by any Armes, then his; who no lesse prudently then valiantly, when the Prince entred the Provinces with such great Armyes, had twice beat him out. But the King of *Spaine*, contrary to the *Low-countreymen's* Expectations, and the Desires of some *Spanish* Courtiers, very graciously received the Duke. Though some were not moved with such Formality, knowing it to be King *Philip's* Custome, to Countenance before others what his Ministers had done, But supposing, that his Indignation, then raked up in Embers, would in time breake out: and that it did so, some yeares after, when the Duke

1573.

D. Federico forced to raise his seige of *Alcmar*.

Count *Bolduc* Admirall of the *Spanish* Fleete beaten at Sea.

Heute apud *Haraum* in *Anil*.

Gallant fighting.

Aldegund, the Prince of *Orange's* intimate friend, taken prisoner.

Novemb. 17

The Duke of *Alva* resignes the *Lowcountreys* to his successour *Requesenes*.

And goes aboard for *Spaine*.

The diverse senses touching his departure of the Hereticks. The Prince of *Orange*, And of the Catholicks.

Sextus Aurel. in his Life.

He is graciously received in *Spaine* by the King. But the Courtiers thinke the King dissimulates.

1573.

*Wherein they
were deceived.**The true cause
of Alva's con-
finement.**His excellent
temper of
mind in that
calamity,**How great an
honour it was
to him in the
end.
He is called
from banish-
ment to be Ge-
nerall against
Portugall.**His words to
the Messengers,**He conquers,**And dyes,**The King's ex-
pression.**Didaco Prince
of Spaine.
Anne the Emp.
Maximilian's
Daughter.
Alva's Elogy,
His Father,*

1510.

*His Grandfa-
ther,**He himfelfe
greater then
his Progenitors*

was confined to *Vzeda*. I confesse, I rather thinke the greatest part of *Alva's* Actions in the *Low-countrys* was done by Order from the King, and therefore merited not his displeasure: or if he did erre, his Service was more considerable, then his Errour, in the King's account: into whose Favour, as the accessse was rare and difficult, so the possession was firme and lasting. And that there was evidently no other Reason for the Duke's Confinement, but because his Son *Federico* had promised Marriage to one of the Queen's Maydes of Honour, and by his Fathers Advise, married another Lady: whereupon the King in a rage, banished the Duke of *Alva* to *Vzeda*. Which Misfortune (and what greater could happen to a man in the highest Grace at Court) manifested beyond all mens Imagination, the wonderfull equall Temper and Gallantry of his minde: and though he was accompted a great person whilst he stood, yet being false like a prostrate wall, was thought greater lying on the ground. Certainly he deserved, that his Misery should at last be turned into his Glory. For after the decease of *Henry* the last of the Kings of *Portugall*, King *Philip* resolving his Army should move thither, and doubtfull whom to make Generall, passed by many, that stood faire for the Employment, chusing the Duke of *Alva*, not without the admiration of the world, to see him trust a man discontented by long Banishment, to command in Chiefe in the greatest Warre he ever undertooke. Nay it is reported, that *Alva* himfelfe glorying to the Messengers that brought his Repeale, said, "he wondred, that for the Conquest of a Kingdom his Majesty should have use of a fettered Generall. Diverse thought this more proudly spoken then became an Exile, but the King tooke it well; as he that looking upon his Actions, easily pardoned the freedom of his Words. Nor was the King deceived in *Alva*, who fortunately managing the War amidst the great discords of the *Portugeses*, forced the Magistrates and Nobility to sweare Allegiance to the King of *Spaine*. Wherein whilst the Duke overtoyled himfelfe, at *Lisbon* he fell desperately sicke, the King comming often to visit him on his death bed: and the Sacraments being administred to him by *Lewis* of *Granada* a wise and religious man, he departed this Life. Whose death with many other Funeralls, hapning in the height of that Prosperity, grieved the King so much, that he was heard to say, "he never had greater experience of the incertainty of humane things: because, "when his fortunes were raised to so high a pitch, by the addition of many "Kingdomes; he was then deprived of the Heire apparent to his Crowne, of "the Queene his Wife, and of this his great and faithfull Generall. And truly the Duke of *Alva*, descended from great Warriours, had military Prudence by a kind of Inheritance. His Father was that *Garzia*, who in the *African* Warre, being created Admirall, in the Isle of *Gerben* (where about 3000. *Spaniards* fell by the Sword and Famine) whilst he together with *Pedro Navarr* Generall of the Land-forces, endeavoured to stop the flight of his men, wresting a Pike out of the hand of a common Souldier, and valiantly fighting with it, was slaine by the *Moores*. His Grand-father was *Federico* Cousen German to King *Ferdinand*, who, as he was more active then his Son *Garzia*, so he did more gallant things. For he gloriously put an end to the Warre of *Granada*, where he was Generall of the Royall *Betick* Army, and with the same courage defended the *Appennine*, and all the Borders of *Spaine*, against the *French*. Lastly it was his fortune to joyne the Crowne of *Navarre* to the *Spanish* Empire. But *Alva* himfelfe farre transcended all his Ancestours in the vertues of a Generall. The Age

Age wherein he lived, had not any other that commanded in chiefe so long and in such various places. The common saying among Souldiers, that a good Generall is never long-lived, was sufficiently confuted by the Two great Generalls of that time, *Annas Momorancy* Constable of *France*, and this of whom we speak, *Ferdinando* Duke of *Alva*. Both of them constantly followed the *Warres* from their Infancy, even to their decrepit Age: he being almost fourescore, this 74. yeares old, inlarging their honours by continuall employments. *Momorancy* under foure Kings of *France* fought eight Battailles; in foure wherof he commanded in chiefe. *Alva* serving the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, and his Son King *Philip*, in *Germany*, *Africa*, *Italy*, the *Low-countries*, and *Portugall*, was Generall in the greatest expeditions. But the *French man* was more active by the *Genius* of his Nation; by his owne, more unfortunate: as being seldome Master of the Field, three times taken prisoner, and at last slaine. The *Spaniard* oftner by delaies then Fighting, gained glory out of the Successe of his Actions. In warlike Abilities they are accompted rather equall, then like. But *Alva* was as good a Souldier at Court, as in the Field. Who though he was by nature and continuall conversation in the Campe, growne rough; and like a Souldier either carelessly regarded not, or proudly contemned the Offices of Court-shippe, which gave offence to some; yet Princes dislike not their Ministers Austerity, rendring them inaccessible to the subtil Flatterer. And *Alva* by that Souldier's freedome, speaking as if he would fight for his Master as well at home, as in the Field; advanced himselfe in the King's favour merited by his Fidelity and long service. Yet by this kind of favour, he got more private estimation, then publique honour. So that when he was called from banishment to be Generall in the Warre with *Portugall*, though he was an earnest Suiter to the King, that in his March he might kisse his Royall hand, being not yet fully assured of his Pardon, his Request was denied. And at the same time, when the Nobility of *Spaine* were sent for by the King to sweare Allegiance to *Didaco* Prince of *Spaine*, though the Duke moved for Leave to be present at the Solemnity, yet the same sterne nature of the King would not admit him. So much his Majesty confided in the man, he thought that *Alva* might be uncertaine of his Favour, yet He secure of the Fidelity of *Alva*. Whose obedient Loyalty seemes to merit the Honour he had, to die in the King's speciall Grace, in his Court, and almost in his Armes: and, having to his owne wishes ended the Warre, among the Applauses of victory, to be carried to his Grave, in Triumph. Undoubtedly he was comparable to the antient Generalls, in military Abilities; if the *Odium* he contracted by too much Rigour, Pride and Scorne of others, as at present it obstructed the Current of his Vertues, had not likewise taken off something of their reputation with Posterity.

1573.

Alva and Annas Momorancy paralleld,

The Duke of Alva a good Courier,

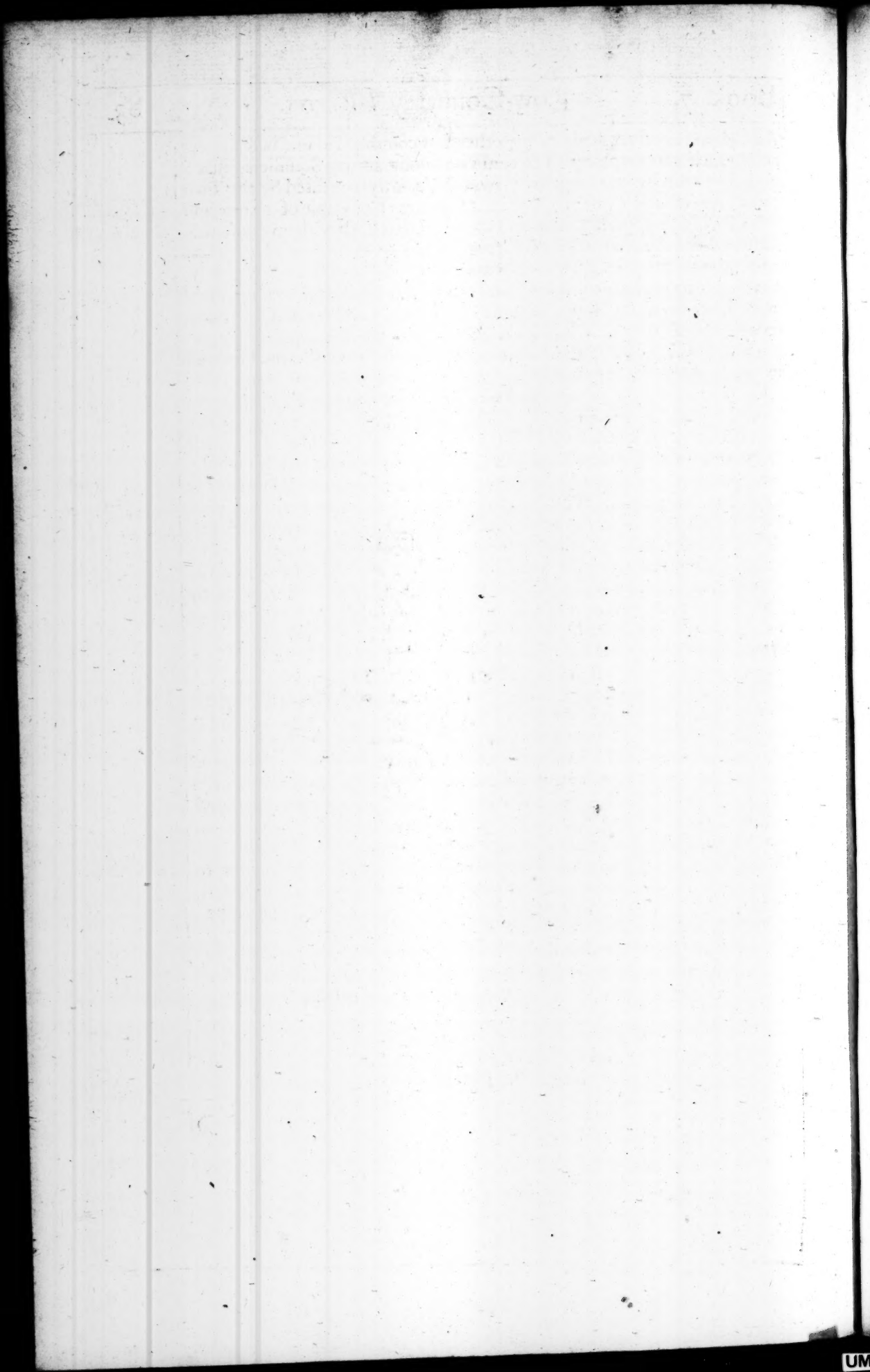
Much affected by the King.

But rather inwardly then in shew,

How much the King relied upon his Faith,

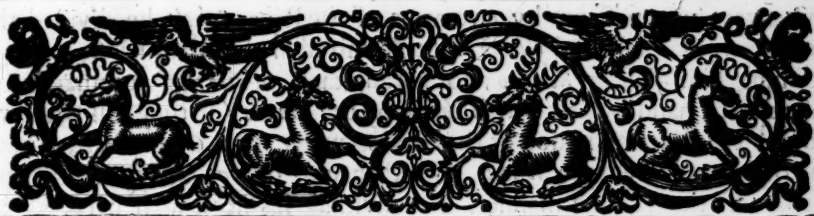
What soyled his Fame.

The





Lodovico Requesenes, Great Comendador
of Castile Governour of v^e Low countreys



The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY VVARRES.

The eighth Book.



IN the beginning of the year 1574, *Ludovico Requesenes*, great *Commendador* of the Knights of *Saint Fago*, in the Province of *Castile*, began his government; most men conceiving extraordinary hopes of him, grounded as well upon his Civil, as Military Prudence, appearing in the course of his great employments both in Peace and Warre. It was likewise believed, that with his facilitie and modestie, virtues set off by comparison with the Duke of *Alva*, he would exceedingly gain upon the Low-countrey mens affections. Nor was he himself negligent of fame; but partly upon Designe, partly by the Kings Command, endeavoured to make himself popular. And the people were presently much taken with him, for punishing the Insolencies of some Garrison Souldiers, but especially for pulling down and removing out of sight the armed statue of the Duke of *Alva*; his other statue by the Kings Command being sent for into *Spain*, to the *Antwerpers* very great contentment. Inasmuch that some were glad his statue had been erected, that they might see his punishment in the demolishing and carrying it away. But *Requesenes* for all this could not raise the Rebels from their siege of *Middelburgh*. That Citie, the head not onely of *Walcharen*, but of all the *Isles* of *Zeland*, was yet kept by Colonel *Mondragonio*, who with frequent sallies and little fights, rather to make show of confidence, then out of any reall trust in his own strength, had now for almost two years defended it against the *Zelanders*. To mollifie that people (incensed against *Alva*, but said to be well-affected to the new Governour) when *Requesenes* had often sent them very kind Letters, by messengers assuring them of the Kings mercy, all would not do; for having made themselves masters of many small Towns, the successe ticing them on, they placed greater hopes in their own stubbornness, then in the Kings unfruitfull mercy; and according to the custome of the world, held it better to be knaves and gain by it, then to be honest *gratis*. Wherefore the Governour, lately advertised by *Mondragonio*, that famine would compell him to deliver up the Town, rigged a fleet of sixty sail at *Antwerp*, dispatching them away to the relief of *Middelburg*. And because there

1574.

Requesenes
begins his Go-
vernment of the
Low-countreys
The hopes con-
ceived of him.

Mart. Delr. l. i.
Belg. Turb.

He takes away
the Duke of
Alva's Statue.
To the great joy
of the Low-
countreymen.
The *Zelanders*
besiege *Middel-*
burg.

Requesenes
sends a Fleet to
relieve the town.

1574.

That is, Hound.

Which is met.

Fought with.

Bergen op Zoom.

And defeated.

Middleburg rendered.

Feb. 18.

The Fame of Mondragonio.

What strange confidence the enemy reposed in him.

Aldegund and three more exchanged for Mondragonio Jacob Simon John Pettin Francisco Cittadella.

1430.

Largil. to Marg. of Parma.

March 5.

What the Prince of Orange made of Middleburg Largil. to Margaret of Parma.

March 5.

The Forces and design of Lewis of Nassau.

there were two passages by two arms of the River *Schelt*, he divided the fleet between *Avila*, and *Glimè* Vice-Admirall in the place of *Beaver*, appointing him *Juliano Romero*, for his adjutant. *Avila* was commanded to take the left hand way to *Middelburg* by the *Honde* (so they call that division of the River by reason of the barking water) and *Glimè* to steer upon the right hand down the *Schelt*. The Prince of *Orange*, understanding this incourtered them in like manner. For dividing his fleet, with part of it he himself lay at Anchor before *Middelburg*, expecting *Avila*: and sent the rest to the Isle of *Thol*, under the conduct of *Lodwick Boifot* Governour of the Sea coast of *Holland*, to fight with *Romerio* and *Glimè*. *Boifot* (for the Prince of *Orange* and *Avila* looked on, at a great distance) meeting the *Spaniards* at the mouth of *Bergen*, gave them battell: which at the first was improsperous and bloody to him, one of his eyes being shot out; the Master of his Admirall slain; and his stoutest Souldiers wounded. But the *Zelanders*, (having the advantage in greatnesse and number of ships and skilfulnesse of Pilots) at last with multitude oppressed the Royallists: *Glimè* was slain: *Romerio* narrowly escaped in a long boat: part of the ships ranne aground, and part were fired in the sight of *Requesenes*, that from the Peer of *Bergen*, beheld the event of that unfortunate battell, with infinite greif to see his men so lost. The enemies conquest was followed with the present surrender of *Middelburg*, almost the onely town that held out in *Zeland*. By which Render *Mondragonio* gained such honour as we seldome read paralleled. For when he had drawn up his conditions so, as that if the *Zelanders* would transport his Souldiers, Mariners, and Engineers, with all their Cannoneers, and Artillery, and the Religious men and secular Priests, with all their sacred furniture (both sorts likewise carrying away all their householdstuff, and baggage) and land them in the nearest parts of *Flanders*: he would then prevail with *Requesenes*, that *Aldegund*, at that time a Prisoner, one the Prince of *Orange* highly esteemed, and three other persons, such as *Aldegund* should name, within six moneths, should be returned into *Zeland*; but if he could not prevail with the Governour, then he, before the expi-ration of that term, would render himself prisoner to the *Zelanders*; They gave so much credit to his Parole, as the conditions being accepted, though without any hostage given, they doubted not, but that, if the Governour disapproved of this agreement, *Mondragonio* would not fail of his promise to return; whose Captivitie they knew would satisfie for many *Aldegunds*. But the Articles were by *Requesenes* confirmed to the contentment of all parties. For immediately *Aldegund* had his libertie, and by his appointment *Simons*, and *Pettin*, two Colonels, and Captain *Cittadella* an Engi-nier, Grandchild to that *Francesco Cittadella*, who commanding the Cit-tadell of *Lucca* for the Prince, *Paulo Guinichi*, when he lost his Principality re-stored the Cittadell to the Commonwealth, for which Act the people, leaving out his Sirname of *Jacobio*, called him *Cittadella*, and inserted into his family the remembrance of his merit: from which, his posteritie were at once both named and praised. But the Citizens of *Middelburg*, as it was in their Articles, redeemed the plunder of their town with three hundred thousand Florens paid to the Prince of *Orange*: who, notwithstanding, is known to have made out of Merchant-strangers goods a million of *Florens* more. But this losse at Sea, the *Spaniard* stronger by land, immediately re-venge.

Lewis of *Nassau* Brother to the Prince of *Orange*, with his youngest Bro-ther *Grave Henrick*, and Prince *Christopher* Sonne to the Count Palatine of the





*Sancho Avila Governour of the Fort
at Antwerp General at y^e Battaile
of Mooch.*

the *Rhine*, brought out of *Germany* seven thousand foot, and four thousand horse, and having attempted, in vain, to passe the *Mose*, made a halt in *Gelderland*, as if they looked back towards *Germany*: but indeed, waiting an opportunitie for the taking of *Nimmeghen*, that they might in that Citie receive the Prince of *Orange* coming from the Isle of *Bomell*. The *Spanish* armie followed him on the other side the *Mose*, commanded by *Sancho Avila*, an old Souldier, trained up in *Alva's* discipline: who thinking it opportune, before those succours came that were expected from the Prince of *Orange*, to fight with the *Nassavians* (quartered in the village of *Mooch* between the *Vahal* and the *Mose*, intrenched onely with a slight line) passing his armie over on a sudden, and putting them in rank and file presented the ennemie at once with warre, and slaughter. Which was indeed continued, (by reason of the Royallists anger for the late execution done upon their men) during the space of two hours, with so much fury, that almost their whole army, part killed, part taken prisoners, were destroyed: and their three Generalls *Lewis of Nassau*, his Brother *Grave Henrick*, and Prince *Christopher*, either slain fighting, or trod under the horses feet, or stifled in the Fens (for their bodies never could be found) miserably perished altogether. I find in some Histories, that *Lewis*, after he had lyen a while among the dead bodies, crept out as farre as the *Mose*, and there unknown as he washt his wounds, the Countrey men looking for bootie, barbarously killed and stript him. He was a man addicted to warre, endowed with a military eloquution, but of a turbulent spirit: And as his brother the Prince of *Orange* and he were twins in affection, so in prudence they seemed utter strangers: this being inconsiderately violent, and making warre rather in hot blood, then with advice, had often (and deservingly) the experience of ill fortune. The *Spaniards* took all their Colours, Artillery, Tents and Carriages, with little or no losse to themselves. Now the honour of this victory (as it is common in all good successes) was by many challenged: the Souldiers preferring their Commanders with great contest of severall nations. The *Spaniards* attributed the glory of the day, solely to their Generall *Avila*, who as wisely as expeditiously gave battell. The *Low-countrey men* to *Aegidius Sonne* to Count *Barlamont* and Lord of *Hierg*, who with his Reserve of horse, when a Squadron of their men gave ground, fell in, and restored the battle. The *Italians* to *Giovanni Baptista Marchioni*, who dividing his Lanceirs into many little Troops, galled the enemy so subtilly, and so often, in the Flank, that he overcame by art the farre greater number. For my own part, as I doubt not but every battell is wonne by many mens valours, so I am confident this was chiefly gained by *Montius*, because King *Philip* for this very service assigned him a yearly pension of five hundred crowns. Though poor souldiers are but hardly used, when all must be ascribed to their Commanders: as if in a fight, the eyes were onely to be praised because they first mark out a place wherein to wound the foe: and that nothing were due to the hands, that dispute and determine the Victorie. I am well assured, that *Pedro Antonio Perotti* of *Sasso Ferrato*, a man no lesse noble by descent, then worth, very much contributed to that overthrow, which I find certified to the King both in publick and private letters by *Francisco Valdez*, a *Spanish* Colonell of foot, highly commending the Gentleman, because valiantly and no lesse fortunately he began the fight. He commanded that day the company of *Comillo à Monte*, who had another charge. In the front of *Nassaus* armie there fought a Regiment of five hundred horse, whereof three hundred were of that kind of *Raisers*,

1574.

The Battell of Mooch or Monich, how suddenly Avila fought him.

The execution done upon the Nassavians.

The death of the three Generals.

Lewis of Nassau's death otherwise related. Franc. Haræus in his Belgick Annals. His Character.

To whom this victory is to be ascribed.

The common souldiers valour not to be excluded from their share of praise.

The beginning of the battell Petr. Ant. Perotti.

Lud. & Metz. lib. 4. c. 2.

The Raisers disordered.

1575.

Lewis of Nassau falls in with his horse. But is routed (which seldom happens) by the Lancers.

Benard Mendoza, l. 2.

Perotti's valour.

The first Mutiny of the Spaniards. Out of the Bishop of Namure's letter to Marg. of Parma.

July 24. Against Avila who detained their Pay.

The exposition of the Mutineers.

Avila flies.

which from their many pistols and other iron weapons are called *Ironists*. *Giovanni Baptista à Monte* being to encounter this partie, commanded *Perrott* with one of those Troops to begin the battell, who chusing out six-score Lancers charged them with so much violence and judgement, that the *Raiters* being disordered in the Front (an accident which hath lost many Fields) sixty of them were severed from the rest, which he (assisted by a fresh Troop) easily mastered, though they in a strong body recharged and fired, in hope to recover their Poste; but their Retreat was obstructed by his pikes, and they to a man all slain. Whereupon the whole Regiment growing into extreme trouble and disorder, it was, no doubt, the first step to the victorie. For Cornet after Cornet falling in, they were routed, and upon the point of flying, when *Lewis of Nassau* with a selected Troop came upon the spur to relieve them; but he being intercepted by *Bernardino Mendoza*, and *Antonio Olivera*, that joyned their Troops to receive his charge, he not onely not repressed the fear of his men, but flying with them, was forced to yield to the impression of the enemy. Some Writers say, this was the first battell, wherein the Lancers routed the Carabines. But I observe, that in the battell near *Renty-Castle* in *Artois*, the Emperours *Raiters* were worsted by the *French* Lancers. But *Perrotti* in this likewise had the greatest honour of the Field, because when he had broke his Lance, going to draw his sword; and perceiving that it was shot from his side, he caught a *Raiter* in his Arms, wrested his sword out of his hand, and killing him with his own weapon, made his way through the thickest of the enemy; where being shot through the reins, he would not yet leave the field, whilst the victory continued doubtfull, but when it was absolutely wonne, almost dead, he was carried off the Field. Yet within a while he recovered, with so much the greater joy to his fellow-souldiers, because most of them had spoken his funerall praise. To the same whereof, he added so much by his valiant actions under the Command of *Alexander Farnex*, that from his excessive strength and courage he was surnamed the *Palladin* of *Italy*.

The fruit of so great a day was almost lost by a furious mutiny of the *Spaniards*. A great part of the Army had much Arrears due to them, some full three years pay, which *Sancho Avila*, before the battell, freely promised; but when the business was done, put them off; not having so much money, and being naturally severe. For the Souldiers, whose animosities were raised both by their Victory and Cause, the readier they were before in running the hazzard of a battell, the more implacable they were after in demanding of their pay. Wherefore they threatening their Commanders, joyned in a body; and when *Avila* came and began to rate them, they fiercely asked him, *Where the faith of his promises was? where the care of a Generall? that not onely not regarded the benefit of his Souldiers, but likewise slighted their Requests.* But Generalls and Colonels never fail to preach military obedience. *When they command, poore souldiers must run upon the mouth of the Canon, suffer wounds and death, commonly for no other end, but to blunt the enemies swords: many times if fagots be wanting to fill up ditches, they must do it with their bodies. Nothing it seems is more inconsiderable then Souldiers lives. And is it lawfull for a Generall, every houre to require the souldiers lives, but not lawfull for them to challenge their livelihood, and many moneths Debentures of the Generall? is there any kind of workmen that may justlier demand their wages then they, that serve not under anothers command with ordinary labour and sweat, but with the expence of their blouds and lives?* They objecting this against their Generall, with their swords in their hands, *Avila* not able to withstand the multitude, when by

no

no promises he could appease the once deceived *Spaniards*, was inforced to flie. Then laying their heads together, almost three thousand of the old souldiers, after the manner of seditions, created them a Generall, whom they called the *Electo*, casting their *Militia* into a new model; and dividing the Offices of Warre among themselves, in order of battell marched to *Antwerp*, the better sort in vain opposing them. Nay, they despised the Messengers, which upon the news of their mutiny, were sent by *Requesenes*, to assure their Arrears, one of which Messengers being a Jesuite (his name was *Pedro Trigosio*, a very eloquent *Spaniard*, and in great esteem among the souldiers) when he had made a very sad and long speech to them, they answered him in short, *First tender the money, and then we will hear you preach: we have had Words enough, we require money. And if the Bloud we have spent for the King were in one scale, it would easily weigh down our Pay put into the other.* When the Jesuite would have proceeded, they beat up their Drumms, and with Colours flying, entred *Antwerp*, the souldiers that were in the Fort not sticking to admit them: and quartering themselves in the richest Citizens houses, they peremptorily threatned *Requesenes*, who upon their requests and menaces had now sent out of the Town the Garrison of *Walloons*, that if he would not pay their arrears, they would be their own Pay-masters. And when he had appointed a certain day, yet failed; with new fury, as if they had been deluded, they ran armed to the Court of Justice, where their *Electo* was hearing causes, and there presently setting up an Altar, when Masse was done, they all bound themselves by oath to obey the *Electo*, and not to lay down arms till they had their pay to a *Maravedi*. Which very Act passed not tumultuously in that tumult, but orderly and gravely, as if there had been no sedition. So must armed rage be ordered, lest it rage in vain. Nay, they set up a Gallows on the place, and made Proclamation in the *Electo's* name, That whosoever for the future stole or plundered, should be immediately hanged: which was so punctually observed by the souldiers, two of them being instantly trussed up, that *Antwerp* heard of no more such offences. This present form of modesty; and their past moderations so won upon mens affections, that partly the *Antwerpers* assessing themselves at certain rates, partly *Requesenes* out of the Kings Treasury, with the pawning of his own Plate and Hangings; the Merchants likewise making up their Pay (for yet there was not money enough) with pieces of Silk and Cloth, after 47 dayes abundantly satisfied the souldiers. One memorable Accident I cannot here omit, especially coming to my knowledge from the persons by whom it was occasioned. When *Requesenes* had paid the Army, they being flush of money, were followed, as the custome is, by many poor people for their alms, particularly by the begging Fryers. And most of the souldiers then full of gold (for some had got three years Debentures, some four) either out of that Nations inbred pietie towards Religious Orders, or that when wealth comes on the sudden it is lesse regarded, were so liberrall, that the *Franciscans* for their part got four thousand Florens. But when the souldiers took notice, that among all the Religious which had tasted of their bonnty, no one of the Society of *Jesus* came unto them, to which Order, for their constant pains in the Camp, and their extraordinary care of the sick souldiers, they acknowledged themselves chiefly obliged: they sent one of the Army to encourage the Fathers, in that publick Donation, not to let themselves onely be pretermitted. But the Fathers giving thanks to the Messenger, when they could not otherwayes put him off, at last absolutely denied to take any thing of those men, till they had restored all

15 7.

They march to
Antwerp in ho-
stile manner.
Despise Reque-
senes his messen-
gers.

And onely de-
mand money.

They enter Ant-
werp.

Their threats.

Their solemn
Oath.

Their Edict a-
gainst plunder.

They are paid.

And quieted.
The pious libe-
rality of the mu-
tineers.

How much the
Franciscans
had of them.

They invite the
Jesuits.

Who refuse to
come at them.

1575.

*They send money
to the Jesuites
Colledge.*

*An exhortation
made them by
one of the Socie-
tie.*

The fruits of it.

*They give and
restore very
much to the Ci-
tizens.*

Leyden.

*A suspicion that
the souldiers
plunder was
Requesenes his
designe.*

July 14.

March 8.

April 6.

July 24.

*A generall par-
don proclaimed.
Of the siege of
Leyden.*

*Valdez invites
the Town to a
Reddition.
They barbarously
refuse.
He draws his
line nearer.*

their plunder to the true owners. The Armie nothing at all offended, or retarded, choosing two of their number for Collectours, gathered a very great summe, and sent it to their Colledge, assuring themselves ready money would not be so refused, as when it was onely promised. The Fathers admired the souldiers constancie, whom they imagined to have been displeased with their former Answer: and Ceremonies having passed on both sides, held it their dutie to instruct those preposterously pious men, and in a friendly manner to rectifie either their errour, or their contumacie. Therefore one of the Societie, in great credit with the Armie, went to them, and speaking freely, made them understand, *That his Order refused not their Liberality, as if it would not come seasonably to supply their necessities; but Gdd Almighty was not pleased with those that give out of other mens fortunes. They should remember themselves how long, and how profusely they had lived in Antwerp, keeping possession of the Townsmens houses; how threateningly and licentiously in the beginning of the mutiny, some of them had seized upon the citizens Estates. Why then should they seek out persons profusely to bestow their money on, and in the meantime injuriously passe by those to whom it was iustly due? Rather in that distribution, they should use care and method, and relieving the wants of the poor Townsmen, recover the good opinion of the City, and save their own souls, and reputations.* This was not spoke in vain to the souldiers, that likewise by this Argument of Bounty, endeavoured to excuse the necessitie of their past actions. Wherefore some of the chief among them, either touched with Religion, or to cancell the Ignominy of Sedition, by a new example, gave largely to the Citizens, and began to restore many things got by violence: with so great admiration and applause of the Magistrates, that they ordered a Publick Speech should be made to the People, wherein the Army should be praised, and the pains taken and moderation used by the Fathers of the Societie, specified and commended. But *Requesenes* not yet confiding in the Army, having pardoned and buried the memory of their fault, sent them back to the siege of *Leyden*, which the year before was begun by the Duke of *Alva*: the Governour being now dis-engaged from much fear and care, which out of a vain presumption of the Armies obedience, he had imprudently brought upon himself, and all the Royall party. Unless perhaps it was done by confederacy, to supply the present wants of the Exchequer, as some then suspected, saith the Bishop of *Namure*, in his Letters to the Dutches of *Parma*. *Requesenes* therefore detaining the *Spaniards* a while at *Bruxels*, till he in the Assembly of the Estates, had published an Act of Indemnity sent them by the King: with lesse preparation then was made by *Alva*, but with more Liberality, though for the unseasonableness, not much greater fruit; they commanded by *Francesco Valdez* returned to *Leyden*, with more Resolution then Success.

And *Valdez* at first taking their Out-works, and some Forts near the Town, and cutting off Provision of Victuall, had almost brought the City, full of Inhabitants, to extream necessity. Notwithstanding, he wrote a kind Letter to the Citizens, shewing, that he understood their wants, yet offering them very fair conditions. But they proudly and barbarously answering, that *They would not want sustenance whilest they had their left Arms, for those they would eat, and use their right arms to defend their Liberties.* *Valdez* hastening his approaches, daily straitned them so much, that at length it caused a great tumult in the City, the Townsmen in every street dying for hunger; insomuch as the people having lost their patience, threatned the Consuls, that unless they rendred the Town, they themselves would open the gates

gates to the enemy. *Valdez*, upon notice hereof, that he might fall upon them whilst they wavered in that discord, resolved, upon the third day, to give a generall assault. In the meantime he failed not to go to the *Hague*, a neighbouring city, where his Mistress lived, a noble Ladie of that Countrey (married to him not long after) whom he was then a suiter to, often waiting upon, and courting her, according to the freedome used in the *Low-countries*. By chance, the day before he was to storm the Town, *Valdez* feasted his Mistress at the *Hague*: and observing her to look sad, importuned her to acquaint him with the cause; She said, It was not possible but she must be in great anxiety, having before her eies the image of *Leyden*, designed to spoil and plunder the next day. For so many funeralls of her friends and acquaintance, as must necessarily be involved in the publick ruine, were they not sufficient at the present, with onely Fear and Imagination, to banish all joy from her mind; and afterwards when she had news of the success, to give her heart a wound incurable? *Valdez*, lest he should loose the hope of his marriage, beseeched her to be more chearfull, and made her a secret promise to recall his orders for storming, and for her love to spare the lives of that obstinate Citie. Which he promised the more freely, in regard he knew the Town would fall of it self, though he held his hand, and saved his souldiers blood. For very hunger would make them yield, and the thought of it would be taken as a favour from him; though he did it upon his particular designe. Indeed the day after he had omitted the assault, the difference increasing between the People and the Citizens, they consulted about sending Commissioners to *Valdez*. When the Countrey-people that had long watcht to help the *Leydeners*, hearing of their danger and disagreement, finding all attempts to free the Town fruitless, resolved to follow the counsell of despair. Through the Liberties of *Leyden*, and the adjacent countrey, many Rivers flow, with various windings and turnings, the *Rhine* it self divides and washes the streets, the *Ysel* and the *Mose*, this runs as far as *Rotterdam*, that to *Goud*, and from thence to *Leyden*, with swift currents: which with the confluence of those greater chanel, lest at a high tide they should pour the mixture of their own & the seas fury upon the land, are banked in, as if a line were drawn before them, by the industry of men. The *Hollanders* therefore writing to their friends at *Leyden*, by Carrier-pidgeons, what they intended, made holes through the bank, and slighted that Bulwark of the Continent, raised against the salt and fresh-water tides, by the labour of so many yeares; and with the *Mose*, the *Ysel*, and the Sea it self, rushing as from an ambush on the level, they covered their native countrey with a deluge: So as the ruine (estimated at seven hundred thousand Florbns) made way for ships to sail the meadows; overflowed the Leaguers of the *Spaniards*: and they which dwelt fourtie miles off, (a thing hardly credible) brought supplies of men and victuall to *Leyden*. And truly that new face of the Sea, spread among Groves & Villages, and Fleets sailing through woods, as if trees had grown into ships, might have been delightome to the *Spaniards*, like a Show in a *Romane* Theatre, where the Scene was miraculously changed, and Ships fought to make them sport; if they had not likewise beheld their danger, from that unwonted spectacle; and the Auxiliarie forces of that confederated element, had not been directed against themselves: so that all hope was cut off for taking the Town, now victualled by so many Ship-ladings of Provision. For to bring relief, it was wonderfull to see how many sail appeared, furnished with men and ordnance, from the neighbouring Ports and Islands, by a generall confederacie; and with no less hatred to the

1575.

Resolves upon a generall assault. why he puts off the day appointed.

The site of Leyden.

The fearfull designe of the neighbours to Leyden. who breaking down the banks, let in the sea.

They sail over the woods,

And over the fields to Leyden

1575.

How great a
Navy came.The besiegers
besieged.

Their constancy.

Bern. Mend.
l. 12.The like wonder
of old.

Cæsar. lib. 5. de

bell. Gall.

Paul. Oros. l. 6.

Sprink. Uloet.

The Spaniards
retreat.Not without
loss.Bern. Mend.
l. 12.The exploit of
Pedro Ciacomio.A second muti-
ny of the Spani-
ards.Against Valdez,
as if he had be-
trayed them at
the siege.They take him
prisoner.

Utrecht.

He procures
money, and
therewith paci-
fies them.The Spaniards
prosperous for-
tune.Mich. ab Isselt.
Hist. of his
Times.

the *Romane* Religion: which many publickly gloried in, wearing *half-moons* in their hats, with this motto; *Rather the Turk then the Pope*. The Fleet that came in to them, was no fewer then a hundred and fifty sail, well appointed for the war, manned with at least twelve hundred, besides Seamen. Yet the *Spaniards* wear not at all dismayed; and though the sea beat them out of their lower Forts, they held the rest so obstinately, and wrought so hard, that in some places, when they wanted spades to cast up earth against the water and the enemy, they digged with their swords, and carried the mould in their breast-plates, and helmets. The like, upon the same necessitie, was done of old in the same Countrey, by the *Nervians*, when they besieged the winter-quarters of *Quintus Cicero*, using for want of other instruments their weapons instead of spades, and their cassocks for wheel-barrows. But their danger hourly increasing with the water, which rose to a great height, at the full Moon especially, blown up by a storm, the *Spaniards* that were rather now the besieged, then the besiegers, upon a sudden fear, apprehended by *Valdez*, who too late repented the lost opportunitie of taking the Town, about midnight, having nailed their great Canon, and sunk them in the ditches, after four moneths raised the siege. Nor did he flie without loss, the enemy chasing him with *Grapples* in their hands, that is, long poles headed with iron hooks, or hooks at the end of long ropes, wherewith they angled for the *Spaniards*, grievously wounding them, and drawing up many of them prisoners to the Ships. At which time, it was an admirable passage, that of *Pedro Ciacomio*, *Borgia's* Lieutenant. This man running before his fellows to defend a Bridge, was struck at from one of their boats with four grapples, which catching hold, drew him up dead to all appearance. But when they had him aboard, and that he saw them (being six or seven) busie fishing for others, he rose at their backs, and taking a hatchet that by chance lay before his feet, with his full strength (for he was onely dragged by his clothes, his flesh being scarce touched) knocked down one, then another, so a third; the rest astonished at the fury of the revived man, leaped into the water, *Ciacomio* left alone in the Hoigh, as it was laded with corn provided for the distressed Town, brought it in for some kind of comfort, to his vanquished fellow-souldiers.

The misfortune of the siege was augmented by a fresh mutinie of the *Spaniards*, for having lost their hopes of the Sack of *Leyden*, promised them, instead of Pay. And their sedition was increased by a report, that *Valdez* their Generall bribed by the citie of *Leyden*, forbore to storm it. And though *Valdez* was not guilty of that crime, for Avarice never had power over him; and the *Hollanders* then were simple, and knew not how to treat with bribes; notwithstanding the rumour was believed, or rather forged by such as were ignorant of the true cause, but would not have the improsperous successe imputed unto themselves. And they were glad of such an occasion to demand pay of their Generall, full of money as they thought. The flame of this tumult brake forth on a sudden from the breasts of very near four thousand, who seizing upon and imprisoning *Valdez*, substituted in his place another *Eleito*: and though the news of his bribery forthwith vanished, yet they, marching towards *Utrecht*, entred the Town, nor, till by *Valdez* his means their pay was sent from *Requesenes*, would they be quieted. But the *Spaniards* not long after redeemed their honour, lost by this second Mutinie and their flight from *Leyden*, with taking (near the *Isell*, and in the borders of *Gelderland*) under command of *Hierg*, Governour of that Province, the towns of *Bura*, *Montford*, *Oudewater*, and *Schoonhoven*: and a little before

fore that in *Holland* under the command of *Vitelli*, between the Rivers of *Ukall* and the *Leck*, *Leerdam*, and the neighbour Towns, *Asper*, *Huchel*, and *Worcom* over against *Gorcom*, with other Towns and Forts round about: to the great benefit of the Royall partie, increased at the same time by the coming of *Hannibal* Count *Altampse*, with a Regiment of four thousand foot, raised in *Germany* by order from *Requesenes*, who attributed much to the known virtues and warlike abilities of *Altampse*. He was sifers sonne to *Pope Pius* the fourth, bred up in the warres from nine years old by his uncle the Marquesse of *Melena*: in the prime of his youth he served the house of *Austria*, and was afterwards in many expeditions under the Emperours *Charles* and *Ferdinand*, and *Philip* the second of *Spain*, in *Germany*, *Italy*, the *Low-countries*, and *Africa*. But he was the more welcome to *Requesenes*, because Fame had reported him slain by the way, and his Regiment dispersed: and there was something in it. For whilst he rode before his men, onely with two or three in his Companie, just as he entered the *Low-countries*, he was set upon, by almost 600 souldiers, which had run away from the battell of *Moob*: and being wounded in two places, valiantly charged through, & got clear off. *Requesenes* therefore opportunely leaving these forces to guard *Brabant* (when the Treatie of Peace was come to nothing, that had been agitated by the Royallists and *Nassavians* at *Breda*, & on the Emperours part by *Gunter* Count of *Suartzemburg*, the Prince of *Orange* his sifers son) bent his whole care immediately to make his fleet ready for a voyage long since designed.

For when *Requesenes* took notice, that the Rebels (almost quite excluded from the Continent) sheltered themselves in the Isles of *Zeland*, he resolved to carry the warre as farre as *Schelt*, not through the open Sea (for in number of ships he was inferiour to the Enemy) but by the Straits lying between the *Low countries* and those Islands, where he was told in some places men might wade over. For *Zeland* being cut into Isles by the *Schelt* and *Mose*, the Rivers that divide them are not very deep, and the Sea that mixes with those Rivers ebbes in some parts so low, that they often see a miserable prospect the tops of villages long since drowned and ravished from the Earth, and consequently at such times no ships can passe. The Land service therefore he assigned to *Sanchia Avila*, and that by Sea to *Christophero Mondragonio*, the Marquesse *Vitelli*, Camp-master, commanding in chief. *Requesenes* by their advice, encouraged likewise by the example of those that foarded the Sea to the relief of *Goes*, appointed Guides for the armie consisting of four thousand and the way they should march, that is, first to *Bergen*, then to *Tole*, next to the Isle of *Philipland*, from thence to *Durveland*, and so to *Schelt*, the head of *Zeland*, and of that expedition. And because they were to have certain knowledge which places would bear shipping, and which might be waded, that charge was given to *John Arand*, an Ensign of undaunted courage, to get able and honest men to try the Foards: and *Raphaell Barberino* a strong and active Gentleman, was commanded to take the depth of the Seas and Lakes, and to provide Ships that should draw water answerable to the deep and shallower parts. Now *Arand* (learning of the Skippers and Fisher-men, that under the waters were hills of gravell, on the ridge whereof, those Seas, seeming inaccessible, might be passed on foot) brought a good account of the way to *Requesenes*, and gave him assurance that it might be done securely; and *Barberino* not onely built ships for transportation of the souldiers, flat bottomed Boats, Wherryes, and close deckt vessels, all accommodated to the severall fathomes of the water: but likewise by *Vitelli's* Command, who for a few

1575.

Supplies brought by Altampse.

An old souldier of great abilities
Clara Medices.
Jacob Medices.

His danger in his march.

The expedition into Zeland, why undertaken by Requesenes.

The size of Zeland.

The chief Officers employed
Avila.
Mondragonio,
Vitelli under Alva.

1572.

Scouwemburg's men.
The souldiers.
The way.
Arand commanded to sound the sea.

Barberino to provide shipping.

Arand's Account of the passage.

Barberino's inventions.

1575.

Who for a
while supplies
Virelli's place.
Commanded by
Virelli.

The Army passes
to Philipland.

From thence to
Duveland.
What and how
great the pas-
sage is between
these two Isle-
lands.

How dangerous
for the foot.

Yet great soul-
diers make suit
for the employ-
ment.
who were cho-
sen.

Their number.

The Prince of
Orange way-
lays them
with men
And ships.

And a fort
raised in the
water.
With new and
wonderfull in-
vention.

The Kings men
not at all dis-
mayed.
Their habit.

Their provision
of victuall and
arms.

Alabard.
They make ready
for the work of
danger and
death.

dayes had some fits of an ague, raised for present Service Works and Fortresses at the entrance of *Zeland*, in the mouths of the great Rivers, secured the carriage of victuall to the Camp, and did much besides that concerned *Virelli's* Office, so opportunely and expeditiously, as *Virelli* gave him at once both Orders and Thanks for it: and after the businesse was dispatched, writing to a friend, he denied not, but that many things were attributed to himself, which were due to the wit and industrie of *Barberino*. In this manner the design being dexterously carried, the souldiers weighed Anchors from *Antwerp*, and passed with the stream down the *Scheldt* to *Bergen ap Zoom*, thence to the Isle of *Thol* upon the edge of *Brabant*, and there went aboard other vessels that conveyed them into *Philipland*, a desert Island. But how they should get from thence into *Duveland*, where the enemy had a strong Garrison, was a matter of great consideration. This Isle of *Duveland* (which forty years before was overflowed by the Sea, and not long after drained by the industrious inhabitants) is distant from *Philipland* four miles by Sea; which, because at low water it carries no ships, and therefore was not passable to the enemies fleet, the *Spaniards* were to wade over by the direction of such Guides as knew the Foard. For though in some places certain parcels of firm land appeared among the waves, yet the way was not altogether firm, but undiscernable hollows, and blind confluences of Rivers were said to be interposed. Many souldiers of the Army therefore in a warlike gallantrie offered themselves to undergo the hazzard, seeking glory in the danger. But the principall Captains and oldest souldiers were for the most part chosen, especially, as the custome is, those that were forwardest to advance the expedition; *Isidoro Pacheo*, *Hieronimo Serosquequo*, this Governour of *Bergen*, he of *Goes*: *Oforius Ulloa* an old Commander of Foot. *Barberino*, *Aranda*, *Gujralto*, and others, to the number of 1750, most of them *Spaniards*, some *Low-countraymen*, the rest *Italians*, and *Germans* (besides pioners and Smiths almost two hundred) all men of undaunted Resolutions, such as preferred Honour before Life. Nor was the Prince of *Orange*, (who had intelligence of *Requesenes* his design) lesse active; but sending for *Boisot* Governour of *Zeland*, furnished him with men, part whereof were to keep *Duveland*, and part *Zericzee*, against which, the warre was intended. And near to *Duveland*, where the Sea is narrowest, he placed certain ships to gall the Royallists in their passage. Finally, he contrived a Fort in the midst of the Sea to oppose their going over. For some flat bottomed Boats were set forth, which at a high tide might come up to the Foard where the Kings men were to passe, and running aground upon the ridge of earth the vessels themselves might block up the passage whilst the men in them presented the *Spaniard* from the Cannons mouth with death inevitable. Yet the selected souldiers not knowing the danger, or deliberately condemning it, when the hour of low water approached, put off their armour and clothes, contenting themselves onely with shoes and trouses, hanging their knapsacks about their necks, or sticking them upon their pikes to keep them from the wet: one end being full of cheese and shipbisket, the other of gunpowder: some besides their swords carrying pikes, others long hatchets, some muskets, some spades or pickaxes. Thus furnished, they were brought to the place by the rest of the Army, that openly encouraged them, but privately commiserated the Regiment devoted unto death. And indeed how could they but be sacrificed, that were in the first place exposed to the crueltie of that mercilesse element; and in case it spared them; yet must be marks for the enemy to shoot at, through whose

fleet



Chiapino Vitelli Marquess of Cetona
Campe=master=generall

dismayed at the losse, arrived about the break of day in *Duveland*. Where instantly putting his men in order for an Assault, with the same courage, encreased by the late danger, when he had in few words animated his men (for it was not difficult to put them upon any resolutions whatsoever, that were resolved to die) he gave them both the Word, and his Example to fall upon the enimie struck with admiration of their bold adventure, though he was fresh and had the advantage of his works, the Royallists weary, and their heads giddy with the Sea: yet with incredible valour quickened by the very despair of hope (for the water and the enemies ships had stopt their passage back) they did not onely beat them from their works, and scatter them, but at the first onset killing *Charles Boissot* Governour of *Zeland*, the rest losing their spirits when they saw their Generall fall, they possessed themselves of the whole Island. By which it appears, there is no such conquering weapon as the necessitie of conquering. When the enemies fleet, that rode close by, saw this, for fear of *Schelt*, which they knew the *Spaniard* so much laboured to reduce, and had from *Duveland* but a short cut thither: presently sailing to *Schelt*, they left the way free for the Commanders that staid in *Philipiand*, *Avila*, *Mondragonio*, and *Peralta*; who immediately landed the rest of the armie in *Duveland*. So soon as they arrived, with great joy imbracing their fellows, and as it were welcoming them to life: first they took care for the wounded, most of which were Gentlemen: And after *Vitelli* had ordered them to be sent by Boar and Waggon to *Amsterdam*, presently others, instead of the hurt and slain, offered themselves to wade the Sea the second time, with greater alacritie then before, because the first voyage had so well succeeded. And *Mondragonio* (who formerly marched through the Sea to *Goes*) leading them, and with his old resolute courage conquering the gulfs and quicksands, in the sight of the enemies (that admired him, and called his men Sea-monsters) arrived in *Schelt*, the principall Isle of *Zeland*. But the *Spaniards* having with some difficultie beaten the Garrison at their landing in the Island, and with the same violence taken certain Fortresses (with the losse of *Gabriell Peralta*, whose too great spirit more stoutly then cautiously ingaged him) they found a little stop at *Bommen*; strong both in situation, and defendants: yet taking it at last, they marched with all their forces in a body to *Zericzee*, the chief citie of the Island, and head of the warre. Where being often repulsed (for the Town was exceeding well fortified both by the nature of the place, and the late supplies which they had from the fleet) by *Vitelli's* advice, and *Requesenes* his command (who were now come in person to the Leaguer) they drew a line about the Town, and chained up the ports, that no carriages should passe. Lastly, after the grievous incommodities of winter (sometimes being almost drowned with the sluices let out by the enimie) when they had foiled the Prince of *Orange*, who from the siege of *Crimpen*, now rendred to him, brought his victorious armie thither out of *Holland*, mending with massyer links the chains which the enemies ships with their iron beaks had broke asunder, having likewise sunk their Generall *Lodwick Boissot*, after nine moneths siege, *Zericzee*, conquered first by famine, yeilded to *Mondragonio*, affording him more Fame, then Benefit. But *Requesenes* and *Vitelli*, so desirous of that day, lived not to see it. *Vitelli* whilst he was buied at the siege of *Schelt* newly recovered of a sicknesse, and going from one place to another in his Sedan, by chance or on purpose was overthrown; and falling from the works, the weight of his flesh and years struck the breath out of his body: presently he was carryed to his tent, and growing worse

1575.

The Spaniards fight

And conquer.

The enemies fleet put men into Sceldt.

The mutuall gratulation of the Victors. The wounded souldiers provided for.

The Kings men wade the Sea again into Sceldt.

Fight the Islanders.

Take a great part of the Isle. The death of Peralta. Besiege Zericzee.

At last take it. Feb. 1. Crimpen.

The death of Chiapinio Vitelli.

July 1.

1575.

Why the souldiers were not much troubled for the losse of him.

Requesenes grieved exceedingly.

And much more the Cuy of Antwerp, that ordered his Funerall to be at the publick charge of the Town.

His body was carried to his Countrey.

His Parents. His first service Harieden Barbarossa King of Algier.

which styled him the Pre-servor of Thuscany against the Strozis and the French.

1554.

He was the first that entered Florence in a Coach.

His severall military offices. The Honours conferred upon him by Cosmo Duke of Florence.

1556.

1561.

His Vow.

He is made Camp-Master to the Duke of Alva and marches with him into the Netherlands. His nimble spirits notwithstanding his grosse body.

and worse, they conveyed him to the next Fort, where providing, like a Christian, for the health of his soul, which was all that could be done for him, in the fifty sixth year of his age he died: but was not greatly mourned for in the armie, the souldiers being weary of the long and tedious siege, and therefore out of charitie with *Vitelli* as Authour of it. Yet his corpse brought into the Leaguer was honoured (as the custome is) with military pomp, and afterwards laid in the ground at *Antwerp* by *Requesenes*, with great sorrow, as more sensible of his losse. But the Senate and People of *Antwerp* expressed the greatest love to him, decreeing his funeralls to be at the publick charge, and extolling him in an Oration as farre from flatterie, as the necessitie of flattering him. Lastly, his body was carried into his own Countrey, and there by his Countreymen magnificently intombed, in a Chappel of the *Franciscans* founded by his Ancestours. *Clapinio Vitelli* was born at *Citta di Castello* in the Dutchy of *Spalato*, his Father, *Nicolao Vitelli*, his Mother, *Gentilina a Staffa* of *Perugia*; his house it self, a Family of souldiers. For they were his Progenitours that first taught the *Italian* horse the use of Carabines, and their foot the discipline of marching in the form of a Cockle. And he himself gave the first proof of a spirit equall to his forefathers, encountering *Harieden Barbarossa* Admirall of the *Turkish* fleet, when he haresed the Sea-coast of *Siena*, filling *Italy* with Bloud and Rapine. To oppose him, *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence* sent *Vitelli* Generall of his horse, who not onely defended the town of *Orbatello*, which others thought untenable, when *Harieden* having burnt *Porte Hercole*, was come close to it: but likewise beat the *Turks* from the maritime parts, and forced them to quit *Thuscany*. For which service he being cried up by the inhabitants as the deliverer of *Thuscany*, was with all military applause entertained at *Florence*: The Duke himself allowing him to ride through the citie in a Coach drawn with four horses, (the first they say that was ever seen in *Florence*) in manner of a triumph. Answerable to this noble beginning he proceeded in the *Florentine* warre, sometimes commanding the foot, sometimes the horse, sometimes being at once Generall of the *Spaniards* and *Germans*. Especially at the taking of *Porte Hercole*, and fortifying the town. Which last victory, being the absolute conquest of *Siena*, as Duke *Cosmo* ascribed it solely to *Vitelli's* Conduct, so that magnanimous and munificent Prince, bestowed upon him *Cetona*, a town belonging to *Siena*, of which place he created him Marquesse; and a few years after when his Excellence instituted an Order of Knights dedicated to Saint *Stephen* the Bishop, because upon his day the victorie was obtained, the Duke himself, master of that fraternitie, chose *Vitelli* among the first Knights, and made him the great *Commendatore* of the Order. Whence his fame spreading through *Europe*, great propofalls were made him by many Princes. Insomuch as the Duke of *Alva*, when he marched against *Pope Paul* the fourth, offered to make *Vitelli* Generall of his horse, but he refused the place, because he said, he had bound himself by vow, when he first resolved to be a souldier, never to bear arms against the *Sea Apostolick*. And returning from the warre of *Malta*, for defence of which Island he was, by *Philip* the second of *Spain*, sent with 2500 volunteers; he was by the same King invited to serve the Duke of *Alva*, then upon his march for the Low-countreys, and made Camp-master to his armie, so happily, that among all the Kings Low-countrey-forces, in that field of *Mars* either at a Councell of warre, or in a battell no man laid or expedited a stratagem comparable to *Vitelli*. And truly it was a kind of miracle to see a man of that corpulency, not only active in mind, but likewise indued

Fleet they were to passe, with no other Gabeons to defend them, but their bodies; and if they escaped both these dangers, yet a third remained from the Island-garrison, that looked for them standing safely on the Banks and Rocks; a very unequall encounter, wherein if they presently prevailed not, when the tide came they should be drowned, the enemy in the mean time sitting at his ease, and laughing at them. So as this adventure may not onely be compared with that of *Cesars* souldiers; when they, with their heads onely above water, waded the *Thames*, with such violence, as the enemy not able to resist the force of his Legionaries, and Horse, forsook the banks and fled. But these mens courage is so much to be preferred before the *Cesarians*, by how much fewer the *Spaniards* were, and had no Horse to flank them, nor the water free, but ventured on the sea possessed and maintained against them by the enemy; and likewise in that they went on so, as in case, they should be routed, there was lesse hope of coming off, the way being impassable, save by boat: and lastly, by how much surer they were (having the enemy on the front, and the sea (a crueller enemy) in the rere) that if they did not forthwith conquer, they must certainly be conquered. And now the magnanimous Battalion, when it was low water about midnight, entred the dreadfull chanel. *John Osorius Ulloa* led the Van, the greatnesse of whose mind equalled the valour of his followers. *Gabriel Peralta*, brother to the Marquess of *Falcesio*, an ingenious and dexterous Commander, brought up the Rere; that consisting of twelve hundred, this of five hundred men; the Pioners with one hundred Musketeers marched inclosed between them both. And because such as knew the foard, betwixt the quicksands and whirlpits, shewed them certain little spots of solid earth, whereon but a few could rest at once, therefore they went two or three a breast, with incredible confidence, wrestling with the waves up to the armpits. *Requesenes* stood upon the shore, and with him a Priest, praying for these poor souls to the Prince of the Celestiall Militia, *Christ Jesus*, that being the night to his own day. Nor prayed he in vain: For the blind and darksome night was on a sudden illuminated with clouds kindled in the Air, burning Meteors, and all the other fiery prodigies of heaven. Especially a flame in the form of a Crown, inclining towards *Requesenes*, attracted the greedy eyes of the souldiours, ignorant of the cause of such Meteors, and raised their spirits with assurance of success. *Osorius* taking occasion thereupon, turned to his men and said, *Do you not see, my fellow-souldiers, how the Army of Heaven goes along, how they joyn forces with us, how they guide us to Victorie, and boad revenge upon our foes. Indeed before I embarked upon this Adventure, weighing in my mind the immenseness of the danger, I prayed with much anxietie, and was not (I must confess) so ambitious of a conquest, as an honest and not an unrevenged death. But now fully encouraged, I correct and enlarge my wishes, confident we can meet nothing impervious to us, or insuperable. Though our attempt be great, my mates, yea so great as almost exceeds belief, that we should pass a foot to an enemies Island, through seas where Ships hardly dare adventure, and have no other Oars to land us, but our hands. Nor can we be censured as desperate, or unadvised, if every one consider not his own strength, nor the present danger of the Ebbs and Flows; but lifting up his eyes to heaven, take the number of our Auxiliaries, and their confederate colours flying in the air. Let him look how the Element fires upon the enemy: nor can all the water of the Sea extinguish those Grandoes. We have the day, my mates, wherein the heavens are concerned, as much as we. God is well pleased with our labour: and whilst we have so glorious a Generall yonder, we carrie Victorie with us, and the cause of Victory. Cheared with*

1575.

*This adventure
and Cesars of
foarding the
Thames paral-
lelled. Cæf.
lib. 5. Bel. Gal.*

*The Kings men
made the sea
Ulloa leads the
Van.
Peralta the
Rere.
The Pioners in
the middle.
The order of the
march.*

*Requesenes on
the shore, and by
hima Priest pray-
ing for them.
Mich. Hergan-
des a Jesuite.
Prosperous o-
bents from
heaven.
Istet. in Hist.
Belg. Thuaa.
1.60 Met. 1.5.
Meurf. in O-
rang. 1.10.
M. Hernandez
told that of the
Crown.
Whence Ulloa
takes a hint to
encourage his
men.*

1575.

*The souldiers
animated, hasten
their march.*

*But are retarded
by the straits.*

*And by the ene-
mie sallying
from their ships.*

*And by the ships
themselves.*

*The Rere forced
to return.*

*The Pioners
drowned or shot.*

*The enemy re-
proves them in
this manner.*

*The number of
those that perisht*

*The virtue of
Pacecho.
His last words.*

*Pacecho compa-
red with Celsars
Centurion.
Celsar. 1.7. Bel.
Gal.
Petreius.
Pacecho.*

*The Van lands
in Duveland.*

this Oration, the souldiers, who had conceived the same hope of celestiall Assistance, animated likewise with the unwonted aspect and invitation of the heavenly bodies, thought they might safely follow where the elementall torches guided; and with great expedition, lest the tide should encrease, hastened toward *Duveland*. But what haste could be made by almost two thousand men, through those straits that would scarce hold four a breast. Nor was it a little discouragement to behold the enemies ships appear against them, which though they shot a far off, and therefore seldome hit; yet the boldest of their Seamen sallying out by the foards which they exactly knew, encountred the Royallists with a new and a mad kind of fight; for both parties that hardly saw each other for the waves, now discharged their Muskets a farr off, the fire flashing through the water, now hand to hand with their spears and staves beat one another from the higher ground, and were tumbled down into the next Gulfs and Whirlpits. But the destruction was greater and more unavoidable from the Ships, that lay crosse the foard, against whose souldiers armed with muskets and long hooks, whilst some of the Royallists skirmished in their passage, others in the mean time got by. But not without much delay. And with no small loss of the Kings men, could these rocks of the Enemy, and this dreadfull tempest be avoided: Wherefore the tide rising and raging, *Peralta* with the Rere had gone but a little way, when the swelling water, now up to their necks, forced them to return, and the Pioners and Low-countrey-musketeers, marching between them and the Van, in despair to get back, and endeavouring to follow the foremost, were partly drowned, partly slain by those we mentioned in the ships. Nay, the enemies whole Fleet now coming on with the tide, shot them so securely, that the very murderers (sensible of their own frailty subject to the like disasters) commiserated them, as unfortunately and inconsiderately cast away; and reproving them, called out, *Whither do you go, you wretches? Why are your undefended bodies so frantically exposed to wounds? What madnesse, or what hope of gain could hire out your lives to the Spaniards, that they should turn you like water-dogs into the Sea, to make sport for your enemies?* Thus at once they both killed and pitied them. Of all the two hundred and fifty in the middle, onely nine escaped. Among the rest that were lost of the first company (being twelve or thirteen) *Isidor Pacecho* died most gallantly: For shot through the body, his souldiers running to take up their Captain on their shoulders, he coming to himself again, said, *Go, fellow Souldiers, go, and do not out of your care of me, that am now but a dead man, hinder the march of your fellows, with these untimely Ceremonies. I die in a brave attempt, not unhand somely, nor unhappily, as I hope and pray that you may make it.* So this stout man, when his life failed him, yet retained so much spirit, that even dying he encouraged others. Truly, I am not so much affected to the ancient, and regardless of our modern men, that I can easily preferre before this Captain, that of *Celsars Petreius*, who in the siege of *Gergovia* wounded to death, falling refused the help of his company, and told them, *They laboured but in vain to put life into him, that had now lost all his blood and strength: they should rather go to their Countrey-men, and whilst they themselves were yet safe and had time, joyn with the rest of their Legion.* For, as the like contempt of Life, and care of the Publick safety was in both, and their last words the same; undoubtedly the *Spaniards* act was greater then the *Romanes*, since this; when they were beaten from a siege, onely taught them how to flie; he, when his followers were fighting with the Sea, perswaded them to the conquest of a Province. But *Oforius* with the rest of the forces, nothing dismay-

dued with great agility of body: so as in the field you could not say, that to the prudence of a great Commander there wanted the dexterity of a common souldier. But because he found himself grow so far in his middle age, that he was glad to have his huge belly tyed up in a scarf fastned about his neck, the man that would loose no part of a souldier, of his own accord gave over wine, and drank vinegar all his lifetime after, which so exceedingly brought down his belly, that he folded the loose skin in form of a breast-plate, and was found to weigh lesse by eighty seven pound: but as much as he advanced the glory of his Nations discipline of warre in the Low-countrys, so much he detracted from the fame of the Italian modestie, and pietie.

The Marquesse *Vitelli's* funerall was within a few dayes followed by the death of *Ludovico Requesenes*; a man in whom concurred the honours of the House of *Zunica* by his father, and of *Requesenes* by his Mother. For from his father *Juan Zunica*, great *Commendador* of the Knights of *Saint Iago* in the Province of *Castile*, descended upon him that honourable Office. And from his mother *Stephanie Requesenes*, he had his name and Barony, she being the onely daughter of the house of *Requesenes*, that had inheritance in *Catalonia*. For *Bernardo Requesenes* took his other daughter by the same wife along with him, when he went Vice-Roy into *Sicily*, and she still continues in the ancient and illustrious family of *Antonio Requesenes* Prince of *Pantellana*. But *Ludovico* from his mothers side, derived not onely his surname, but his skill in Sea-fights proper to the name of the *Requesenes*: For his Great-grandfather *Galcerano Requesenes* Governour of *Catalonia*, King *Ferdinand's* Admirall, ended the War of *Aluare*, having in a sea-fight utterly defeated the *Torello's* Lords of the Island. Another *Galcerano* sonne to the former, Count *De Trivento* and *Avilino*, and his brother *Berlinguerio*, he in *Naples*, this in *Sicily*, succeeded in their Fathers fame and Office of High Admirall to the Catholick King. And *Berlinguerio's* sonne inheriting both his Fathers Place and Virtue, overthrew *Araus Soliman's* Fleet at *Pantellana*, and sent back to *Pope Leo* the tenth, the streamers which *Araus* had taken out of the Galley of *Pope Julius* the second. *Ludovico Requesenes* furnished with these great domestick examples, when *Don John* of *Austria* had his Patent for High Admirall, was by the King chosen under the name of his Vice-Admirall, to be the young mans Superintendent. Soon after, by the same King, in the War of *Granado*, he was appointed to defend the Sea-coast of *Spain*, with souldiers brought out of *Italy*, against the Incursions of the *Moors* assisted by the *Turkish* Emperour, *Selimus*. And in the battell of *Lepanto* he was by the King made Vice-Amirall to *Don John* of *Austria*; but with such authority, as *Don John* was commanded to hear especially and follow his advice. But though *Requesenes* was active, and a fortunate souldier, yet I know he was vulgarly accounted a better Gownman, and more skillfull in the arts of Peace. Which opinion he gained as well by his gentle and modest nature, as by his great Offices of State, Embassages, and the Government of *Millain*, wherewith he was intrusted by the King. Though some differences betwixt him and *S^t. Charles Borromeo* Bishop of the Citie, much blemished his name; and some thought that the cause both of his unfortunate administration of the Low-countrys, and of his untimely death. They say, *Requesenes* in his sickness, sent to the Bishop, earnestly beseeching him (whom he called the holy man) to vouchsafe him the expiation of the sacred Crosse; a passage, which because I do not certainly know, I mean not to affirm. This I am assured of, when *Requesenes* went from *Millain* into the

Low-

1576.

How he took down his belly.

His only fault.

The Elogie of
Requesenes,
ex Annal. Arag.
Hier. Zuri.
His progenitor.
1440.

His maternall
Ancestors famous
Sea-Commanders.

1480.

His own Sea-services.

1569.

1571.

Ant. Maria
Gratia. de Bel.
Cypr. l. 4. &
Thuan. l. 48.
Hist.
His Civill Offi-
ces.

1564.

1573.

His difference
with S^t. Charles
Borromeo.
Carol. a Basil.
S. Petr. l. 3. c. 2.
Joan. Petr.
Gulian. l. 3. c. 3.
Of whom he
asks forgiveness
by his servants.

1575.

His Govern-
ment of the
Low-countries
not so unfortu-
nate as many
think.

His great Ev-
il.

His souldiers
much more to
blame than mu-
tined souldiers.

Their third se-
dition was the
occasion of his
death.

Out of the rela-
tion of Christop
Alsonvil.

Being near his
end he names a
successour for
the Civil Go-
vernment.

And a Generall
for the Army.

But dying ere he
had signed their
Commissions.

March 5. of his
Age fifty yeare.

The Govern-
ment rested in
the great Coun-
cell.

which the King
doubts to con-
firm.

The Pope pro-
posing Don

John of Austria.

Mary Queen

of Scots.

Nich-lao Or-
manetti Bishop

of Padua.

For these rea-
sons.

Notwithstanding
the King lets
the Senate go-
vern.

Perswaded
thereunto by
Oppert upon
these grounds.

Low-countries, without any publick reconciliation with the Bishop, (for to the Church he was reconciled by the Breve of *Gregory* the thirteenth) upon the way, touched with Religion, he sent one of the principall Gentlemen of his Train, piously and humbly to crave pardon of the Bishop (then Cardinall) for what was past. The good man willingly embraced his desire, and promised he would earnestly pray God to grant it. But among *Requesenes* his disasters, I cannot justly reckon his Government, wherein he was often Conquerour, and (which was beyond any former victorie) after a memorable foarding of the Sea, took *Zericee*, thereby separating *Holland* and *Zeland*, so facilitating the recovery of both those Countreys to the Royalists; and finally, left the enemies forces fewer and weaker then he found them. I cannot excuse him of one fault, that to aw the mutinous souldiers, he gave way to the *Low-countrey men* for taking up Arms, which afterwards they were unwilling to lay down. But nothing more obstructed *Requesenes* his successe, then his own souldiers, who demanding their pay, not so unjustly, as importunely, in two years mutinied three or four times, corrupting their own victories, and occasioning *Requesenes* his fate. For when *Requesenes* heard how the horse in *Brabant* mutinied, whilst he lay before *Zericee*, fearing lest some of the foot should make the like attempt, which might be the beginning of some great Commotion, riding thither post, the next day after he came to *Bruxells*, he was past all hope of life. Instantly therefore, lest the Provinces might suffer by the intervall of Government, he named *Philip* Count *Barlamont* Governour of the *Low-countries*; and *Peter Ernest* Count *Mansfeldt* Generall of the Army; commanding his Secretary to draw up and bring him their Commissions, which though presented to him, yet because he died before they were read and signed, were held of no validitie. And the Government of the *Low-countries*, according to their ancient custome, remained in the power of those Lords, they call the States, till it should be otherwise ordered by the King: who for some time, doubted whether he should allow that form of Government or no. For *Gregory* the thirteenth (who had mutually agreed with King *Philip* to assist the Queen of *Scots*, then a Prisoner) being to nominate a Generall for that expedition (for it was undertaken in the Popes, not the Kings name, lest it might distast the Rivalls of the *Spanish* Greatnesse) his Holinesse made choice of *Don John* of *Austria*, famous for Sea victories: And therefore advised the King, by *Ormanetti*, who was trusted in the transaction of that businesse, to send his Brother into the *Low-countries*, wanting at that time a Governour: who would be in great esteem with the *Low countrey men*, that honoured the memory of his Father *Charles* the fifth; and might from thence passe with a Fleet into *England*, where he, if any man, might expect successe. He likewise articted with King *Philip*, that the Queen of *Scots* (if it pleased God they freed her from captivity) should be married to *Don John*, with the Kingdome of *England* for her dowry, which would be a fair title to the Island for the House of *Austria* to ground a Warre upon. The King disliked it not (though he more approved of the Expedition, then of the Generall) but instantly resolved and promised the *Nuncio* to send his brother into the *Low-countries*. But his Majestie thought it not amisse to protract his Brothers going for a while, that he might see how the *Low-countrey men* would govern the *Low-countries*: moved hereunto by *Foachim Oppert* a *Low-countrey* man, his Secretary for the *Netherlands*: who delivered his opinion, that the *Low-countrey* Lords would no doubt be infinitely carefull of the Common-wealth, and would now themselves apply to the evill, that reme-
die

die for which they had so often solicited the King: Who by confiding in them, would for ever oblige the hearts of the *Low-countray-men*. Especially, in that his Majestie well knew the Principall Senatours, Duke *Arsefeld*, the Counts *Manifeldt* and *Barlamont*, and the President of the Senate himself *Viglius Zuichem*, were men of most undoubted Religion and Loyaltie. But to govern by a Committee (that I may not accuse the Kings prudence from the event) was then unreasonable. For in the most troubled State, the most present remedy is for one man to rule. Truly this indulgence of the Prince, did more hurt to the *Low-countrays*, then all his severity, as appeared by the immediate ruine of the Provinces.

For the people freed from a *Spanish* Governour, would not acknowledge a new one in the Senate, or rather greatly feared not a power divided and diminished among many. And the Lords despised the government of their Peers, and easily deluded their discordant Votes and Orders. Some enemies to the *Spaniards*, desirous of revenge, fomented this difference of the Lords, especially the Burgeses for *Brabant* and *Hainolt*, whom *Requesenes* had lately called to *Bruxells*. For these, as they were chosen under-hand by means of the Prince of *Orange*, in regard of the Authority wherewith those Provinces intrusted them, hugely distracted the Senate. And though both parties pretended the Kings name and cause, yet their Designs and Counsels were so different, that some of them were vulgarly called *Spaniards*, others *Patriots* or Protectours of their Country. And as the word *Countray* infinitely takes the People, with a counterfeited and deceiving image of Liberty, it was not to be doubted but in case of a Warre, the major part of the *Low-countray-men* would adhere unto this party. Nor was occasion long wanting to mature the mischief. For when they had taken *Zirixee*, after *Requesenes* his death, the *Germans* and *Spaniards* clamouring for their pay (for that Island had afforded very little money) it was resolved on by the Senate for easing the *Low-countrays* of the burden of forrein Souldiers, to pay and cashiere the regiment of *Hannibal Count de Altemps*, because there having lately been a breach between him and the Governour of *Antwerp*, *Fraderick Perrenot* Lord of *Campin*, about the Garrison, it was feared lest publick mischief might ensue. In the mean time, the *Spaniards*, that took *Zirixee* under Colonell *Mondragonio*, when they saw themselves passed by, and the many moneths pay which was promised them, issued out to others, interpreting (not falsely, as some said) that it was done out of malice to their Nation, and they thereby necessitated to an Insurrection; First, as if he looked not into their business, they threatened *Mondragonio*: then hearing of the complaints made in the Senate of *Bruxels*, by Count *Altemps*, who publickly affirmed, that he was cashiered, not for any danger to the Town of *Antwerp*, nor with relation to his souldiers importunity for pay, wch he himself, a fortnight longer was able to have satisfied: but only by the subtilty & spleen of the Lord *Campin* that excluded souldiers faithfull to the King, and so weakening the *Spanish* partie, intended to betray the citie to the Prince of *Orange*. Whereupon the *Spaniards*, troubled at the publick danger, and the more exasperated, by their private injury, in regard they demanded but what was due to their extraordinary labours, and unprecedented courage in wading through the sea, seized upon their Captains, and chose themselves a Generall in *Mondragonio's* place. Whereto they were animated by the example of the horse, and recruited by the accession of *Pulder's* his Regiment. They sent letters therefore to the Senate at *Bruxels*, threateningly petitioning for their money. Not did the Senate deny it, the major part be-

1576.

An unreasonable resolution destructive to the Lowcountreys

The Belgick warre occasioned by the Peoples contempt of the Senate. And their private differences.

As also by another mutinie of the Spaniards, from the Relation of Christ, Affonvil. Because the Germans were payed, and not they.

An injury they very much resented. Mart. Del. I. 1. Turb. Belg. and others.

And are exasperated by the complaint of Count Altemps

They demand their Pay of the Senate.

1576.
Which being
craftily denied.

They march in
hostile manner
into Brabant.

They refuse
conditions of
peace.

They take Aelst.

A tumult in
in Bruxels.

Called Scri-
ban by Francis
Harve in his
Anna Belg.
A Spanish Sen-
atour's servant
 slain.
The Senate de-
clares the Spa-
niards En-
emies to the
State.

The Low-
countreymen
permitted to
take arms a-
gainst them.

Avila com-
plains of the
Senate.

The Senate laies
the fault upon
Avila, out of
Christ. Affon-
vill.

An Edict pub-
lished by the
Senate against
the souldiers
in Aelst.

Avila sends
ammunition to
his Countrey-
men in Aelst.

ing Royallists. But the Burgeses of *Haynolt* and *Brabant*, long since bought (as I said) with the Prince of *Oranges* money, interceded in the name of their Provinces, pretending publick necessitie. And whilst the Senate, partly affrighted with their protestations, partly intangled in crosse votes, deferred their payment; the *Spaniards* thinking their menaces contemned, took up their Colours in furie, crying, Away for *Brabant*. And having left *Zirzee* guarded with a few *Wallons*, quitting *Schelt* and *Duveland*, (Islands they had conquered, with so much glory to their Nation) they ran up and down *Brabant* threatening, but not resolved upon any determinate design, the Cities generally trembling and in amazement, expecting where that storm would fall. But having first rejected the conditions, which Count *Mansfeldt*, meeting them near *Ase*, brought from the Senate: then, sending away *Juliano Romero*, who for the same cause came from the *Spaniards*, without so much as hearing him speak: afterward shaking their swords and presenting their muskets against *Francisco Montedocha*, they commanded him to come no nearer: and lastly on a sudden possessed themselves of *Aelst*, a town in *Flanders* not farre from *Bruxels*, hanging the Kings Officer that opposed them, before the Gates: openly professing they meant to keep *Aelst* as a pledge, till their Arrears were paid. When this news came to *Bruxels*, with addition, but false, that they had plundered the Town, and put the People to the sword; the minds of the citizens were so incensed, as that searching the Town for *Spaniards*, by chance they met a servant of *Hieronymo Roda*, a Spanish Senatour, whom the Low-countreymen hated above all the rest, because he had in many things been the Governour *Requesenes* his instrument; and at that time stoutly spake for the King in Senate; this poor Servingman they slew, foully mangling his body, and would have fallen upon *Roda* himself; *Alphonso Vargas*, and *Juliano Romero*, if they had not presently (instructed by the danger) retired to Court. In like manner it being reported, that the *Spaniards* bragged they would march from *Aelst*, and storm *Bruxels*, unlesse they were paid, by order of the Senate; the Lords (for they said the multitude would not otherwise be appeased) declared the *Spaniards* that kept *Aelst*, Rebels and enemies to the King and State, permitting the people of *Bruxels* to take up arms in defence of their City. By which example many Cities of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, because they pretended to be in like fear of the *Wallons*, and *Germans*, in Garrison among them, by like indulgence of the Senate, and encouragement from the Burgeses, took arms. But the Spanish Commanders fearing this to a generall conspiracie of the Provinces against their Nation, whilst they busied themselves in preparing for a warre, suspected and no lesse suspecting, on both sides the causes of mutuall hatred were increased; and each party looking upon the other as an enemy, they became enemies indeed. For when *Sancho Avila*, who was the ablest souldier and greatest man among them, being Governour of the Fort at *Antwerp*; by letters directed to the Senate, complained, that the Cities were in arms, and tumults, under the colour of remedie, fomented: and the Senate in like manner returned answer, that *Avila*, without making his addresses unto them, had increased his Garrisons, and therefore Required him to slight them: in a short time they broke out into open hostilitie. For it was by a new Edict of Senate decreed, that no man should presume to assist the seditious *Spaniards* at *Aelst*, with any kind of help or counsell: notwithstanding *Avila*, though he was offended with their mutinie, yet for fear they might be circumvented by the Low-countreymen, furnished them with powder and three field-pieces. But very opportunely

tunely at the same time, *Charles Cröi Marquesse* of *Havre*, Brother to Duke *Areschor*, returned from *Spain*, with the Kings letters to the Senate, wherein he promised very suddenly to send them *Don John* of *Austria*, their Governour. Which not a little retarded the beginning of the civill Warre, especially, since both the parties laboured to avoid that imputation, and therefore severally strove by speedy messengers to preposse the mind of their new Governour. Yet, forasmuch as the Royal party in the Senate, knew this truce could not long continue, being opposed by the Burgesses, after *John Baptista* a *Boscho*, whom they had sent post into *Spain*, they carefully dispatched away, *Maximilian Rassinghem*, and *Francis Vassencr*, protesting to his Majestie, That the Authoritie of Senate could not bridle the hatred of the people, so much enraged, that scarce a Tradesman in the Town, or a Ploughman in the Countrey, but spent his time in buying armour, and muskets. Nor was the multitude kept in order by the Garrison-souldiers, who wanting pay, and allured with hope of plunder, by pillaging Towns through the whole Countrey, and threatening all the Provinces, unmeasurably increased the Tumults. That in the Treasury was not money enough to pay them. That they themselves had received from his Majestie, by the hand of the Marquesse of *Havre*, seventy thousand crowns: and a little while before, as many: but this sum, which was all that in six moneths could be got from *Spain* to supply the Low-countreys, would not serve for one moneths pay. Howsoever they themselves had to that day, as well as they could, maintained the Commonwealth, relying upon his Majesties promises, and the late hope of *Don John's* coming. Who, if he staid a while longer, no doubt the mischief would break forth into a publick and irrevocable ruine. For hitherto, they had governed the weather-beaten State, and stoppt the leaks whilst they were but one or two. Now, if who'e planks were sprung, it was to be feared, that the Ship splitting, all the Masters care will come too late. This free expression of the Senate, though it moved the King to send *Don John* post into the *Netherlands*; yet as it is commonly the fortune of all *Spanish* hast, he arrived too late, to the destruction of the Publick. For in a violent sicknesse, there is not a more certain sign of death, then if remedies be applyed sparingly, and out of time; especially if there be somewhat from without, which by fanning the inward humours poisoned with immoderate heat, instead of cooling, more inflames them. For the Prince of *Orange*, who conceived there could not be a happier opportunitie for him, then the present discord of the Kings Governours, used all his industrie, and by frequent letters and messengers from *Holland*, he, that was ambitious to govern, courted the Senators and Governours of Provinces, with the usuall word, that signifies nothing, *Libertie*. They say his Emissaries moved Duke *Areschor*, that he being the greatest person in the Senate (for when the King gave the Senators their Commission for the Government of the Low-countreys, *Areschor* was first named, as Prince of the Senate) would use that greatnesse for the benefit of his Nation, and opportunely lay hold of the honourable Title of his Countreys Deliverer. Nor would there be any great difficulty in the enterprise, if they two united themselves, and to strengthen the tie of friendship should confirm it with a double marriage, Count *Buron* eldest sonne to the Prince of *Orange* marrying the daughter of Duke *Areschor*, and his eldest son the Prince of *Cimace*, the eldest daughter to the Prince of *Orange*. It was likewise conceived, that *Areschor*, from that time, deserted the *Spanish* party. But howsoever, it is evident, that diverse Noblemen, and many Senators, that were formerly Neuters, moved by the late proceedings of the *Spaniards* at *Aelft* (for they had taken the Fort of *Likerch*, near to *Bruxels*) entered

1576.

The Civill
warre for a
while put off by
the Marquesse
of Havre's ar-
rivall.

In the end
of August.

Vasseur Lord
of Morienfart.
The Senates
Letter to the
King out of
Christ. Asson-
vill.

The King com-
mands Don
John to take
post for the
Low-count-
treys.

In the interim
the Prince of
Orange makes
use of the dif-
ferences among
the Royalists.
Solicits the
Governours of
Provinces.
Particularly
Duke Areschor.

Mart. Delv.
1. Turb. Belg.
The Senators
opinions touch-
ing those of
Aelft.

1576.

Some would
have them de-
stroyed by arms.

Others, not to
be provoked,
and these spake
prophetically.

But their sense
was rejected.

The People
create a new
Governour of
Bruxels.

By his Order,
the Senators that
were held to be
of the Spanish
Faction were
taken into Cu-
stody.

The authority
of the Senate
falls to nothing.

A new form of
Government to
Deputies of the
Estates.

The beginning
of the Associa-
tion of Gant.

Four Provinces
offer assistance
against the
Spaniards.

They crave suc-
cours from their
neighbours in
order to the
Spaniards ex-
pulsion.

Their Agree-
ment with the
Prince of O-
range.

who assists them
in the recovery
of Gant.

tered into a league with the Prince of *Orange*, which presently appeared in Senate, that upon news of the *Spaniards* threats and approaches united themselves with the Burgeses of *Brabant* and *Haynolt*. For when some delivered their opinions, that such frequent mutinies of the *Spaniards* and their late menaces against the Royall Senate, should be chastised with arms; and others voted on the contrary, that they should rather be appeased with the money due unto them; that there was no fighting with such men, as would sell their skins at a dear rate; that the *Spanish* Commanders, which held most of their Forts, would not suffer their Countreymen to be cut off by such a combination, nor themselves and the King to loose the strength of so many old souldiers; nay, that the King would be offended, if a warre, without his knowledge, should be raised against his men. It is not to be imagined, with what animositie, and almost down-right railing, this suffrage was resented by the people of *Bruxels*. And being likewise by the Senate cunningly made believe, that some of the house conspired with the *Spaniards*, and treated about the Surrender of the town; they all cried, to Arms, with such fury, as they instantly required to have William *Horn* Lord of *Hese*, that mortally hated a *Spaniard*, declared Governour of *Bruxels*, and Commander in chief of the Militia. And he, under colour of pacifying the multitude, but indeed to strengthen his partie, commanded *Glimè* Governour of the *Wallon-Brabant*, with a band of souldiers to seiz upon the Court, who breaking open the gates, took out of the Senate the Counts of *Mansfeldt* and *Barlamont*, the President *Viglius*, *John Baptista Boischoet*, *Christopher Affonwill*, *Aloysio Delrio*, and many other Senatours which they commonly called *Spaniards*, and committed them all prisoners; lest they should (as he said) promote Councils pernicious to the publick Peace. Which being injuriously and imperiously acted, not onely against the greatest persons, but even against the Senate it self, and consequently against the Prince, whose Person that Order represented: the authoritie of Senate absolutely fell, and that day was the last wherein the Royall Senate governed; the foundation of that power being then first laid, which ever since hath remained in the *States* of the *Low-countreys*, revolted from the King. For though others, chosen in their places that were removed, seemed to carry the face of a Senate, yet all the power was in the Burgeses, at whose pleasure they were nominated and moved, like wooden Puppets with a Vice. Henceforth, most matters were ordered in a hostile manner; the decree of Senate furiously passed for turning the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countreys*; the Estates General summoned; the People commanded to take arms, and every one taxed at a Crown, that should refuse.

But though all this was done, not onely without consulting his Majestie, but likewise (as they well knew) against his will (for he had often forbid the summoning of the Estates) and therefore seemed to be no obscure beginning of Rebellion. Yet it was concluded with so universall a consent of the Provinces, that within a few dayes, *Brabant*, *Haynolt*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, sending their Commissioners about it to *Bruxels*, agreed among themselves, and took an oath mutually to assist each other against the *Spaniards*. That done, they sent divers noble Persons to entreat assistance of the neighbour-Princes, against the tyrannie (as they called it) of the *Spaniards*; in the first place to the King of *France*, and the Queen of *England*; then to *Cleveland*, lastly, to the Prince of *Orange* in *Holland*, with whom they were to make a League, if he would joyn his forces with theirs, to besiege the Castle of *Gant* held by the *Spaniards*. The Prince without delay furnishing them to their

their desires, the Castle was taken, for which they delivered into his hands the Town of *Newport*, lying upon the Sea-coast of *Flanders*. With the said Catholick Provinces, *Holland* and *Zeland*, that were of the Hereticall faction, associated, and in all the severall Articles of their League begun at *Gant*, there was not the least mention of their Sovereign. Into this City invited by the Royall Senate, came not onely Embassadors from the Princes their neighbours, and Commissioners for the Provinces, but the Deputies of the *Low-country* Prelates. Who, though of divers factions and Religions, but a while since at deadly feud among themselves, and besprinkled with the yet fresh blood drawn in the warres of *Holland* and *Zeland*, all this notwithstanding, to that Head, which of twenty five was the principall, *That the Spanish Souldiers, and all forreiners should be forthwith expelled from the rest of the Provinces, for ever confederated with Holland and Zeland*; they so unanimously consented, and so much the desire of Liberty, thereby hoped for, prevailed; that all of them, among whom were diverse Royallists, and many Clergy-men, more eagerly then advisedly swore and signed this agreement. So as one would think the *Low-country* men at this day to be the same that inhabited the place in *Cesars* time, which calling a Council about ejecting the *Romanes*, the consent of the Provinces was so universall to vindicate their Libertie, as they were neither moved with the remembrance of Benefits nor Friendship, but every man followed the war with the utmost abilities of his purse and courage. The Conspiratours were much daunted at the event of the first battel, wherein *Glimè*, Generall for the States, boldly encountering the *Spaniards*, betwixt *Louvain* and *Tienen*, was routed by *Alphonso Vargab's* horse; with so much greater disgrace then losse (for not above three hundred of the *Glimèians* were slain) by how much they had confidently promised themselves victorie, inviting their neighbours, no doubt to see the show. But they were yet more astonished at the news which a while after came to *Gant*, That the *Spaniards* had recovered *Maestricht*, put the citizens to the sword, and plundered the Town: For they of *Maestricht* had no sooner corrupted and drawn to their party the *Germane* Garrison, turning out the *Spanish*, having by a trick seized and imprisoned their Colonell, *Francisco Montesdocha*, but *Martin Ayala*, *Montesdocha's* Lieutenant-Colonell, Governour of *Wiccha* (which is the other part of the Town beyond the *Mose*, joyned to *Maestricht* by a Bridge) sent word how things went with the *Spaniards* to *Ferdinand Toledo*, who by accident was coming thitherward with some Foot from *Dalem*, and timously arriving at *Wiccha*, with united forces they marched up to the Bridge: But perceiving Canon planted in the front of it, they pitched upon this sudden resolution; As many women of the Town as they could lay hold of, they took and placed before them for a breast-work, and so faced the Bridge with their Muskets couched under the womens arm-pits, readie to fire upon the enemy. And whilst the Citizens were afraid to shoot, lest they might kill their kinswomen and friends, before they should hurt the *Spaniards*, they heard that on the other part of the Town, *Alphonso Vargab* having burned down *Bruxels-Port*, had entred with his Horse. Whereupon most part of the men running to defend their houses, the *Spaniards* took the Bridge, the *Germanes* yielded, and *Maestricht* was recovered.

When this news came to *Gant*, for fear the like should happen at *Antwerp*, setting aside the business of the League for a while, the Deputies of the Estates speedily repaired to *Bruxells*, and with consent of the Senate, ordered new Levies to be made. And at the same time, just as they could have

1576.

Other Provinces associated with them.

The Convention at Gant.

Their wonderful unanimity against the Spaniard.

The Kings party and the Ecclesiastics joining with the Confederates.

Septem. 30.

The like consent of old in expelling the Romanes.

Cæ. l. 7. de Gal. Bel.

The Confederates troubled at Glimè's flight and losse.

Much more at the recovery of Maestricht by the Spaniards.

A military invention.

Of the sack of Antwerp.

1576.

From the Emperours Court where he had remained since his fathers death.

The Deputies of the Estates send forces into Antwerp.

The Town raises a battery against the Castle

The Spaniards from all their Quarters come to Antwerp. So do the Mutineers from Aelst.

Of Cannon and Powder. All received into the Fort. Christ. Assonv. in his Relation

The fury of the Mutineers.

A sally from the Castle.

The City-forces beat out of their Trenches:

The Spaniards enter the Town. The Garrison at odds among themselves.

Count Egmont would have made resistance.

But is taken prisoner.

The Citizens fight stoutly.

wished, Count *Egmont*, sonne to *Lamorall*, with great joy and gratulation of the Estates of *Brabant*, arrived at *Bruxells*. To him therefore as, one that would be sure to revenge his Fathers death, they committed the greatest charge of the Army; the rest, part to the *Marquesse de Havre*, part to *Goigny*, *Caprias*, and *Bersen*, dispatching them away to joyn with *Oberstein's* Germane Regiment at *Antwerp*. The Town was governed by *Frederick Perenot* Lord of *Campin*, the Garrison by *Otho* Count *Oberstein*, both upon late differences, offended with the *Spanish* party, and therefore ready to receive the souldiers, sent from the Deputies of the Estates; amounting, besides Count *Egmont's* Regiment of *Walloons*, to the number of three and twenty Foot Companies, and fourteen Troops of Horse. The *Antwerpers* thus recruited, resolved to guard all avenues from the Castle to the Town. And (because the *Spaniards* had the Fort, from whence they terrified the Town) by the advice of *Campin* they drew a line, beginning and finishing a Sconce on such a sudden, that within four and twenty hours it was in some places sixteen cubits high; above twelve thousand men and women sweating at the works. Nor was *Avila*, Governour of the Fort, lesse diligent to call in the *Spaniards*, at *Lire*, and *Breda*, with the rest that quartered nearest to him. The *Burgundians*, and some other Horse and Foot, immediately marched thither, commanded by *Juliano Romero*, *Antonio Olivera*, and *Francisco Valdez*. At the very same time *Alphonso Vargas* came from *Maeftrecht* with his Horse, though he understood nothing of these passages; and almost at the same hour, as it were by appointment, the *Spaniards* of *Aelst* with their *Eleito* (not upon any invitation, which they alwayes had rejected, but as I suppose in thankfulness for the Provision lately sent them from *Avila*) beyond all expectation arrived. They were every man received into the Fort, absolutely perswading themselves, that God in good time had brought them thither, to revenge the Kings cause, betrayed by the Royall Senate. And when they had refreshed themselves with a little meate, they resolved to make a sallie. Onely among all the rest, they of *Aelst*, though they had marched fasting four and twenty miles, and scarce drunk one cup of wine, yet fierce and implacable, swore, *They would never eat till the Town were taken*. These furious words were made good by their courage: for upon the signall given by *Avila* (their number was about five thousand Foot, and six hundred Horse) the Suttlers and Scullions bringing straw and fire behind them, and casting it where it might be usefull; they assaulted the enemies trenches with such violence, the Fort in the meantime thundring against the Defendants, that the ditch and works, manned by very near six thousand men, were taken, chiefly by the incredible valour of the *Aelstians*. They entred the Town by three severall wayes; so as the Citizens being amazed, and the Garrison at variance among themselves, whilst every one provided for his own particular, the publick being neglected, private ruine likewise followed. And though the *Spaniards* advancing by *Saint Michaels* street, were valiantly opposed by Count *Egmont* and his Forces, yet they being untrained raw men, and their Commander himself no very old souldier, he was not able to resist the *Spanish* Veterans, who beat him with a great slaughter of his men, into the Monastery of *Saint Michaels*, where he was taken prisoner by *Juliano Romero*, and instantly carried to the Castle, more gallantly, as it seems, then fortunately, initiated in the first rudiments of War. But the fight being renewed at Court, the Victory for a great while continued doubtfull. For the Townsmen defended their goods and houses with much more resolution then forreiners and mercenaries, so great an encouragement is wealth unto the

1576.

the owners. Whilest they kept the Magistrates houses, and at pleasure shot the Spaniards, without danger to themselves; sometimes falling, and presently retiring, diverse Spaniards were slain, among the rest *Damiano Morales*, a Captain of great valour. Till such time as *Alphonso Vargas* having defeated all that made head against him, brought his Horse through Saint Georges street, and sending them to the Market-place, where the greatest croud of Citizens were gathered; which, part killed, part maimed, were forced to retreat into the Palace of Justice, and the houses adjoining. Out of which places whilest they shot and interrupted the course of the Victory, in an instant two of the black guard, with nothing but a little straw fired the Palace, though built of solid Marble; and with an infinite losse of men, that building, one of the fairest in Europe, and about eightie houses, most of them full of rich wares, was burned down; the spoil being divided between the souldiers and the fire. Then the principall Town-Commanders being taken, and their stoutest souldiers slain, whilest the rest either cowardly ran from their posts, or more basely joyned themselves with the Conquerours and Plunderers; the Spaniards possessed themselves of Antwerp, which had none left to defend it. And to whatsoever fury or avarice prompted the licentious souldiers, they acted it upon the enemy, that exceeding rich city, with blood and rapine. In the meantime, the Deputies of the Estates, and the Senatours ignorant of these proceedings, and confident, as if they had secured Antwerp, returned to Gant, and applied their best endeavours to the framing of a generall Association. When upon the sudden, news coming of the sack of Antwerp, it increased beyond measure their hatred to the Spaniards; and mad upon revenge, they forthwith concluded their League; glad onely of this, that they seemed to be necessitated to it. And then sending back *Rassingham*, who was lately come from the Court of Spain, to acquaint his Majestie with the sedition and cruelty of the Spanish souldiers: they by him excused the common Confederation made against them; which forasmuch as all the Estates of the Low-countries, as well the Clergie, as the Laity, accounted the onely remedy to preserve the Peace of their Nation, they doubted not, but (the times considered) it would be approved of by his Royall clemency, that wished the Peace and Tranquillity of his People. Nor were the Spanish Commanders lesse solicitous how to possess the King; but sent a Messenger at the same time, to acquaint his Majestie with the subtil practices of the Low-countrie Lords, with the violence they had used to the Kings Officers, even in the Senate; with the usurped authority of the Deputies, their summoning the Estates; and likewise to set before his eyes the imminent defection of the Provinces. That indeed the Spanish souldiers had offended, in taking Aelst by way of Caution for their pay. For which offence, but especially for their long and invincible stubbornness, they were declared enemies; the Spanish Commanders never interposing in their behalf. Notwithstanding they very well knew, that occasion of taking Arms against the Spaniards, and not paying them as well as the Germanes, was the politick contrivance of some Lords. But whatever end the Lowcountrie men had therein, they had forborn at first to take notice of it. But when they understood that a bloody League was made against the Spaniards; Souldiers out of France, and England sent for into the Low-countries; and a Peace concluded with the Prince of Orange, an Enemy to Religion, to his King, and Countrie; truly they held it their duties with united forces to oppose the Confederates, lest they expelling the Kings souldiers out of the Low-countries, should likewise shake off (which they had now in design) the Royall Government. That the sack of Antwerp was lamented

Near the Palace of Justice.

which the Spaniards fire, and become Masters of Antwerp.

Novem. 4. Count Egmont Caprius Gogny.

The Deputies of the Estates advance the association of Gant. Hearing Antwerp was lost, they hasten the firm conclusion of their League. And send a Messenger to acquaint the King with their proceedings.

The Spanish Commanders likewise send one to his Majestie. Who informs the King of these particulars.

1596.

The Plunder of
Antwerp made
the Spaniards
admirers.
How miserable
a pillage it was.

The principall
Affairs in it.

The moderation
of Camillo a
Monte.

The wretched
condition of
rich men.

The good for-
tune of a Low-
countrie
trooper.

lamented by all men, but merited by the City, having received, contrary to their faith obliged by Oath, the forces of the League, and attempted to besiege the Castle: so as the Spaniards could not defend themselves, and the Fort, without calling in their fellow souldiers: though some, as by divine Providence, came unsent for. Who, if they behaved themselves more fiercely, or cruelly, in defending the Fort, and beating the Enemy out of the Town, that was done upon a sad necessity, when they must either kill or be killed. Yet that it is not easie to hold mens hands, when *Victoria* shews them both Revenge, and Justice. But, howsoever they excused their military licentiousnesse, common Fame absolved them not, but reported their valour in taking the citie against twenty thousand Defendants, to be no greater, then their covetousnesse in plundering that richest Port-town of Christendome, for three dayes together, forcing the richest Citizens and Merchants to redeem their merchandise and goods, out of which they made twenty hundred thousand pistols. Many causing sword-hilts, helmets, and breasts, to be made them of pure gold, but discoloured, lest they might be taken notice of. And those poor men which entered this rich citie, went out rich men and left it a poor town, as the Low-countrie Historians say, with an odious commendation of the Spanish courage. Unlesse in this, as in other things, they have exceeded the truth out of their hatred to that Nation. Though I am not ignorant, that the Captains and common souldiers occasioned for the most part these disorders, the Colonells and superiour Officers having all shares in the fault, not all in the spoil. Nay I am assured that *Sancho Avila* Governour of the Castle restrained the rage of many both by command and punishment. And *Camillo a Monte*, one of the first that took the town, when he had secured the Florentine Merchants, and might have had a great summe of money of them, out of so much wealth took nothing but a little bitch, as if he strove by his continence to expiate the transgression of their plunder. I likewise know the destruction of *Antwerp* was not the crime of the Spaniards alone, but the Low-countrie men, Burgundians, Italians, and Germans, had every one their part in that tragick desolation: and diverse of them acted more barbarously, then the Spanish. Indeed some great moneyed men taken by the Spaniards, when *Cornelius Vanindem*s souldiers would have had the prize, were as they say betwixt despair and envie cruelly murdered. Among whom *Giles Smisart* a rich Lapidary, and therefore more greedily searched for by the plunderers, was miserably used, who at last being found out, and buying his life and fortunes of the Spaniards, for ten thousand Florens, could not avoid death so. For a companie of Germans coming in, that saw themselves defeated of the profit they gaped after, a quarrell growing about it, one of them thrust him through the back with his pike. See the unhappie fate of riches, how much more easily may he avoid the spoilers hands, that never hath allured an envious eye. For no naked man is sought after to be rifled. Little things being by their littlenesse secured. Touching the execution done and the number of the dead, they that were present do infinitely vary. Some affirming them of the Spanish side to be at least two hundred, others not above fourteen. But of the States souldiers, and the townsmen, the Low-countrie men and Spaniards, (which is strange) agree upon the number of six thousand (unlesse perhaps those out of their hatred, and these out of their pride, do over-reckon) whereof they say almost three thousand were killed by the sword, fifteen hundred burned, or trod to death, and as many drowned in the waters thereabout, and in the River *Schelt*: where they say a Low-countrie horseman pursued by *Pedro Taxio*, as he was armed with

with his Lance in his hand, leaped from a huge height into the Town-ditch, and swimming it with his horse got off safe, without so much as breaking of his Lance. And yet at the very same time, Count *Otto Oberstein* Commander of the *Germans* and Governour of the Town Garrison, when he was taking boar, upon eaven ground, his foot slipping, was in a moment devoured by the water. Nothing is therefore to be presumed upon, or despaired of; since the Levell precipitates those that stand on plain ground, and precipices save men falling headlong.

1576.
The fate of
Count Ober-
stein.

The End of the eighth Book.





The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The ninth Book.

1576.

Novemb. 4.

Don John of
Austria comes
into the Low-
countreys.
Disguised.

Discovers him-
self at Luxem-
burg.

The Senatours
doubt whether
or no they
should receive
him.

The Prince of
Orange ad-
vises them, not
to admit him,
but upon con-
ditions.

They send an
arrogant mes-
sage to Don
John.

Mar. Delr. 12.
Turb. Belg.
The Messengers
friend gives him
most unfriendly
counsel.



He same day that *Antwerp* was taken by the *Spanish* and Forrein souldiers, *Don John of Austria* sonnè to *Charles* the fifth arrived, but not time enough, in the *Low-countreys*; having rid post through *France*, with onely two in his companie. To one of which (*Octavio Gonzaga*, Brother to the Prince of *Molphet*) he passed for a slave, having blackt his face, and died his hair and beard like an *Ethiop*. But at *Luxemburg*, a Town well affected to him, he put off his counterfeit shape, and discovered himself to be sent by *King Philip*, Governour of the *Low-countreys*: where understanding that *Antwerp* was sackt, he presently directed his letters to the Senate at *Bruxels*; and to the *Spanish* Commanders in *Antwerp*, certifying them of his coming and Commission for the Government: by virtue whereof, he commanded a cessation of arms, between both parties. The *Spanish* indeed obeyed, but the Senatours and Burgeesses either exasperated by their late affront, or unwilling to lay down their absolute authority, made some difficultie of admitting the new Governour, especially before they had consulted their *Delphian Oracle*, the Prince of *Orange*: whose opinion was, that *Don John* should not be acknowledged for their Governour, nor that their libertie, purchased with their blood, should be sold: or at least, that they should not admit him, before the *Low-countreys* were disburthened of the *Spanish* and forrein forces, and that he had by oath confirmed the pacification of *Gant*. The Senatours following the last part of his advice, sent *Ischius* to *Don John* with such proud and peremptory instructions, that he justly fearing the young Princes displeasure doubted whether or no he should undertake the employment. Being in this anxietie of mind, they say, *Ischius* conferred about it, with a person of qualitie, then lying at his house. This friend of his, pitying his condition, that must inevitably either incurre the displeasure of *Don John of Austria*, if he delivered his Embassage, or of the Senate, if he omitted any thing; said, that he could yet find out an expedient to disintangle him. *Ischius* demanding what it might be, he replied, *I would have you use Alexanders sword to cut this Gordian knot; that is, when you speak alone with Don John, resolutely*



*Don John of Austria
Son to Charles 5th
Governour of the Low countreys*

resolutely draw your sword, and kill that fraudulent man, who comes to ruine the Low-countries. The dead will not bite, and the Senate will be sure to thank you. But *Ischius* both in words and looks abhorring this unworthy Counsellour, that with an impious ostentation revived the old advice given to *Ptolemie* King of Egypt by *Theodotus* of *Chios*, waited upon *Don John*, and delivering, with all the qualification he could give, the Commands of the Estates, he offended not the Prince, and yet fully discharged his dutie. And though, as he was much taken with *Don John*, by his infinite commendations of him to the Senate, he distasted many, yet those praises so wrought with the major part, that correcting their former with a new Embassage, they sent *John Funch* to the Prince with farre modester instructions, and humbly offered to receive him, if he would sign the pacification of *Gant*.

Don John took time to consider of it, for the disbanding of the *Spaniards* troubled him. And calling to him *Juan Escovedo*, and *Ottavio Gonzaga*, his intimate Counsellours and Confidants very much troubled, he desired their advice. *Gonzaga* immediately denied, that it could be either advantageous or honourable; For (saith he) if the Prince of Orange were this day of Counsell with you, what else do you think he would perswade, but to send away the *Spaniards*, and to establish the Government of the Low-countries in the love of the Low-countrimen, not in the fear of a forreign and hated souldiery? Which is in effect, that you, dismissing your Garrisons, might with more ease lie open to the Plots and Stratagems of turbulent persons: injoying at present a kind of Government during pleasure; and upon the first breath of the giddie multitude, none at all. We are deceived if we hope this people, differing from us in Manners and Language, many of them in Religion, all in Resentment of our Countreymens late victory, will be governed of their own accord, without the terrour of our arms. They article with an armed Governour, what will they do when he is disarmed? Let them know there is come a sonne of Charles the fifth, lesse then his Father in Power, not Courage; to whom it belongs to give, not to receive the Law. But they are resolved, except this be granted them, not to admit a Governour: Let them be compelled. If it be disputed by the sword, can our men and theirs have other thoughts, then such as are familiar to the Conquerours, and the conquered? If you seek praise by this Indulgence, it is over hasty, and will be of no long continuence with proud people, made impudent by our modestie. These names of humanitie and favour, will shew more noble after a victory, when they are demonstrations not of Necessitie, but Moderation. It may be objected, that some good subjects, well-wishers to the Royall party, would have all forreiners disbanded. I would gladly know these Low-countrie-Royallists: for I am told many live with us at Court, whose hearts are in Holland with the Prince of Orange; whose consent and indeavours to send away the *Spaniards*, the more they appear, the more ought such friends to be suspected. I am sure the King your brother, when he was in the Netherlands, promised the Low-countrimen to free them of the *Spaniards*; but observing a generall conspiracie to eject them, that very unanimous consent made him pause upon it, and deferre his Grant, till the Governesse, the Dutchesse of Parma, wonne him by her intreaties. And yet the Low-countrimen were not then minded to rebell. Now, by the example of the wisest King, you see what is the best course for you, that have not obliged your self by any promise to this publickly offended and armed Nation. I have said thus much, taking it for granted, that you can at pleasure presently draw our men from their Garrisons, and send them out of the Low-countries: What, if upon knowledge of your agreement with the Low-countrimen, made upon condition of their banishment, they should mutiny, to which they are too much inclined,

1576.

Who notwithstanding treats modestly with Don John of Austria. Plutarch in Pompeys life. Another Messenger from the Estates desires him to sign the Pacification of Gant and dismiss the Spaniards.

Don John consults about dismissing of the Spaniards. Gonzaga speaks against it.

1576.

Escovedo argues for it,

clined, and refuse to deliver up the Forts and Cities? truly then you will lose both the respect of your own souldiers, as if you preferred the Low-coun- treymen before them, and yet, as if you had but mocked the Low-coun- treymen, aggravate their hatred. Lastly, I will never perswade you the Brother to my King, to receive the Government of the Provinces on poorer terms, then his Majesties servants, Alva and Requesenes. But Escovedo was clear of another opinion. And having founded the Princes inclination, began securely in this manner. I shall rather be willing to shew your Highnesse what I conceive, then what I dare advise, because You are still accustomed, to allow the freedom of my counsels: as I am to admire the wisdom of your Resolutions. And I shall at present, the freelier expresse my self, in regard it will, I presume, be thought a greater truth, which a Spaniard is forced to speak against his Countrey-men. But even our Countrey must give place unto necessity. Nor in consultations, is Reason at all times permitted to make a free Election; but by necessity we are often circumscribed; at which times, when that shun a tempest must count any poor Creek a Haven. Almost all the Pro- vinces, as well the Clergie, as the Laity, in the Pacification of Gant, have agreed to out the Spaniards, and sworn not to admit of any Governour over the Low- countreys, till all forein souldiers be disbanded. Wherein their resolutions are so fixed and invulnerable, that we may despair of winning the Low-coun- treys by any Avenue, but this; which according to Gonzaga's opinion, we should open with our swords. But you, Gonzaga, speak what becoms an old Commander to promise, especially to an invincible Generall. Nor do I doubt, but if occasion should be, you would gallantly perform, what you have gloriously advised. But I, that perhaps more timorously, not lesse circumspectly, consider our present condition, hold it our best to try all wayes before we make use of Violence and Arms. And this you know is the Kings Pleasure, and Command. For what, I pray you, have our men all this while effected in the Netherlands? The Duke of Alva coming in, with the fame of so great forces, so many victories, feared for the shedding of so much Low-coun- trey-bloud, at last losing all the Sea-coast, and the strongest Provinces, left the Low-coun- treys, which he found entire, dismembred. And yet in all the time of Alva, and his Successour, (whose fortune was little better) most part both of the Netherlands and the Belgick Nobility, bore Arms for the King. Now you see how the Low-coun- trey-men have deserted us. Of all the Provinces onely two continue loyal; the rest, if force be offered, are now bound by Oath to defend them- selves by Arms. Which is the very thing the Prince of Orange wishes. This pre- tension for a warre he cunningly contrives; and this alone, if he were present at our Consultation, he would endeavour to perswade, not the dismissing of the Spaniards. For your Highnesse may be confident, that he therefore perswaded the Low-coun- treys to this course, because he feared nothing more then your Admission; inserting that clause in the Pacification of Gant, which he hoped you never would allow; and so, excluded from the Government, be presently necessitated to a Warre, which that ambitious man might at his pleasure manage. But this cunning Artift must be fooled, and contrary to his expectancy, by approving the Pacification of Gant, your Highnesse will be invested in the Government of the Low-coun- treys. Wherein being once admitted, you by your clemency and gentleness may bring that about, which others never could, with their austere and armed mandats. Every one knows, the Counsel Livia gave to Augustus Cesar, that he should imitate Physi- cians, who if their usuall receipts fail, use to prescribe contraries: and by the same Rule, when Severity could not do his businesse, he should try what might be done by clemency. Cesar followed his wifes advice; and thenceforth all conspiracies cea- sing, the Senate and People of Rome were loyal and obedient to him. And truly, if any man may go this way with hope of happier successe, it is your Highnesse onely.

Seneca l.9. de
Clementia.

Dio. in Aug.
Cesar.

1576.

ly. To passe by your being a German born, sonne to a Low-countrey Prince, for which they must needs love you more then any of their Spanish Governours: The fame of your actions, your deportment, (which how it hath wrought in mens minds you by experience know) your Aspect: lovely even in your enemies eyes, will no doubt gain you the Affection, Duty, and Obedience of this people. The nature of the Low-countreymen is easiest cured with lenitives: if violence be offered they will struggle; they are to be lead, not driven. Besides the greatest persons will hasten the tender of their services to you, that the former crimes of Rebellion may be imputed not to their contumacy, but anothers pride. One Act there is that may extinguish all their Love, the retaining of forrein souldiers. The Low-countreymen have still before their eyes the figure of Antwerp burning, the slaughter of the Citizens, and rifling of their Goods. Their implacable hatred to the Spaniards, if you keep them here, will likewise reach your self. For they that hate your armie cannot love your Person. Nor can you be ever safe among those subjects, that cannot think themselves secure among your souldiers. For securitie is established by a mutuall safeguard. And therefore if the Low-countreymen desire the cause of their late Quarrels may be removed out of their sight, grant their Request; and what they perhaps may force you to by arms, make it your favour to them. By which favour you will both immortally oblige the Low-countreymen to You, and likewise indear your self to the King your Brother, weary of the cares and charges of the warre, by pacifying the Low-countreys without arms. Nor is it greatly to be feared, that the Spaniards should refuse to go upon your Command, now the King approves the discharge of forreiners: for the Obedience which they formerly shewed to the Dutchesse of Parma, questionlesse they will not now deny to you, and to the King himself. But when the Spaniards shall be dismissed, if there be danger, the Low-countreymen solicited by the Prince of Orange, may soon forget this Act of Grace; shall we therefore conclude, that we must necessarily be circumvented by their fraud, and oppressed by their arms? Are not the Loyall Provinces able to sustain the first charge of an insurrection, till Forces can be sent for, out of Burgundy hard at hand, and out of Germany not farre off? And then, we have so much more reason to look for good successe, by how much we shall be assisted with a more powerfull armie sent from the King, in defence of his own commands; and we may with more justice punish the perfidious Rebels. Wherefore in a word, I deny not, but the forrein souldiers whether retained or dismissed may somewhat indanger us: but when I see on the one side a certain warre, and the Kings certain displeasure, no help; and on the other, that you are offered the possession of the Government, hope of quieting the Low-countreys, the Kings favour and assistance, and consequently, if a warre should break forth, that which would much conduce to victorie; I think in point of discretion this ought to be preserved before the contrarie. Don John, though he was very unwilling to forgo his Spanish forces, a greater secret then I have yet discovered won him to consent. For if he, by keeping them, should have interrupted the peace of the Low-countreys, which his Majestie had particularly recommended to him; he might well suspect, it would be whispered in the Kings ear (open to such kind of jealousies) that by laying the plot for a warre, he was ambitious of new power and greater fortunes. Besides he longed exceedingly for the voyage into England, which, if he were ingaged in the Low-countrey war, he knew would slip out of his hands. Withall, he took it for granted, that the Low-countreymens hearts, alienated by the Warres and Taxes of former Governours, might by contrary arts be reconciled. Therefore, according to mans nature, thinking himself and his winning carriage would be more prevalent, then any stratagem of the Enemy, and coveting what others could

If the Spanish
be retained.
If they be dis-
missed.

Don John fol-
lows this opi-
nion.
His Reasons.

Fear of the
King.

Desire of a
voyage for
England.
Hope of quiet-
ing the Low-
countreys.

1576.

He resolves to
confirm the
Pacification of
Gant.

1577.

In the be-
ginning of
January.

Moved there-
unto by this
subscription of
the Deputies.
He gives the
Heads of the
Pacification to
be considered of.

The King al-
lows of it.

A new Paci-
fication made in
pursuance of
the old.

Feb. 17.

whereto both
parts subscribe.

Proclaimed.

Don John ac-
knowledge
Governour of
the Low-coun-
treys.

He presseth the
Spaniards to
be gone.
who are unwill-
ing to obey.

Their Com-
plaints.

Mar. Delv. l. 2.
Turb. Belg.

not get in the *Low-countries*, the title of *Peace-maker*: he resolved to allow the assembly at *Gant*, and to sign their conditions. Especially, because he conceived that he should sufficiently provide for Religion, and the Crown, forasmuch as the league concluded in these words, *We the Delegates of the Estates whose names are under-written, and by whose authority the Estates are now assembled, have &c do promise for ever to maintain the League; for the conservation of our most sacred faith, and the Romane Catholick Religion; for the perfecting of the pacification of Gant; For the expulsion of the Spaniards, and their Adherents; due Obedience to the Kings Majestie being still and for ever rendered.* Notwithstanding he asked the opinions of the profoundest scholars, whether by those heads (which he gave them accurately to examine) the orthodox faith, or the Kings honour might receive any prejudice. And when they resolved him no danger could accrue to either, in case this clause were added, *That nothing in those Articles, or any part thereof, was established, or decreed, contrary to the Catholick Religion, and the Kings Authority.* Don John, confirmed by their judgements, sent their advice, and the Bishops letters to the same effect, unto his Majestie. Who consenting, and likewise the Emperour *Rodolph*, Bishop of *Liege*, and Duke of *Cleveland* by their Embassadors swearing to it; a new Pacification, called the perpetuall league was made at *Marcha*, a Citie in the Province of *Luxemburg*. Wherein, by Don John Agents, the dismissal of the *Spaniards*, and the whole pacification of *Gant* was confirmed: and by the Deputies of the Estates, a caution for constancie to Religion and the Kings obedience, which they had formerly sworn for ever to continue, was again expressly inserted. And now Don John, after he had caused the pacification to be proclaimed, first at *Bruxels*, then at *Antwerp*, and in other Cities, set forth from *Luxemburg*, being met upon the way by the *Low-countrie* Lords, with an infinite number of the Gentry: and at *Louvain* in the beginning of March he was saluted, with a generall joy, Governour of the *Low-countries*. There he thought fit to make some stay, that he might from thence quicken the dull motion of the *Spaniards* departure. For they held it a grievous injury, to be upon a sudden, at the pleasure of the *Low-countrie*men, dispossessed of so many Forts and Garrison towns, as they had in so long a time purchased with their blood. Moreover many of them having lived divers years in the *Low-countries*, being possessed of land, and having married wives of that Nation, by whom they had children, were brought then by degrees to love the place like Natives. Nor wanted they some Mutineers, that cryed out, *Was that cashiering a just reward for their labours, and so much blood as they had spent in Service? must their gaping Soars, their losse of Limbs, and their crackt Sinews, in stead of Rest and Accommodation, be recompensed with their Countreymens ingratefull oblivion or neglect, however with the publick hate and execration of the Dutch? what would the French the Italians and other Nations say, but that the Spanish Souldiers could be suffered to live no where? Sixteen years ago, the Governesse, Margaret of Austria, had turned them out of the Low-countries, and now this Governour, Don John of Austria, had again expelled them; with so much the greater dishonour, by how much there was then a fairer pretence for the Kings sending them into Africa, to recruit his Armie. But now plainly, by publick Edict, they (who alone in the Low-countries had maintained the Kings Right) were now, forsooth, declared Enemies to the King and the Low-countries, and by a common confederation of the Provinces, expelled; as if Peace and a Spaniard could not inhabite there together.* Thus they discoursed, though discontentedly, not threateningly, yet furie, as the custome is, by meeting others, and communicating

nicating their Grievances, increased: the nearer the day of their departure came (grief making them still more sensible of their condition) the more obstinate they shewed themselves; especially at *Antwerp*, where their number and late victory had so elevated them, as there was little hope they would easily deliver up the Fort. But the care of the vigilant Commanders, and Reverence to the Royall blood, among the loyall Regiments trained in the old Discipline, prevailed so much, that by degrees the love of Obedience returned, and *Juan Escovedo*, a very prudent man, sent post to *Antwerp* by Don *Fohn*, appealed the Mutiniers with an apposite Oration. For after he had read the Kings letters, wherein the Spaniards were commanded to depart the Low-countries, beginning with a Commemoration (but without upbraiding) of their Tumults and insurrections, he told them, *That if they had of late years done any thing so licentious, as to offend the King, they might by their present obedience, not onely cancell the memory thereof, but also highly merit at the Kings hand, from which they could not but expect farre more and firmer fortunes, then they should forgo in the Low-countries. Could gallant men find no other place but that to exercise their valour in? Kings, that have large Dominions, never want causes of warre, nor rewards for souldiers. But it was more then needed, to trouble themselves about other mens opinions touching their departure: it being evident by whom and with what artifice this was brought about. For such as feared them, could not indure their company, and no marvell if their inferiours, that more then once found themselves over-matched, now feared them. Their neighbours saw and strangers heard, how often the Spaniard had cowed the rebellious Enemy. They knew the number of Forts, Towns, and victories wonne by the Armie: and that for ten years together in all Land-battels (for at Sea there was a variation of Fortune) the Spaniards at all times, excepting that one overthrow of Count *Aremberg*, remained Conquerours. They likewise knew, that in the killing of such multitudes, no lesse then thirty thousand, as the Low-countreymen themselves confesse, so few Spaniards have been lost, that upon computation Ten Spaniards were able to rout a Thousand. Truly a miserable slaughter, and to be buried in silence, if it had not been executed for Religion and the King, upon Rebels unto both. But with this very name of Rebel, if, by a bloody Edict of the Estates, the late Spanish Mutineers were branded; Don John hath abundantly provided against that Edict, by framing a new one of his own, and making void the old: thereby favouring their Merits, and obliging their Obedience: so as they may with greater honour obey his Commands: and their valour shewn upon the enemy will not appear more glorious then their Loyaltie to their Sovereign; and not onely by taking Forts and Cities with their Arms, but likewise by laying them down at his Majesties Command, with equall praise in both, they will be said to have asserted the Low-countries to the King.* This last part of his Speech moved the Souldiers wavering minds (for rather the spirit of sedition then of anger vanished) and He reading an honourable Edict, on their behalf, posted up in many places, They delivered into the hands of the Estates the Forts of *Antwerp*, and of the other Cities; and retired to *Maestricht*. Prisoners on either side being set free. The Spaniards releasing Count *Egmont*, *Goignius*, *Caprias*, and six others taken in the storming of *Antwerp*. The Estates on their part five, first the Lord *Bille*, Governour of *Friesland*, in the Tumults of those Provinces outed from his Government by his own souldiers, and by *George Lallin* Lord of *Ville* imprisoned at *Leeward*. Then *Alondragonio's* wife, that when the Castle of *Gant* was besieged; whilst she manfully discharged the place of her absent husband; was taken prisoner, and by the Estates Commanders carried

1577.

They begin to mutiny.

Escovedo labours to pacifie them.

With a speech that comes home to the men.

They are quieted.

Surrendring the Forts. And prisoners they had taken.

Gaspard Robley afterwards created Count of Renneberg. Mar. Delr. l. i. Turb. Belg.

1577.

With part of
their Pay in
hand

The same Au-
thour l. 2. &
Christ. Affon-
vil in his Re-
lation.

They leave the
Low-coun-
treys.

Under the
command of
Count Mans-
feldt.

Their sense
of this usage.

Their Predicti-
on.

Al. Cabrer, in
Philip. 2. l. 11.

c. 15. Mar.

Delr. l. 2.

Turb. B.

Their March
into Italy.

They are quar-
tered in the
mountainous
parts of Liguria
Delr. in the
same Book.

Don Johns en-
trance into
Bruxels.

In great pomp,
but the most
glorious sight
was himself.

May 1.

His winning
wayes.

The Peoples joy.

And love to
him.

The judgement
of some that
disliked his
Concessions.

carried as it were in triumph. After the mutuall release of prisoners, some part of their money was begun to be tendered to the *Spaniards*, the Estates having agreed with them for 600000 Florens, whereof they were to have 300000 in hand, and as much more by bills of exchange at *Genoa*. But after 100000 was paid down, the Deputies of the Estates not producing any more; Don *John*, out of his own moneys, lent the Estates (never to be repaid) 200000 Florens, lest he might be thought to favour their stay. So towards the end of April the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Burgundians* left the *Netherlands* under the command of *Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt*, chosen on purpose to take away the emulation between *Alphonso Vargas*, *Sancho Avila*, *Juliano Romero*, and *Francisco Valdez*, which might with more honour obey a Generall of another Nation, then serve under one another. The *Low-countreymen* appeared not more joyfull to see the Armies departure, then the *Spaniards* were discontented and angry at the beholders: and the greater their number was (for besides souldiers and such as belonged to the carriages, the wayes were crouded with horses and wagons loaded with women and children, the whole number amounting to thirty thousand head of men, and cattle) the more it troubled them to be looked upon, passing through Cities like a Show. Albeit some among them, penetrating further into the *Low-countreymen* designs, foresaw, that the war, now raked up in embers, would shortly break forth again into a flame, and then the *Spaniards* would be called to extinguish it. In the mean time, they left the *Low-countreys*, without so much as obtaining the honour, in their passage, to take their leave of Don *John*, which exceedingly grieved them, as if by that severitie their actions were condemned. And marching through *Lorain*, *Burgundy*, and *Savoy*, they descended into *Italy*. Where coming into the Province of *Millain* the Governour the Marquesse of *Ayamont* quartered them, as he pretended by the Kings Command, along the mountains of *Liguria*, which they call *Langascho*, there (the heat of Summer breeding diseases) for want of necessaries, and with very grief to think the King should so forget their services, a great sort of the oldest souldiers dyed.

But Don *John*, whilst the *Spaniards* marched away, riding in the middle between the *Popes Legate*, and the Bishop of *Leige*, attended by the three estates in all their glory, entred *Bruxels*. He himself added to the pomp, by the loveliness of his presence and youth, being not yet thirty two years of age, as likewise by the fame of his Land-and-Sea-victories; in a word, by the memory of his Father *Charles* the fifth, honoured by the *Dutch*, as their beloved Countreyman. No sooner had he solemnly taken his oath, and was acknowledged Governour, but he yet more endeared himself to that people, by his admired Clemencie, Affabilitie, Gracioufnesse, and Bountie, beyond example extended even unto his Enemies. Infomuch as the Subjects enamoured of the sweetnesse of his deportment (above what they could imagine, or had ever heard related) praised him to the skies; especially because they saw themselves, at last, freed by his favour from the burthen of forreign souldiers: and with a generall gratulation joyed their Countrey of its ancient happinesse returned with Don *John* of *Austria*. Yet many thought it not so prudent an action, for Don *John* to trust his person, disarmed, into the hands of the armed Estates, with so much confidence in himself; being after the dismissing of the *Spaniards* in a weak and unsafe condition, if so be the Prince of *Orange* should invade him that had reserved no one Fort or Garrison-town in his power, either for refuge, or resistance.

fistance. And it was not long before it appeared, how he was over-reached in this concession, & how much wiser King *Philip* had been, when he suspected the *Low-country men* unanimously petitioning for the remouall of the *Spaniards*. For, the Prince of *Orange*, who had assured himself *Don John* would never send away the *Spanish*, and consequently never be admitted Governour over the *Low-contries*, when he heard the *Spaniards* were departed, & *Don John* with a great and generall joy inaugurated at *Bruxels*: whither Embassadours daily came to him from neighbour-Princes, (the Queen of *England* her self sending *Edward Horsey* Governour of the Isle of *Wight*) and that he likewise saw the Prince and Senate by their Commissioners required him, with the Provinces *Holland*, & *Zeland*, which onely were not included in the League, to subscribe the perpetual Edict: the man, that would upon no conditions part with the Dominion he had now got into his hands, answered: That the Provinces with him confederated, were in conscience barred frō consenting with the rest to the maintenance of the *Romish* faith: and being pressed by Duke *Arcebot* (for he was sent to the Prince of *Orange*) to ratifie the common League, he said, he could not do it, for which his reason was, the Faith of *Calvine*: presently putting off his hat and laughing, he said to the Duke, *Do you see this bald crown, let me tell you, there is not more Calvinisme on my head, then there is Calvinism in my heart.* Then applying himself wholly to his business, he sent Letters & Messengers to the Senators, the Delegates of the Estates, and all his friends, pitying, & withall reviling them. *What did they intend? whither were their courages & judgements fled; that they had admitted Don John, not onely not enlarging, but not so much as swearing to preserve, their priviledges? Were they so much taken with empty forms of Courtship, as not to observe the Bird-call, that by sweetnesse of sound brings the free creatures of the air into the net? They had now sufficient experience that new Men came out of Spain, not new Manners, for in that Shop they were all cast in the same mould. But above all the rest, they should beware of this Gentleman, puffed up with his Imperiall blood, & fortune in the wars, which if he now dissembled, stooping to the civility of a private person, the more it goes against the hair with a haughty and tyrannicall nature, the sooner would his hypocrisie be laid by, and their slavery inhaunsed. No proud man carried ever himself like a servant to any, over whom he did not hope to be a master. Why hath he got a Guard, if he be so popular as wholly to confide in the affection of the Subject? Can any one doubt whither all these excessive bounties and promises tend, wherewith that princely Merchant loads men of merit, and no merit? Yet some there are, who, notwithstanding they see this general Munificence traffick for the liberty of the Low-contries, think, that freemen sell themselves into bondage at a considerable rate. Wherefore let them look into the man, & they will find it impossible, that he should love the Low-contries, who betrayed to King Philip, the Patron of the Low-country Lords, Charles, Prince of Spain.* The Prince of *Orange* not thus contented, by those he employed abroad, particularly by *Teronimus Vasebo*, lately come over to his party, made it be privately rumoured, That the *Spaniards* and forrein souldiers, whose departure had been so longed for by the *Low-countrymen*, (let them not deceive themselves) lay part concealed in the Province of *Luxemburg*; part stayed in *Burgundie*, part fought against the *Hugonots* in *France*, and from these places expected *Don Johns* Orders for their immediate return. And it was held more credible, because of *Don Johns* & *Escovedo's* Letters, intercepted in *France*, and about that time published at *Bruxels*, which they said contained complaints to the King against the Estates, Reasons for the necessity of a war, & an humble suit for mony to that end. All which aggravated by a large printed Comment of the Prince of *Oranges*, took away so much of *Don Johns* Authority and

The Prince of
Orange vexed
at Don Johns
admission.
May 24.

Refuseth to-
gether with the
Provinces under
his government,
to subscribe the
Edict.

Endeavoured
to turn the Low-
countrymens
hearts from Don
John of Au-
stria.

A Rumour
spread by the
Prince of
Oranges party.

1573.
Don Johns let-
ters intercepted.

1577.

The Low-coun-
treymens
love to him de-
creaseth.
Their suspicion
and aversion
increaseth.
Forgetfulness
of benefits re-
ceived converts
to Hatred.
Especially
Hese.
The Hereticks
blow the fire.
Out of the
relation of
Christ. Affon-
vil.
See Guicciard.
L. 2. of his Hist.

The Prince of
Orange de-
signs the taking
of Don John
prisoner.
His Instruments
S. Aldegund.
And Hese.

Whether they
attempted his
murder it is
uncertain.

Of Don Johns
flight.

He goes to
Mechlin, as if
it were onely to
compose the dis-
ference with
the Germans.

June 3.
Margarete
Queen of
Navarre.

estimation, that whether his Bountie ebbed or flowed, when their minds were once possessed with jealousy, they interpreted all in the worst sense. Those very men, to whom he had shewn extraordinary favour, advancing them to honours and great pensions, on a sudden alienated from him; not only thunned his sight, as if all his graces had been poured into colanders, hearts with holes in them; but openly railed at, asperfed, and now endeavoured to prove themselves disobliged to him, by their hatred of him. Thus are un-
found minds like unsound bodies, the more you feed the more you poison them. Nor did the Hereticks leave their knavery thus; but represented his words and actions, as things of meer design. Nay, to some that wondered at his unexampled condescensions, they told it as a secret, *That the Low-coun-
treymen had no great reason to trust the Oath so willingly taken by his Highness, for confirmation of the perpetuall Edict. Because he had sworn, before he came out of Spain, not to consent unto any thing in the Low-countrys prejudicial to the King. By which Oath he had preingaged himself, and as his Religion taught him, the later being contrary to the former would not oblige him, as being of no validitie. A Do-
ctrine long since preached in many Courts, and now practised by Princes. So the Flo-
rentines were deceived by Charles the viii. of France, who having sworn to deli-
ver Pisa to them, when they claimed his promise, answered, that he had first sworn the contrary to the Pisans. When the Prince of Orange found this to work ac-
cording to his wishes, thinking Don John, that had parted with his Spaniards, and lost the hearts of the Low-countreymen, might easily be oppressed; he left it to be acted by Philip Mornixius de Saint Aldegund, whom he sent to Brussels for that purpose; and by William Horn Lord of Hese, both undertaking, either by force or stratagem, to seiz upon his Highness, and carry him into Zealand. Which attempt, though it was consonant to the rest of Aldegunds life, a man ignominiously wicked, who when he was a boy, was Calvins auditor, and now he himself being an old man preached to others: nor less agreeable to the manners of the Lord of Hese, especially since the removall of Don John from Brussels, would be much to his advantage, that was for be Governour of the Town; & who being afterwards condemned to lose his head, it was thought practised the like against Alexander Farnese Duke of Parma. Yet whether they really plotted it, as Don John understood from many credible authours, or rather, by the Prince of Oranges direction, were contented with the fear resulting from the report of such a plot, I dare not positively affirm. For to breed enmity between Don John and the Low-country Lords (which was the Prince of Oranges end) the means would be all one, whether they intended, or onely gave out that he should be taken prisoner: the former being an odious thing, and fit to be revenged by his Majestic: the later, a subject for jealousy, not easie to be discovered, and which perhaps might be thought pre-
tended by Don John, seeking colour for a warre. And truly this artifice succeeded, as the Prince of Orange could have wished.*

For Don John when he found his authority every day lessening, the ge-
nerall Odium increasing, and his life sought (as he was made believe) by strange contrivances, resolved to stay no longer in Brussels; but, consider-
ing of some place where he might defend himself, or offend the enemy, pitched upon the Castle of Namure, strong both in fortification and situ-
ation, and very convenient for receiving forrein forces. Therefore upon discovery of new plots against his life, he hastned to Mechlin, under pre-
tence of ending the controversie between the Treasurers and the German Souldiers, about their pay. Yet not thinking himself so safely there, he took an occasion of waiting upon the King of France his Sister in her jour-
ney to the Spain (if she came for nothing else, but to drink the waters) and
with

with a great train of Gentlemen met her at *Namure*. Where after he had treated her like a Princeſſe, and brought her on the way: the next morning, as if he were going to hunt, he rode upon deſign to the Caſtle of *Namure*, and highly commending the place, which he had never ſeen before, being invited in by the *Sonnes* to *Count Barlament*, Governour of the Province, with the Governour of the Caſtle his good liking, entered with his retinue, and preſently ſeizing upon the arms, changed the Garriſon, bidding the Governour fear nothing, becauſe (he ſaid) it was no violent invaſion of another mans proprietic, but onely a juſt recovery of the Kings Right. Then turning to the Companie, he called that Day the firſt of his Government: for till then he had injoyed nothing thereof, but an airy Title. Acquainting them likewiſe with the reaſons of that action, he complained of the many affronts offered to him: and ſhewed them two letters of intelligence, that adviſed him of dangerous conſpiracies; proteſting, he retired to that Caſtle for his own ſecuritie, not with intent to alter any thing in the State, already ſettled. Then writing to the Deputies of the Eſtates, and ſending them (with thoſe letters that diſcovered the plot) *Maximilian Raſſinghem* the conſtant meſſenger between both parties, he explained the cauſe of his departure, to wit, that his future Government might be more ſafe for, and worthy of him. The Deputies of the Eſtates and the Senatours variouſly interpreted the action. Many grieved, that it cut off all hope of accommodation. A great ſort rejoyced, that hereby *Don John* himſelf ſounded the Alarm to a war, in forcing them to take arms againſt a naked Generall; and therefore commended the plot timouſly and well laid by the Prince of *Orange*, to whom they aſcribed the inſinuation that counſelled him to this ſight. Yet all, for fear the King might charge them with the revivall of the warre, preſently diſpatched away letters and meſſengers to *Don John*, beſeeching him to ſatiſſie his triviall fears and jealousies; and, if he pleaſed to return to *Bruxels*, promiſing exactly to examine the conſpiracie (if ſuch there was) againſt him. *Don John* denied to go back, till the Lord *Heſe*, that had ſet afoot many practices againſt him impiouſly & ingratefully (for *Don John* had given him an annuall penſion of 6000 Florens) together with the people of *Bruxels*, ſhould lay down arms; till *Aldegund*, and *Teron* (ſent by the Prince of *Orange* to ſurpriſe him) were driven out of *Bruxels*, till the Deputies of the Eſtates, that ſeemed to hold a correſpondence with the Prince of *Orange*, had renounced his friendſhip, and compelled him (all juggling ſet apart) according to the publick agreement, from which he unjuſtly diſſented, to ſubſcribe the Pacification of *Gant*, and the perpetuall Ediſt. Writing this to the Provinces, and naming not onely divers, which he ſaid had conſpired againſt him: but likewiſe ſome perſons of qualitie and honour, among whom was Duke *Areſchat*, who had given him much intelligence of that kind; he made it appear, that his jealousie was not triviall, nor feigned: & alſo ſufficiently, nor falſely, laid open the Prince of *Oranges* ſubtiltie, who meerly by thoſe diſcords indeavoured to oppreſſe the Catholick Religion, and the Kings Authoritie. But in the mean time upon diſcovery of *Don Johns* deſign to ſeiz the Caſtle of *Antwerp*, left, as he heard, it might be delivered to the Prince of *Oranges* Emiſſaries, or to the Eſtates; *Lodwick Bloſius* Lord of *Treſlong*, Lieutenant-Governour of the fort, being taken priſoner, and the ſouldiers that favoured *Don John*, not without the ſlaughter of ſome of them, beaten out; the Caſtle came into the hands of the Eſtates. Whereby both parties being exaſperated, and many threatning Papers on each ſide publiſhed, whiſt the Eſtates call God and Men to witneſſe their deſire of

1577.

From thence to Namure under another preſence.

Egidius L. of Hierg. Lan- cellot. C. Me- gen, Florus Floio, and Clodius Hau- tepenne. *man* Poſſeſſes himſelf of the Caſtle. *in* Gives reaſons for it to his attendants.

writes to the Deputies of the Eſtates.

The ſeverall ſenſes of the Deputies.

Their letters to Don John July and Auguſt. Mart. Del. 13. Turb. Belg. Aloys. Cabrera in Philip. 2. l. 11. c. 13. & c. 16.

His answer.

which he writes to the Pro- vinces.

The Fort at Antwerp at- tempted by Don John. Is poſſeſſed by the Eſtates. The Eſtates accuſe Don John, as if his fears were feigned.

1577.

Don John
shows the plots
against him to
be recall.

Levinus, a ve-
ry learned
man, after-
wards Bishop
of Arras.

The Pope sends
a Nuncio to
Don John
Bishop of Ri-
pa rapano
afterwards
Cardinal.
S. B. E.
To what end.

He furnishes
Don John with
Counsell and
Money.

Then, goes to
the Deputies of
the Estates.

In the begin-
ning of Sept.
The Prince of
Orange created
Ruart.

What this of-
fice is, and who
they were that
executed it.
Marr. Delr.
l. 4. Turb. Belg.
Phil. And.

1404.

John IV. Duke
of Brabant.

1420.

Peace, and that it was Don John who pretending fear of conspiracies sought to raise a warre: Don John on the contrary asserting, that he had demon-
strated his affection to Peace by sending away the Spaniards, disbanding all
his other forces, and leaving himself no means, men, or munition for a
warre. Both parties, in case a warre should follow, strove to clear them-
selves of being the Causes: and, to avoid the Odium, omitted not to show
at least a pretended care of an accommodation. Wherein they were indu-
striosly assisted by *Fernand Ginnich*, and *Devinus Torrenius* Embassadors
from the Duke of *Tuliers*, and the Bishop of *Liege*. But Don John took the
most pains to bring about a Treatie, in regard he was unprovided of sol-
diers, and uncertain of his Majesties resolution. He therefore spent out the
time in delays, till *Esquivado*, whom he had sent into Spain, should bring him
an answer of his letters. A little while before, *Philip Sag* came Nuncio into
the Low-countries, sent thither from his Government of *Pisa* by *Gregory* the
thirteenth. For his Holiness hearing the Provinces stood upon conditions
with Don John, which he must swear to, before they would acknowledge
him for their Governour, dispatched a Nuncio whose prudence he relied
upon to be with the Prince in time, lest he should by a law passe any thing
prejudiciall to Religion. And likewise after, when he saw a peace concluded,
he might animate Don John, according to agreement, betwixt his Holiness
and the King, to the Voyage for England. But the Nuncio, finding Don
John had already signed the conditions of the perpetuall Edict, and was
notwithstanding engaged in Domestick troubles, likely after a little time to
break forth into a warre, so as there could be no expectation of a foreign
expedition, did all that remained for him to do; confirmed the young
Prince not onely with his best advice, but, which more advantaged him,
with fifty thousand crowns, a summe designed by Pope Gregory for the
warre with England, but which by His Command was to be forthwith
presented to his Highness: a supply the more wellcome, because so sea-
sonable to him then destitute both of Men and Money. Nor did the Nun-
cio fail to visit the Deputies of the Estates, and the Senators; but passed
from *Namure* to *Bruxels*, where delivering, as he had in Command, his Ho-
linesses letters, and fatherly exhortations, to the resuming of their former
Concord and Obedience, which letters were received with more magni-
ficence, then dutie, many of their minds being long since possessed with the
spirit of heretic, a refractorie and sullen disease, that may with lesse difficul-
tie be kept out, then shook off. In the mean time Don John, by letters from
the King being enjoined, if an accommodation could no way be made,
strenuously to maintain the Catholick Religion, and the Royall Authority,
with assurance that he should not want an armie, had notice, that the Prince
of Orange was sent for to *Bruxels* by the Estates, and created Protector of
Brabant, by the old name of *Ruart* of the Province; an Office very like that
of *Dictator* among the *Romans*, or *Maubure* among the *Leigeois*. This Of-
ficer, the *Brabanters* said they were authorized to elect, by the priviledges of
the Joyfull Entry, though as farre as I observe in their Annals, besides *An-
thony* sonne to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie* (when *Joan* the widow of Duke
Wenceslaus governed *Brabant*) chosen *Ruart* by the three Estates of that Pro-
vince, and besides *Philip* Count de *Saint Paul* (whilst Duke John and his
wife *Isabell* were at difference) whom the *Brabanters* rebelling against the
Duke created *Ruart*, that people never made use of such a Magistrare. And
because both those *Ruarts* came at last to the power and authority of Dukes,
the Prince of Orange might by their example hope, that one day, the titles of
tempo-

temporary modestie laid aside, the House of Nassau might be Dukes of Brabant, and he the first. For this presumption *Don John* failed not bitterly and speedily to reprove the Citty, and the Estates, by his Embassadour *Gaspard Schey*, Lord of *Grobendonck*. Likewise, a while after receiving other Letters post from the King, by the hand of *Philip Sega* (sent at that time *Nuncio* out of the Low-countries into Spain, in the place of *Ormanetto*) wherein the King commanded the Deputies of the Estates to lay down Arms, not to admit the Prince of *Orange*, and to obey the perpetual Edict: *Don John* sending them a copy of the Letter, seriously wished them maturely to advise upon it, whilst they had time, and not to provoke their Prince his just displeasure, to the ruine of their Countrey, and themselves. But, when instead of Answer, they would return nothing (being wholly governed by the Prince of *Orange*) but complaints and threatnings, *Don John* applyed himself to thoughts of violence and Warre, as some conceived, not unwillingly. For having lost all hope of quieting these Provinces by indulgence, and liberality, (an Honour forfeited by the former Governours of the Low-countries, which he laboured to recover) when he found that his clemency prevailed not, but the Magistrates authority waxed, his waned, and was rather a kind of entreaty, then command: his life exposed to the daily injuries and plors of wicked men; He not able to suffer their affronts, having been accustomed to command great Armies, and finding his hands tied both at home and abroad, weary of such a life, was glad to lay hold of that occasion, and rather chose an open Warre, then a miserable and unsafe Peace.

Indeed it was an Argument of a mind highly offended and incensed, that a Man of such experience in the Warrs, would enter into hostilitie, at a time, when he was in strength so much inferior: For of all the seventeenth Provinces, onely two, *Luxemburg* and *Namure*, continued faithfull to him. The Nobility, Clergie, and Magistrates, a few excepted, were all confederated with the Estates. Not that they renounced their Religion, or Loyaltie, (though there was then a world of such Apostates) but some to ingratiate themselves with the People, (greedie of Libertie, and still maligning their Governours) part bought with promises by the Prince of *Orange*, and being kinsmen to him: many thinking *Don John* quite disarmed, and running away, followed the partie of the Estates, as safer. A great sort held their cause to be likewise honest, conceiving all *Don John* of *Austras* jealousies and fears, to be onely pretences for the justice of a Warre. Therefore, by Letters to the King, they accused him for endeavouring to ingage the Low-countries, upon vain suspicions. It seems, we must not beleave Treason to be plotted against any Prince, that is not slain. Nor could he then raise an Army able to contest with theirs: For on the one side, those few *German*s he had retained in the Low-countries, some Companies of *Spanish* now called out of *France*, where they fought for the Crown; and divers *Wallons* and *Burgundians*, hardly amounting to the number of four thousand. When on the other side, they had at that present no lesse then fifteen thousand, which (as it was proposed in their Council of Warre, and to which end they marched from *Gemblours*) if they had presently advanced to *Namure*, no doubt they had beat *Don John*, weaker in Men and Munition, out of the Town and Fort. But as in consultation where many heads are laid together, whilst they in the field disputed away their time, they gave *Don John* opportunity to strengthen himself with new succours: For the *Raer*, the Prince of *Orange*, after that Dignitie was conferred upon him, would do

1577.

Grobendonck,
the Kings Treasur-
er.

Octob. 4.
What the King
requires of the
Estates.
What Don John
adds.

They obey not.

And he not un-
willingly, hath
recourse to arms
chiefly for these
reasons.

The state of af-
fairs in both
parts.
Onely two Pro-
vinces declare
for Don John.
The Nobility and
clergy for the
Estates.
Their reasons.

Don John's
forces.

The Estates
Army.

These were
more in number
and had carried
it.
If they had been
maximous.
The Prince of
Orange governs
all.

1577.

In the end of
August.
The Fort at
Antwerp demo-
lished by his ad-
vice.
M. Del. lib. 4.
Turb. Belg.
with great re-
joycing of the
people.
Especially when
they saw the
Duke of Alva's
statue.

Which was mel-
ted, and cast a-
gain into Can-
non.

Other Forts dis-
mantled.

The Lords of-
fended at the
Prince of O-
ranges power.

Mention the
choise of a new
Governour.

Three proposed.

The Arch-duke
Matthias pre-
ferred.

And brought
from Germany
into the Low-
countreys.

Octob. 3.

whereat the
Emperour Ro-
dolph is dis-
pleased.
And chides his
brother Maxi-
milian who
knew of the de-
signe.

nothing before *Brabant* was settled, that their neighbours might be secure in *Holland*. He therefore instituted at *Bruxels*, and in the Towns adjacent, Magistrates according to the *Hollanders* new model. By his advice the Fort at *Antwerp* was dismantled, as to that part which commanded the Town, with so great a rejoycing of the People, and such a crowd of voluntary Labourers, that women of the best quality could not be kept within doors, but they would come in the night to see the men at work, till for abominable things committed in their drinking and dancing, the night-work was prohibited by Edict. But their Joy was never at the height, till they came to the triumphall Brasse-statue of the Duke of *Alva*, laid out of the way in a private corner of the Fort. They tumbled it into the Court, hacket it with their swords, hewed it asunder with axes; and, as if they had at every blow drawn blood, and put the brasse to pain, pleased themselves with an imaginary Execution. Some carried home fragments of the broken Basis, and hung them up in their Halls, as if they were the enemies spoils; and would signifie to Posteritie a kind of revenge taken upon the Duke. The metall, as before it was melted out of Cannon into *Alva's* statue; so afterwards the Statue was again cast into Cannon, and restored to its own nature. Onely one thing displeased many, as if *Alva*, being wholly composed of terrour, and therefore sufficiently formidable to that very day, were now turned into these great Gunns, that he might though absent, for ever terrifie the *Low-countreys*. The City of *Gant*, with no lesse alacrity, forthwith followed the example of *Antwerp*; so did *Utrecht*, *Lisle*, *Valenciens*, and other Towns, which slighting their Forts, as if they had shaken off the yoke of servitude, kept the Festivall of their new recovered Libertie. These actions, because they tended to a Rebellion of the People, and (which more troubled some) to the too high advancement of the Prince of *Orange* his power, divers of the Lords yet loyall to the King, especially Duke *Areschott*, by reason of the old differences between him and the Prince of *Orange*, spake of choosing a new Governour of the *Low-countreys*, pretending it would strengthen the Estates by accession of greater forces; but meaning, when the *Ruart* was out of Commission, whom the Nobility with much unwillingness obeyed, to balance the Authority of their new Prince. And when some named the Queen of *England*, some *Francis Hercules* Duke of *Alençon*, Brother to the King of *France*; others *Matthias*, Arch-duke of *Austria*, the Emperour *Rodolph's* brother; the Catholicks excepted against Her, as an heretick, and one that would govern them by a Lieutenant. The Duke of *Alençon*, by reason of the constant enmity between the *Low-countrey men* and the *French*, was not by many so much desired, as the Archduke, who being of the House of *Austria*, would not so much offend King *Philip*: unlesse some pitched upon the Archduke, onely to engage the House of *Austria* in a Warr among themselves: Embassadors to this purpose being sent to *Vienna*, easily perswaded the young Archduke to what he longed for; and stealing him away by night, with a few in his train, brought him sooner then could be imagined into *Brabant*, without the privy of the Emperour *Rodolph*, who, as soon as he knew it, sent post after him to stop his flight; and afterwards wrote Letters to dissuade him, but in vain, from his designe. I have likewise heard, from good hands, that the Emperour was very angry with his brother *Maximilian*, because he had not in time acquainted him of this Plot, imparted unto him by the Archduke, though *Maximilian* excused himself, because his Brother made him take an Oath, that he should not reveal the Secret that night discovered to him, unto any man living, till the

the next day at evening. But for all this, the Emperour escaped not the censure of some, that made a farre other construction of the Arch-duke's flight. Truly, at that very time, many men suspected the sending of this youth to govern the *Netherlands*, to be designed, that by occasion of this passage, the *Low-countries* might come at last to be the Patrimony of the *Germane* House of *Austria*; a point which *Bartholomew Comes Porta*, the Popes Legate to the Emperour, grounding his discourse upon this suspieion, argued with some *Germane* Lords. And *Don John* himself seemed to doubt the Emperours intention. For writing to *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma*, among other passages, he sayes, Yesterday one brought me Letters from the Emperour, wherein he tells me of his brothers departure, as he suspects, for the *Low-countries*, without either his Privitie or Allowance. Indeed it is a thing that troubles me not a little. For though I am not ignorant, that it was last year attempted by the Estates, yet I could never perswade myself, that either the Arch-duke would undertake it, or that his Mother the Emperesse, and the Emperour his Brother, would give their assents. Howbeit, I wonder not so much at the Emperesse-Dowager, who I believe knew nothing at all of the Designe; but am rather grieved on her behalf, and fear that her sonnes levity will much afflict her. What I should think if the Emperour, I cannot yet resolve, because when he knew there was such a businesse in agitation, He was so far from preventing it, that he never so much as (like a himself) sent word of it to the King. For mine own part, as soon as ever I hear the Arch-duke sets his foot in the *Low-countries*, I will seriously desire him, as I think it concerns both our interests, not to joyne nor engage with the Estates. If he refuse, I shall justly repute him for an Enemy. But the Arch-duke was now come into the *Netherlands*, though not yet declared their Governour. For the Estates and the Prince of *Orange*, being not sufficiently consulted in the businesse, purposely delayed it, very busie about preparing conditions to be offered unto the Arch-duke, and finally proposing no fewer then thirty one, whereby they tied his hands: and onely allowing him the honour of predecendencie, laid the foundation of such a popular Government, as the *Low-coun-try* men had of old, when dividing the administration with their King, they did govern, and were governed. To these conditions when both Catholicks and Hereticks, being joyned in a new League, had bound themselves by Oath, the Arch-duke *Matthias* first at *Antwerp*, afterwards at *Brussels*, with great publick joy, Shows, and Revels, was saluted Governour of the *Low-countries*. And the Prince of *Orange* his party prevailed so farre, that he was added to the Arch-duke, not yet one and twenty years of age, and a stranger to the *Low-coun-try* affairs, that under the name of his Lieutenant, he might be indeed his Governour.

The first Act of the new Government, was to purge the House of Lords, and discharge all those Senators that were held ill affected to the Estates, choosing new ones in their places, which immediately pronounced all *Don John* of *Austria*'s adherents enemies to their Country. Soon after the same sentence passed against *Don John* himself, unless he departed the *Low-countries*. Lastly, by the same Senate, and the Deputies of the Estates, an Oath was framed, wherein both the Clergie and Laity should sweare, to obey the Arch-duke *Matthias*, supreme Governour of the *Low-countries*, and to defend him with their Lives and Fortunes, till another were created by the King, and the Estates, but to oppose *Don John* of *Austria*, as an enemy. This Law being passed, and in some places in a manner forced, many of the Nobilitie, and ruined some. At *Antwerp* they began with the Fathers of the Society, because their authoritie being great in the citie, it was thought, if they

1577.

Many think the Emperour dissembles.

Gregory the xiii. his Legate.

Don John of Austria's Letters upon that subject.

Octob. 25.

His Majesty's

His Majesty's

His Majesty's

His Majesty's

His Majesty's

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1578.

A new Senate declares Don John's party, and himself, enemies to the State.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

Holding forth this Oath.

They refuse to
take it.

And are beset
with armed He-
reticks.

Their House
plundered.

Themselves
turned out of
doors.

A remarkable
act of one of the
Societie.

Annals of the
Society.
Ann. 1578.

T. Livii. l. 5.
The like done by
one of the anti-
ent Romanes.

872
Tillemanus
Bredenbach,
l. 7. c. 63. colla
sacra.

A wonderfull
accident at the
Jesuites Col-
ledge.

acknowledged the Archduke, others might be invited by their example, or if they did not, frightened by their punishment. The Hereticks exceedingly pressed it, not doubting but the Fathers (whose constancie they had alwayes hated, but now wished) upon such an occasion, which they commonly turned to their honour, would in the mean time be banished the *Low-coun- treys*. William Hese undertook it, and meeting Father Baldwin ab Angelo, Provinciall of the *Jesuites* in the *Low-coun- treys*, advised him to take the Oath in the name of the Societie. He who knew that Oath was formed by Hereticks against the Catholick party, excusing himself by the rule of his Order, that forbids them to intermeddle with secular affairs, resolutely denied, nor could by any prayers or threats be brought to swear. Whereupon when the Fathers, for some few dayes having been incommodated, and abused by the Hereticks, at length upon the very day of *Pentecost*, their House and Church was besieged by armed Hereticks, the doors forced open, all, as well sacred as profane things, plundered, and the Fathers violently thrust out of possession, and sent aboard the *Hollanders*, with great scorn of the wild multitude, to be landed in some other Countrey. There happened at this time a passage worthy to be recorded. The Fathers were turned out of doors, and Pistols set to their breasts till they were searched, lest they should carrie any thing away, when one of them, *John Boccace* (for it is fit posteritie should know the name of a man so stout and pious) wanne the admiration both of the Catholicks and Hereticks. For calling to mind that upon the High Altar, the holy Eucharist was left in a silver vessel, he presently slip away from the souldiers, and entering the Church full of Hereticall Purioso's, with a constant gate and countenance, approached the altar, and upon his knee adoring Christ reverently, drew out of the Tabernacle the Pix, but finding it full of little hostes, when he saw his dry and gasping mouth was not able to swallow so many on the sudden, the man both of a present wit and faith, held up the Chalice, and carried it to his brethren, through the midst of those sacrilegious souldiers, none presuming to attempt any thing against him. The hereticks being astonished at the miracle of his confidence, or rather God approving his pietie, and the hope he had conceived of his Divine assistance. For, if in the commemoration of the not much different Act of *Cains Fabius*, that whilest the *Gauls* besieged the *Capitol*, went through the enemies camp to the *Quirine* hil, and returned the same way, bearing things they accounted sacred in his hands; if (I say) the *Romane* Historian could affirm, that *Fabius* hoped the gods would be propitious to him, from whose worship not the fear of death could deterre him: Why may not I a little more prudently argue, That he I speak of, hoped he should be protected in that service by the same assistance, where- with Christ himself, that afforded his presence to the *Jews* and when he was pleased was inobservable, mocked the eyes, or at least the hands of such like enemies: and moreover, That it came to passe by Gods favour, remu- neration his rare confidence, that a single man, among three hundred souldiers, (for they were no fewer that, with their swords drawn, possessed them- selves of the Quire and Body of the Church) should preserve the Eucha- rist from the abuses of the Hereticks, and the plate from the rapacity of the souldiers. I shall adde another accident, which concerns Religion to in- sert. When the Fathers were expelled the *Girie*, among others that came to see their empty building, partly out of curiositie, as is often happens, to view other mens houses, especially the *Jesuites*; partly (for most of them were hereticks) to feed their eyes with the joy of their enemies misfortunes; there

there was a buffoonly *Calvinist*, who thought himself a Wit, that to make the people sport, entring the House put forth, at a window over the door, a wisp of straw, upon the end of a white Rod, as if he would, according to the custome of the Countrey, give notice to the Town that the house was visited with the plague. The sight moved some passengers to admiration, others to laughter (of which the *Calvinisticall Apelles*, standing behind his *Venus*, had his belly full) and one of them rapping at the gate, he within cryed to him, *What with a mischief would you have? Do you not see the Ensigne of Death, the Rodde and Wisp before the door? All that dwell here are dead of the plague.* Behold a wonderfull judgement of God the same day, when no part of the town was infected with the pestilence, the impious jeerers own house was visited, and he himself was compelled to weep at home, what he had laughed at in the mansion of others. The like to this usage befell the fathers of the Societie at *Tournay*, *Bruges*, and *Maastricht*; they being for the same causes banished from those Cities, having for the companions of their exile in some places the *Franciscan* Fathers, in others honest Priests, and such as had the cure of souls. By whose departure, so much as the Catholick cause suffered, so much heresie immediately prevailed: and it was apparent how great a benefit their presence was to the publick, which in their absence so soon suffered: the *Calvinists*, not long after, presuming to petition the Archduke and the Estates to establish libertie of Conscience in the *Low-countreys*. And though at first they received a deniall, yet the Prince of *Orange* soliciting their businesse; they drew up new and bolder petitions for the same libertie, and at the very same time were so bold as to exercise it, possessing themselves of some Catholick Churches. Infomuch as the Estates, for fear of insurrections likely to grow about it, especially their care being wholly fixed upon the businesse of the warre, were forced to grant the free exercise of Religion, in many cities of *Brabant*, *Gelderland*, and *Flanders*, the Archduke and the Catholicks in vain protesting against it.

But Don *Iohn* of *Austria*, about the end of the Year, was much strengthened by the coming of *Alexander Farnese*, Prince of *Parma*, with his old souldiers out of *Italy*. The *Spanish* army was commanded by King *Philip* from the borders of *Genoa* (whither as I told you Don *Iohn* sent them seven moneths before) to march directly back to the *Low-countreys*, to the great contentment of their Colonels and Commanders, that conceived themselves, by that revocation, absolutely restored to the Kings Grace, and their own honour. Yet their joy was abated by the death of their first Colonell whom they loved exceedingly, *Iuliano Romero*, who busie in providing for the departure of his souldiers at *Cremona*, died suddenly of a fall with his horse. These forces, and others raised in *Italy* (for there had been a great mortalitie among the *Spaniards*) according to the Kings Orders went, part before, part after the Prince of *Parma*. It was thought most expedient for their speedie march, and for the good of those Provinces through which they passed, that this armie consisting of six thousand, should rather go by troops and companies, then in a bodie. But the Prince of *Parma* himself, with a small train, having appointed *Fabio Farnese* to follow with the rest of his household, by long journeys came to *Luxemburg*, in *December*. Before you have the reason of his coming, I hold it worth my pains to give you what I know of *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*, beginning so much higher then I use to do in the description of other Generals, by how much he will be oftner in the Readers eye, filling up a great part of our future Annals. Nor

Fff

will

They are expelled
from the
Places. Still
So are the
Franciscans,
and divers
Priests.
To the great de-
triment of the
Catholick
Cause. In June.

Churches seized
by the Hereticks.
And liberty of
Conscience ex-
torted In July.

Alexander
Farnese brings
the Spanish
Army back from
Italy.

The death of
Iuliano Romero.

18 day.

will it be unpleasing to know *Alexander Farnese* before his *Low-countrie* expedition; and to compare him in his former life, to Himself in the Government of the *Low-countrie*: like Members of a great Bodie, every where great.

Alexander Farnese was sonne to *Ottavio Farnese* Duke of *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, a Man, without all question, to be numbred among the examples of man best verfed in the arts of Government. For he had a wit naturally dexterous in the managing of Peace and Warre; having been instructed in the school of his Great Grandfather *Paul* the third, and his Father in law *Charles* the fifth, and perfecting that discipline in the school of various fortune. Affabilitie and Bountie were eminent in him, being no lesse his naturall, then artificiall endowments, accommodated to his new and unsettled Sovereignty. Now, I certainly know, that he made use even of his Courtship and Revels, to which he seemed somewhat intemperately addicted, to discover, by the example of *Augustus Cesar*, the secrets of private families. In hearing the causes of ordinary people, in common salutations, through the whole course of his life, no Prince in the world more gracious. Outward complements and emulous flatteries of men, that strive which should lie loudest, like parts in a Comedie well acted, he looked upon and laughed. For he regarded the substance, passing by the ceremonie. His equitie; and indulgence of popular sports, when often as a private man he would make one, but above all his liberalitie, which met the very wishes of such as addressed themselves unto him, justly won him the repute of one of the most popular and munificent Princes of that Age. Nor was he lesse famous as a souldier, learning the elements of warre in his youth, almost in his childhood, under the Emperour *Charles* the fifth: and first commanding in his service eleven thousand men, which he brought out of *Italy*; sent by *Paul* the third, as well for the cause of Religion, as of his Affinitie to the Emperour: and not a little conducing to that victorie; wherein all *Germany* between the Rivers of *Donau*, the *Elbe*, and the *Rhine*, were conquered by his Imperiall Majestie. Inasmuch as *Cesar* himself having viewed the army, said, that nobler levies of *Italian* horse and foot never came beyond the *Alpes*; and attributed much of that days glory to their valour, honouring his Son *Ottavio* with great testimonies of his affection, and particularly with the order of the *Golden Fleece*, with like valour, in the following *Italian* Wars, *Ottavio* defended *Parma*, besieged a whole year, against the Pontifician and Imperiall Armies, enlarging the proportion assigned to *Philip* King of *Spain* at the restitution of *Piacenza*, by divers encounters with the *French* Generalls. Then laying down Armes, which unless provoked, he never took up against any, he spent the rest of his live, according to his Genius, that was sweet and civill, in settling and enjoying his Government. Prince *Alexander* Son to this Father (for of his Mother *Margaret* of *Austria*, Daughter to the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, I have already spoken not a litle, and shall more in its due place) was born at *Rome*, that very year wherein Pope *Paul* the third his paternall Great Grand-Father beginning the Councell of *Trent*, and his maternall Grand-Father the Emperour *Charles* the fifth raising an army in *Germany*, asserted the *Christian* Commonwealth against the *Lutheran* Heresie; he with sacred Laws, this with triumphant Armes; no vain presages unto this child then unborn, and Incitements to him in his riper years, with hereditary virtue to vanquish the same Monster, as an ancient enemy. Add to this, the prediction of Pope *Paul*, who gratulating *Margaret* of *Austria*, for the birth of *Alexander* and his twin-

Of Alexander Farnese before his coming into the Low-countrie.

His father Ottavio soon after Duke of Parma.

Ottavio's abilities, and Art of Government.

his wife Populace, and Succession in his Life.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

His bounty.

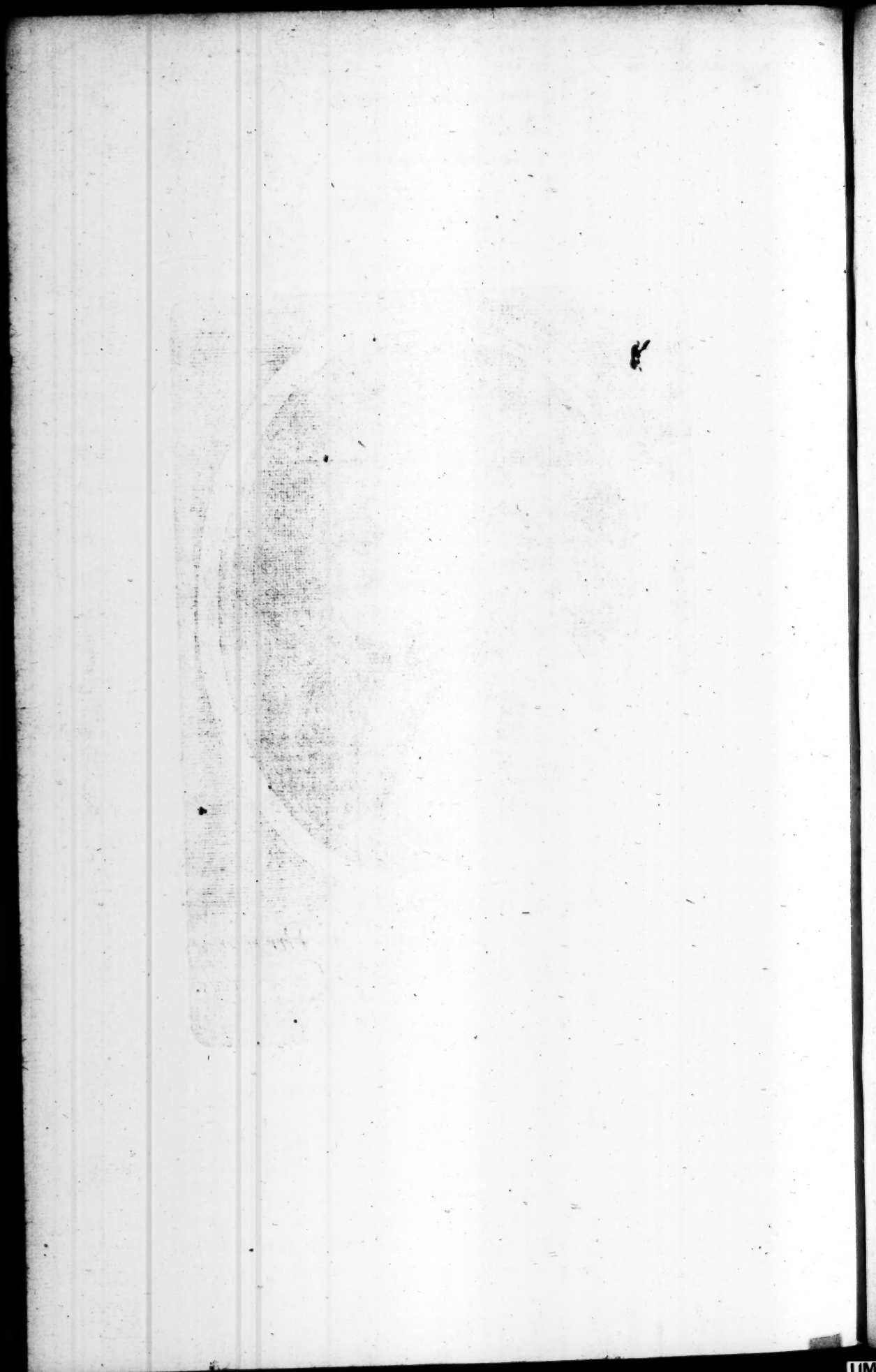
His bounty.

His bounty.

Paul the III. his prediction.



*Alexander Farnese Prince of Parma
& Piacenza Governour of y^e Lowcountrys.*



twin-Brother, laying his hand upon *Alexanders* head, is reported to have sayd, That, if his minde could foretell any truths, that child would in time be a great Generall. I conceive from his name he divined, the Boy would be a second *Alexander*, for all other kinds of divination I hold ridiculous. The joy of that house was likewise increased about this time, *Octavio* being created Duke of *Parma*, and *Piacenza*, as if a new Dominion were prepared to grow up with the Boy. But nothing so much demonstrated *Margaret* of *Austria*'s felicity, as the having two Sons at a birth, which filled *Rome* with infinite joy, playes, and all kindes of pastimes and presentments set forth by the *Roman* Nobility, that erected a marble Monument to signifie unto after Ages that fortune, so rarely befalling a Princely family. In the mean time, *Octavio*, not boasting of that happiness, like *Tiberius Cesar*, who (they say) gloried in the Senate house, that no *Roman* of his quality till then, ever had the Honour to have *Twin-Sons*. But imitating his Father in Law, *Charles* the fifth, that when he heard his Emperess was delivered of a Boy, went forthwith to the Monastery of *Saint Paul*, though it poured down rain, a foot, and gave thanks to God, as his first Joy-Offering: so he, when it was told him, his wife *Margaret* of *Austria* was brought a bed, would admit no visits of the Lords that came to joy him, nor partake of the publick Iubile, till leaving his own house, and going directly to the sacred figure of *Christ* hanging on the cross, kept by the Brotherhood so named, with great veneration of the *Romans*, in the Church of *Saint Marcellus*, and falling prostrate (for he worshipped the cross with singular devotion) gave thanks with all his soul, to the divine Benificence and embracing that tree of life, under its shade deposited the health and fortune of his children, worthy for this zeal afterwards to see a Son of his displaying this triumphall Ensign of the cross in the *Low-countrieys*, and in this Sign conquering. Three months after at the font (for the Christning was a while deferred, that the shows and solemnities of joy might be reiterated,) *Giovanni Dominico*, Cardinall de *Cuppis*, Prince of the sacred Senate, baptized them, the elder *Alexander*, the younger *Charles*, this by the Emperours name, that by the name of *Paul* before he was elected Pope. But *Charles* dying soon after, all their care was fixed upon the Education of *Alexander*. He spent the time of his infancy in the bosome and embraces of his Mother, *Margaret* of *Austria*; his child-hood under the best Tutors that Age afforded, yet with little benefit, at least not answerable to the industry of the Masters, and aptness of the Scholler. For he, of a restless and fiery nature, hated the fetters of Study, and in the field a hunting, in riding the great horse, and practising his weapon, more delighted to exercise his body, then his mind. That which cherished, or rather made this impression in the Childs mind, was the armes and warlike preparations in his Fathers house, which he fancied as his first fine object: by which, much sooner then by the Starrs that raige at our nativities, mens manners commonly are moulded. For his Father, hastning to go beyond the *Alps*, with forces to the Emperour, all the house clattering with Armour at his birth, so intertained the infant, that indeed he heard the sound of the trumpet before the singing of his nurse, and had the drum for a Rattle: the first sight that saluted his eye, being the glittering of Armes. Nay, the year following, the Trophies brought out of *Germany* by his Father, set the child a longing. A little while after emulous Armies fighting before *Parma*, where at six years old the boy was besieged, and bred up in the noise and thunder of the cannon, with war up-

The joy at
Rome for
Octavio's male-
twines.
In the Portico
of S. Eustar.
His Moderation
greater then
Tiberius Cesar.
Tacitus l. 2.
Annals.
Philip the 2.
King of Spain.
His Piety.

Cryependent

Prince Alex-
anders Christ-
ning.

Education.

Propension to
Armes.

On what occasi-
on he came first
to fancy, and by
degrees to be
deeply in love
with the Wars.

He is sent, very young, into the Low-countries to King Philip.

1557.

His strange suit to the King.

King Philip carries him into Spain.

His Majesties affection to him.

How much he was honoured by others, and why.

His Marriage.

His issue.

Her marriage being dissolved, she professed herself a Nun.

on war ingaging his Father, the younger he was, the deeper were military figures stamped in his imagination, and formed in him a martiall soul. Before he had past his childhood, he was by his Mother sent into the Low-countries to Duke *Ottavio*, that he might deliver him to King *Philip*, as a testimonie of renuing his service to the house of *Austria*, and likewise that by such a Pledge as their onely son, they might win the affection of his Uncle, & yet (which they most desired) the Castle of *Piacenza* restored, the City being already in their hands. And King *Philip*, whatsoever their intention was, willingly received the child, delighted with the image of his beloved Sister, but especially, because he took him as an Hostage of the *Farnazes* friendship. He was a year and an half with the King in the Low-countries, much pleased with the sight of military exercises. And, they say, when the King carried him to the Army at *Saint Quintin*, that very day the Town was stormed and taken, he very passionately begged of his Majestie, that he might be armed, and sent to the assault: but when he was put off, between admiration and laughter, being but eleven years old, he cryed extreemly, and they had much ado to stay him in the Camp. Going from thence with his Majestie into *Spain*, he lived there almost eight yeares, educated with *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, and *Don John* of *Austria*: some part of the time at *Alcala* (to which University the Prince was sent) the rest in the Court at *Madrid*; where he was in his Uncles eye, and pleased him so well, that he esteemed and loved him as his own sonne. The Kings affection to him was encreased, by comparing him with Prince *Charles*, whose loose and crabbed mannaers differed much from his fathers gravity. Nor did this favour (which is rare at Court) expose him to the hatred of the *Grandeess*; being either above it, as Nephew to *Charles* the fifth, or obliging them with handsome and noble Ceremonies, continuall good offices and bounties wherein he exceeded, and thereby somewhat prejudiced his House. But in the use of arms, especially in all presentments on horsback (often set forth by the military emulation of Prince *Charles*, and *Don John*) his carriage was so princely and advised, though he sometime undauntedly opposed his unarmed bodie against eminent danger, that being in those counterfeited fights applauded by the beholders, to see him was both their delight and fear. In the twentieth year of his age, the King resolved to marry him to Princess *Mary*, daughter to *Edward* Prince of *Portugall*, neice to King *Emmanuel*, the miracle of that time for rarenesse of wit, and sanctitie of life. And to do honour to his Sister, then Governesse of the Low-countries, he sent thither her sonne *Alexander*, the Bride following from *Portugall* in the Royal fleet. His Father Duke *Ottavio* came likewise in great State from *Italy* to the Marriage, celebrated at *Bruxels*, with the above-mentioned gratulation of the Provinces. From hence he went to *Parma*, where after he had had many children by his wife, three of which, *Margaret* Princessse of *Manina* (afterwards translated to happier Nuptials with the celestially Bridegroom) Duke *Ranuccio*, and Cardinal *Odoardo*, survived their parents: when he saw his House established in his issue, and himself freed from Publick cares (his Father *Ottavio*, still in the vigour of youth and spirit, easily governing alone) he longed to be abroad in the field, and began to consider where a war was likeliest to rise. In the meantime, by hunting of wild beasts in the woods, running at Tilt in the Citie, and those pastimes which are the near resemblances of war, he at once fed and deceived his longing. Yet, being naturally fierce, now and then he did things that would better have become a *Gladiator*, then a Prince. For, privily armed, in the night he used to walk the streets

streets disguised, not like that *Cesar* who went likewise in disguise by night, but with a guard of Fencers, who if the Emperour began a quarrel not dangerous, suffered it; but if he was put to it by those he had abused, cut them to pieces. But Prince *Alexander*, commonly alone, or but with one companion, would bid night-walkers stand, and fight with them, to try both theirs and his own courage. And as confidence increases by successe, it carried him so farre, that if he heard any one commended for a sword-man, he could not rest till he had met him by dark, and compared his strength and skill at his weapon with the other. They say that once meeting *Comes Taurello*, a noble and stout Gentleman in the night, instantly in that very place (where he had often wished the incounter) he challenged and fought with him, but *Taurello*, by a torch that accidentally passed by, perceiving his opposite to be Prince *Alexander*, throwing down his Arms craved pardon, if ignorant and provoked, he had wronged his sword, by lifting it up against his Prince. This being newsed about the Town, many afterwards shunned the occasion of meeting with the Prince, lest they should, if worsted, loose their reputation: or the Princes favour, if they got the better.

But in the interim, a nobler cause of war was offered him, a generall peace being concluded among *Christian* Princes, against the common enemy. Divers considerations incited him to that voyage; the ground of the Warre, the confluence of noble persons that ingaged; and above all the Generall, *Don John* of *Austria*, equally near to him in love and blood. Nor was his Father unwilling to let him go, in hope that his sons military inclination, would produce great effects: howsoever, that his fiercenesse would be tamed. But his Mother, that was powerfull with her husband, being against it, the Duke said, nothing could be done till they knew the pleasure of the King his Uncle. In the mean time *Margaret* of *Austria* received Letters (as she had ordered it) from the King, wherein he wished Prince *Alexander* should not go, as yet. But he, beyond measure inflamed with *Don Johns* invitation, at last prevailing with his Mother, and the King, furnished himself for the Warre, as young souldiers ever do, magnificently. Fourty two Gentlemen of *Parma* and *Piacenza* followed him; and he had three hundred that were a kind of *Pretorians*, for his Life-guard, men chosen, with more then ordinary care, by *Paulo Vitelli* a great Commander, most of them having been Captains, Lieutenants, or Ensignes, or at least above the rank of common souldiers. With this train, Prince *Alexander* offered himself as a Volunteer to his Uncle the Generall. Who, then by chance being at the Musters of his Army, affectionately embraced him, and when he had with the Generalls leave, selected four hundred sea-men of the Kings, he put them in two Gallies sent from the Common-wealth of *Genoa*, to be commanded by *Comes Carolo Scotta*, and *Pedro Francisco Nicella*: he himself with his Lieutenant *Virelli*, and part of his Gentlemen and Souldiers going aboard the Admirall of *Genoa*. Though in the voyage, especially before the battle, *Don John* would never let him be out of the Imperiall Galley, where he was himself, which turned to the benefit of the whole Navie: For a verie bitter difference ensuing between *Don John* and *Venerio* the Admirall of *Venice*, likely to embroyl the forces of *Christendome* in a Civil Warre: which *Don John* in his first heat, was about to revenge the wrong offered to the Majestie of the Supream Admirall; onely Prince *Alexander* (though some failed not to bring fuell to the fire, that burned sufficiently in the young Generalls nature) had so much power with his Uncle, that he kept him from striking the first stroke. Till *Mark Antonio Columna*

1578.

His Digladiations in the night-time.

Tacit l. 13.

Annal.

much more gallant then Nero's were.

Exposed to hazard.

Alex. Farneze desirous to go upon the Holy Warre.

His Father consents.

But not his Mother.

Feb. 2.

1571.

Yet he goes.

With a Train of selected Gentlemen and Souldiers.

Which he placeth in the Genoa-Galleys.

He contributes to the attomment of the Generalls.

1578

The Pope
commend
him for it.
They fight the
Turk.

Alex. Farneze
boards Mustapha.

'Tis a measuring
cast between
them.
At last he takes
Mustapha,

And Scander
Bashaw.

The Booty got
by his Souldiers.

Don John's
words to Alex.
Farneze.
P. Alexander's
Answer.

1572.
The Sacred
League renewed

Don John sends
him to Navar-
rinc.
He attacks
the Town.

the Pope's Admiral, and the *Venetian* Embassadour *Augustino Barbarico*, by their wisdom joyned to Prince *Alexander's* endeavours, swifter then imagination, disperfed this Tempest, threatning destruction to the Fleet. For which service, when Prince *Alexander* came next to *Rome*, Pope *Pius* commended him before some of the Cardinals, acknowledging both himself, and *Christendom* much obliged to him. But when they were upon the place of Battel, formerly famed for the victory of *Actium*, won by *Octavius Cesar*, and the ships on both sides put in Battalia; Prince *Alexander* being aboard *Mark Antonio Columna's* Gally, in the midst of the Fleet, passed into his own, the two other *Genoa*-Gallyes lying to the wind-ward: and after a shower of Arrows and Bullets from afarr, the ships encountering; *Alexander Farneze* having an eye upon *Mustapha*, Treasurer of the *Turkish* Fleet, with all his force stem'd his Gally, and grappling, found her a great deal stronger then he imagined. She carryed the money, and therefore was manned with above three hundred *Fanizaries*, all old and valient Souldiers. When they had fought long upon equall termes, sometimes one of them setting up their Colours, sometimes another: Prince *Alexander*, at once inflamed with shame and anger, flourishing (as he used to do) a huge great sword, leaped into the *Bashaw's* Gally, and laying about him on both sides like a mad-man, by the slaughter of the enemy, opened a way to his Souldiers, that were so nettled with the example and danger of their General, as now all the boldest *Turkes* being slain, the rest would presently have yeiled, if the *Bashaw* of *Alexandria*, had not come in with a strong Gally, whereby the *Turks*, both strengthened and encouraged, for a while renewed the fight. But one of *Alexander's Farneze's* Gallyes sending in fresh supplies; when the *Turks* could no longer stand the fury of the conquerours, *Mustapha* being in many places runthrough the body, the *Bashaw* of *Alexandria* hurt, and soon after taken, Prince *Alexander* made himselfe master not only of the Treasurer's Gally, but likewise of the Auxiliary ship; with so great pillage for his men, that some of them got 2000 Sultancies (it is a Coin of little lesse value then the *Venetian* Chechine of gold) others 3000, onely out of this Gally of the Treasurers; besides what his two other Gallies found in three of the enemies Gallions, and as many of their Galliaffes. They say, that *Don John* of *Austria*, after the Battel, when he heard his Nephew *Alexander* highly extolled, received him with great expressions of joy and love, yet praised him with this exception, that he boarded the enemy with better successe, then judgment, they being yet in their full strength, and able to have hindred his retreat. Which fault he took for an honour, and said, the reason of his confidence was built upon the sanctitie of his wife, by whose prayers to God for him, he conceived himself protected and secured; so merrily passing over his uncles reprehension. Nor was the gallantry of Prince *Alexander's* mind lesse manifested the year following, though with lesse fortune, or rather lesse concord of the *Christian* Nations. For the league being renewed, and the *Christian* Fleet, somewhat too late after the Battel of *Lepanto*, returned to prosecute their victory in *Peloponnesus*, the new *Turkish* Admiral *Uluciall* had now repaired his ships, and to avoide the encounter of the League, having many times changed his Road, now lay at Anchor near the strong Port of *Malbone*. And whilst *Don John* with many offers to fight, endeavoured to draw the *Turks* into the Main, he resolved to send *Alexander Farneze* to besiege *Navarinum*, not far off by land. Who with 6000 in two divisions began to batter the Fort, with more industrie, then successe. For the place being all rock, or craggy, his

his men could hardly get earth to raise their batteries, nor could their tubbs and Gabions filled with earth and stone, opposed in stead of a curtain, be defence sufficient against the enemies Cannon. The Siege was nevertheless continued; and the *Navarines*, sallying out, but with losse beat back, were thought to be upon the point of yielding: When the *Turks*, either by the connivence or ignorance of Prince *Alexander's* Souldiers, put in men by night, and relieved the Garrison. Besides, the Turkish horse and foot coming from all quarters, Prince *Alexander* fearing they would block up his retreat, and not hoping to take the Castle, thought it enough in his enemies sight to retire with his Cannon to the Fleet. And Don *Fohn*, since the Turkish Navy, shunning a general Battell, could by no affront be provoked to sea, contented to have struck a terror into the enemy, and forced them to confesse themselves not able to appear upon the Main: the mindes as well as the Fleet of the *Christians* being divided, he went to *Sicily*, the rest to other places. Thus was *Alexander Farnese* initiated in war, which as it begat an opinion, both among those great Souldiers, and Princes absent, specially the successour to Pope *Pius*, *Gregory*, and King *Philip* of *Spain*, that he would prove a gallant General: so afterward it moved the King of his own accord, to call him, where the war was most dangerous, into the *Low-countries*.

For his Majesty pressed with the *Low-country-mens* daily complaints against Don *Fohn* of *Austria*, and very desirous to quiet the *Netherlands* without Arms, that weaken even the Conquerour himself; he resolved to satisfie the desires of the Provinces; and in his Brothers place to substitute his Sister *Margaret* of *Austria*, with her Son *Alexander Farnese*. Hoping either by her prudence and power with the *Low-country-men* to find out some expedient towards the concluding of a Peace; or by his valour, if there was use of Arms, strongly to pursue the war. Therefore he ordered it, that Cardinall *Granvell*, then at *Rome*, should perswade his sister of *Parma*, to return into the *Low-countries*. The Cardinall taking a journey to *Aquila*, found there very opportunely the Dutchesse and Prince *Alexander*, and read his letters containing the Kings desires to both together. Though his Majesty had likewise commanded the Marquesse of *Ayamont*, Governour of *Millaine*, to treat with Prince *Alexander* apart. The Dutchesse answered doubtfully, she would advise upon it; either fearing as she pretended, to displease Don *Fohn*: or by that delay and seeming refusal aym to put a higher value upon her journey. But *Alexander Farnese*, without the least demurring, said he would obey the King with all his heart, if it so pleased his mother. He made yet a plainer answer to two letters delivered him by *Raphael Manrique*, from *Ayamont*, (that was sick and kept his bed;) together with his Majesties letter, wherein, after expression of his grief for the death of Princeesse *Mary*, wife to Prince *Alexander*, he signifies his resolution to employ him in the *Low-countries*. *I am certain (they are the Kings words,) now you know it, with a ready and undaunted mind you will satisfie my expectation of you, and my love, which highly esteems you and your virtue, most illustrious Prince.* But when the King altered his determination of substituting the Dutchesse in his Brothers place, by reason of *Matthias* the Arch-dukes coming into the *Low-countries*, it was doubted at *Parma*, whether it would be handsome for Prince *Alexander* to go and fight in the *Low-countries*, commanded by another: which consideration, he out of duty to the King, and desire of glory in the wars, easily contemned; especially encouraged by some dark words of *Granvell*, promising great matters. Besides *Gregory* the thirteenth,

but finding his
endeavours
frustrate,
Retreats.

The League dis-
solved.

Pius V. Gre-
gory XIII.

Prince Alex-
ander joyned
with his Mo-
ther, is to be
commissionated
for the Govern-
ment of the
Low-coun-
treys.

Cardinal Gran-
vell treats with
them both in the
King's name.

Margaret of
Parma is doubt-
ful of accept-
ing the offer.
So is not her son
Alexander.

9 & 11 No-
vemb. 1577.
11 Septemb.
1577.
The Kings Let-
ter to him.

The Pope's encouragement.

Many Letters from Don John inviting him.
14 & 25 Oct.
& 25 Novemb.
1577.

He goes for the Low countreys.
How he findes Don John.

That was really glad to see him there.

The Pension given by the King to Alex. Farnese.

24 Decemb.
1577.
And by him refused.

The state of the Provinces.

Breda besieged by the Generals of the Confederates.
Cardinal Granvels Brother.
A Messenger with a Letter to Don John,

Discovered.

Another counterfeited Letter was sent.

thirteenth interposed his Authority and exhortation; who, informed of the design by Cardinal Farnese, highly praised it, and bad the Cardinal write to the Prince of Parma in his name, *that the expedition would be pleasing to God, and therefore under so mighty protection, and upon encouragement from his Holiness, he should willingly and speedily undertake it.* The Pope, I suppose, did not thus commend the warre, onely for the King of Spain's sake, and the common cause of Religion; but for some peculiar benefit, that might result to the Pontifician Empire. For the Prince of Parma, being a Feudatary and Homager to the See Apostolick, his Holiness thought himself concerned, in sending the Prince to a Foreign warre, whence he might return an able General, to defend the Church of Rome. Wherefore Alexander Farnese, having within a few dayes, received three letters from Don John of Austria, which invited him with great entreaties, and no lesse promises, to the society of warre and glory; making ready with all possible speed, the twelfth day after he left Parma, arrived at Luxemburg; and there met Don John: who with expressions of incredible contentment received Prince Alexander, that stood amazed to see his uncle no lesse impaired in his health, then in the presence and Majestie of the most fortunate Generall. So true it is, that they are most sensible of adverse fortune, which have been in most felicity. It is therefore probable, that Don John, not against his will, or onely by the Kings command, sent for the Prince of Parma, nor did with dissent led joy welcome him, from whose long approved fidelitie and valour he might promise safety to the publick, and a particular preservation to himself, whose life was sought by so many plots. At their first meeting, Don John imparted the Kings commands, that he should acquaint Prince Alexander with all businesse of Warre and Peace; and reserve for his use 1000 Crownes a moneth. Both which conditions pleased him very much, especially the later, usually given by the King to none but Viceroyes, Governours of Provinces, or Generalls of Armies. For some dayes the Prince of Parma took the money, (till the Kings high estimation of his merit was thereby divulged among the people) afterwards, writing his humble thanks to his Majesty, he, as one more ambitious of honour, then profit, refused the pay; adding, that it was not fit he should be so remunerated, who had yet done no service, and he needed no encouragement.

But Alexander Farnese acting nothing without order from Don John, wholly applyed his minde and endeavours to inform himself of affaires at home and abroad; which he found to be in a very bad condition. For the King had but two Provinces that continued loyall; in the rest, the few Forts that held for his Majestie, daily revolted to the States. Nay even in Holland, Amsterdam it self began to waver. And in Brabant, Bergen op Zoom: where the Souldiers basely betraying their Colonell Charles Fugger, yielded to the States. But the Garrison of Breda, a while before deceived by a stratagem of the enemy, carryed themselves yet more basely towards their Colonell. For the Generalls of the Sates Army, Philip Count Holach, and Frederick Perrenot Lord of Campin, that besieged Breda, they were gallantly opposed by George Fronsberg Colonel of the Germans that served Don John: but the Garrison, because they were some payes behind, daily growing to mutiny, Fronsberg by a man of know courage and trust, wrote to Don John, *speedily to dispatch away relief, for his men were grown so seditious he could hold out no longer.* But the messenger, either taken by Holach, or else playing the knave, was with his letters detained in the Leaguer, till such time as they might think he had been with Don John, that a probable delay might giye more credit to the juggling. Then another, in stead of the first, was dispatched to the

the Town, that excusing the stay of him, they sent, who he said was fallen sick, brought a formall answer, as from the hand of Don John, bidding them upon good conditions render the Town: and that shortly; when supplies came to him, he would send (but yet he could not) forces to recover it. The messenger and letter was believed, and the Town yielded. To the Colonell's error was added the villany of his Souldiers, which during the time of the Treaty, either corrupted with money or discontent, furiously laid hands upon him, and perfidiously delivered him bound to *Holach* and *Campin*, that made it one of their conditions. In the interim, whilst they march out, finding themselves cheated by the enemy, and seeing the supplies, sent by Don John, at hand, they repented both their haste, and perjury. The Diceran not so merily on *Holach's* side at *Ruremond*, which he with great forces going to assault, found Garrison'd by Don John with 4000 men, commanded by *Aegidius Barlamont* Lord of *Hierg*, and likewise by a Sally of *Polwillerius* Colonel of the Germans in the Town, beaten from the Siege, with the losse of his Carriages, and many of his men, he fled. Yet the Treaty of Peace went on, continual messengers posting from both sides, as if it were out of hope and desire of successe; and not rather to give words for words, that one might seem to take up Arms justlier then the other. Nothing else was intended by the Queen of England, at that time moving Don John for a Cessation of Arms, save onely that upon the denyal of her request, she would be thought in a manner necessitated to assist the Estates: her Majesty threatening Don John and the King, to whom she sent an expresse Messenger, that if they refused to do it, she would never more pleasure them in any thing whatsoever. But her threats being understood, she was desired by the King and Don John to move the other side, whom she might with a great deal more justice perswade to lay down Arms, rendring obedience to their Prince. Wherefore both parties with the conditions likewise rejecting the messengers that brought them, all Treaties of Accomodation now cut off, no hope was left of quieting the Low-countrieys, but by Arms. And about that time, a blazing Star rose with such a fatall Aspect, as Mathematicians laboured to demonstrate, that a more horrid one never had appeared: which mindes prone warr looked at, as a Standard set up in heaven.

The first and memorable Battel was fought at *Gemblac*, nine miles from *Namure*, in the entry of *Brabant*; both Armies being a while before mustered, the Catholick at *Marcha*, a Town in the Province of *Luxemburg*, the enemy at *Temple*, a Village not far from *Namure*: and those were found less, these more then was supposed. For it was reported, that Don John had 22000 Foot, whereas upon the Musters appeared not 18000, as *Alexander Farnese*, that was present with Don John, set down in his account. On the contrary, the States Mustered about 20000, that were, a while before, not thought to be 17000. For the number of these was daily increased by Souldiers of Fortune, that came in hope of Pillage, which they could not have from Don John, that raised men onely with money. And yet his Army though fewer (& weaker in hope, as not full two thousand) because they had the advantage of being the older and the better Souldiers, were a great deal more desirous of a Battel. The Catholick Souldiers were likewise much encouraged by the Letters of *Gregory* the thirteenth, wishing happinesse to them, and by the Christian custome, freely granting them a general pardon of their sins. Which the Commanders making use of, the Army when they were all absolved, with much more cheerfulness marched against the enemy. The Spyes likewise brought in news (which made Don John expect

The Town rendered.
The Perfidiousness of the Garrison.

Ruremond holds out against the Confederates.

Still the Treaty of Peace continues.

The Queen of England moves for a Cessation of Arms, in a threatening way.

She is not listened to.
The hope of Peace vanishes.

A prodigious Comet.
In Novemb. & Decemb. 1577. & January 1578.

Of the Battel of Gembelac.

Both Armies mustered
January 30.
Don John's is less.
The enemies greater.
But his are better men.

And more confident, for this respect.
6. January.

Pardieu, Lord
de la Mot.

Goigny, Com-
mander in chief
for the Confede-
rates.
from 18.

1567.

1576.

The Order of
his Army.

Goigny Liev-
tenant-Gener-
al to the
Arch-duke
Matthias, for
this Expediti-
on.
Scoutes sent
out, and an em-
bush laid by
Don John.

The Catholick
Army thus mar-
shalled.

no longer) that *Philip Count Lalin*, and *Robert Melodune Viscount Gant*, this commanding the Horse, he the Foot, and *Valentine Pardieu* Generall of the Artillery, were absent from the enemies Campe, pretending an invitation to a Marriage, celebrated with great Pompe in *Bruxels*; but indeed, as it was reported, out of distaste taken at the Prince of *Orange*; besides, many others, that could not away with the sharpnesse of the Winter (being Summer- Captaines) had left the field, and withdrawn into the City. He that now commanded in chief for the Confederates, was *Anthony Goigny* Lord of *Vendege* in the Wood, an old Souldier, trained up in his youth under *Charles* the fifth, then a Captain of Lanceirs at the Battel of *Saint Quintin*: afterwards, Lievttenant General of the Auxiliaries sent by King *Philip* to *Charles* the ninth of *France*, under the command of Count *Aremberg*. But two years before the differences between the *Spaniards* and *Low-countreymen* had alienated his endeavours, rather then affections from the Kings Service. The enemy intended to surprise *Don John* in *Namure*, and to this purpose were now upon their march, but understanding that he had a far stronger Army, then was imagined, and meant to draw out of *Namure*, and give them Battel; altering their determination, they were retiring to *Gemblac*, there, upon certain knowledg of the enemies strength, maturely to order their affaires. The States Army quartered that night in the Village of *St. Martin*, almost five miles distant from the Forces of *Don John*, lying at *Namure*. Thence before break of day, firing their Huts, they retreated towards *Gemblac*, in this manner. First marched *Emmanuel Montin*, and *William Hese*, with their Regiments flanked with Carabines of the Colonels, *Villers*, and *Fresnoi*. The main Battel (consisting of the *German* and *Wallon* Regiments, three of *French*, thirteen of *Scots* and *English*) was led by *Maximilian Hennin*, Count of *Bolduc*, a while since revolted from the King, and by *Federick Perrenot* Lord of *Campin*. The Rere, in which was their strength of Horse, being commanded by the Counts *Philip Egmont*, son to *Lamoral*, and *Lumè a Marcha*, Marquesse of *Havre*; Duke *Arescot's* Brother, and the Camp-master *Goigny*, Lievttenant-General of the Army, riding up and down, with some select wings of Horse. In the Forlorn they had placed the Pioners and Workmen, intermixed with a Company of Foot. The Battel was enclosed with their Baggage, and flanked with some Feild-pieces. They had likewise secured their backs (fearing the enemy would follow) with their best Musketteirs, and stoutest Souldiers. Nor was *Don John* less active, but a good while before day, moved from *Namure*, sending before *Antonio Olivera*, and *Ferdinando Acoffa*, with some Horse and Foot, to discover the Wood-land Countrey, and possesse himself of advantageous places. Part of his Army he left behind at the bank of *Mose* under *Charles Mansfeldt*; the greater and stronger part followed him, in this order. In the Van, where he had put the strength of his Cavalry, first marched the Light-horse with Pistols, then the Lanciers at a distance: for defence to both, came on the whole body of the Curaciers, with their Officers in the head of every Troop, some Vantcurrers advancing a little before the Army, with small bodies of the fleetest Horse. The main Battel was a Square, consisting of two Regiments, Musketteirs and Pikemen, most them *Spaniards* and *Germans*, their Colonels likewise leading up their men. The Rere, contained a Square Battalion of *Wallons*, safely flanked with their Carriages and Baggage, the *Burgundian* Carabines riding mingled with them. The Van-guard was commanded by *Ottavio Gonzaga*; the Rere-guard by *Ernest Count Mansfeldt*; this Camp-master, he General of the Horse. In the midst was the

the Generall himself *Don John* of *Austria*, with the Prince of *Parma*, attended by the Life-guard; whence appeared the Royall Standard, in which *Don John*, as he had conceived an extraordinary confidence in the Divine Assistance, under the triumphall Crosse of *Christ*, had caused these words to be written, *In this signe I did vanquish the Turks, and shall the Hereticks*. He had not marched farre, but he came within sight of the enemy, and learning the Confederates designe from a couple of Prisoners taken in some light skirmishes by *Olivera*, presently drew out near six hundred horse, Lancers and Carabines, and intermixing with them one thousand foot, Pikemen and Musketeers, gave them, in two divisions, to *Ostasio Gonzaga*, and *Christophero Mondragonio*: ordering *Gonzaga* to charge the enemy in the Rere; but so, as not to engage their whole Forces, till he with the Prince of *Parma* and the rest of the Army were come up. At first he obeyed, and skirmishing, onely galled their last Troops, till *Gonzaga* saw *Perotto* of *Sassoferrata*, who that day commanded the Troop of *Camillo Montio*, so farre advanced, that he feared the enemies whole Army would be rashly drawn upon him, before *Don John* could advance. He therefore presently sent one upon the spur, with command that *Perotto* should immediately retire, without ingaging himself and his horse. But he (for the command was proudly delivered) resenting it with indignation, as if he were held a coward, bad the man with his imperious importunity be gon, and tell *Gonzaga*, that *Perotto* never yet turned his back in a battell, nor could now if he would. There was, upon the flank of the Forces wherewith they skirmished, a high way, deep in mire and water, more like a Bog then a Road, which the enemy declining, march'd in a way that would receive fewer a breast: Thither Prince *Alexander* had galloped up, to see how things went (for *Don John* kept the Prince from fighting, as if he had use of him to order the battell, and to send in supplies) and observing that the enemies horse, either by reason of the ill way, or out of their hast to reach *Gemblac*, marched in no little disorder (which he conjectured by the waving of their pikes, tangling and crossing one another) he resolved to expect no longer, but catching a Lance from the Gentleman of his horse, and getting upon one of *Camillo a Monte's* charging-horses, better managed then his own, his eyes and face speaking the language of a Batrel, and looking upon the Gentlemen, Go, said he, to the Generall, and tell him, that *Alexander Farneze* remembring the old *Romane*, will cast himself into the gulph, and hopes by Gods grace, and the fortune of the House of *Austria*, to bring out of it this day, a certain and a glorious victorie. Then shewing those about him how advantageous it would be, if advancing a little they would plunge through, and charge the enemy in the flank; his fervour and example with the same violence, drew along the valiantest Horse-commanders, *Bernardino Mendoza*, *Giovanni Baptista*, *Camillo a Monte*, *Ferdinando Toledo*, *Martinengo*, *Viennius*, *Mondragonio*, and many more. And he himself, riding among the Horse of *Murio Pagano* Captain-Lieutenant to *Mondragonio*, entred the bog, followed by all those gallant Cavaleers; and when a few of them yet tugging, the rest had fortunately passed over, and got field-room to ease their horses, encouraging one another, they made a little stand, till they ranked themselves in one equall front. Then riding full speed, *Alexander Farneze* in the head of them, they charged the enemy so home with their Lances, *Gonzaga* seconding with the rest of the Cavalry, and *Don John* still sending in fresh men, that the Confederates Horse (this division being amazed) had presently wheeled off, if their Commanders persuasions and threats, and the example of their betters, had not stoppe

The Standard.

Don Johns orders.

Parties of both sides first skirmish.
Perotto of Sassoferrata.

The place of a battell.

Alex. Farneze's conjecture of the enemy.

His words to the Gentleman of his Horse.
Curtius.

He communicates his designe to the Officers about him.

Henr. Viennius Lord of Ceuravium. And they following, he first passeth over the Gulph.

They all together charge the enemies horse.

And rout them.

Execution done
upon the Confe-
derates army.

Januar. 31.

The day won by
the horfe.
Christ. Affonv.
in Relatione,
fayes, One
Spaniard was
too hard for
ten Confede-
rates.

How great the
Victorie.
Mar. Delr.
fayes but two
were slain.
Mich. ab Ifselt
Leo. Belg.

Febr. 2.
Gemblac be-
sieged by the
Conquerours.
Yielded.

Mercy shewed
to the town.

And to the pri-
soners.

Don Iohn's
words to Ge-
nerall Goigny.

The Conquerours
commended by
Don Iohn.

Prince Alexan-
der especially.

With some ad-
monition.

them for a while. But having once taken a thorow-fright, their minds being conquered, at last they turned their backs, and flying precipitately, fell foul upon their Foot that stood behind, breaking their Ranks, riding over some, and leaving the rest to the furie of the sword: So as their Foot, forsaken by their Cavalry, especially those in the middle, that were first broke by the flight of their own men, and the impresson of the enemy, charged in the Rere and Flanks by the Kings horse, that fiercely now pursued their Victorie, Goigny labouring, but in vain to rally them, were all miserably cut to pieces. Seldome was known more bloud spilt, and a battel sooner won by fewer men, and with so little losse. Seldome was better experience made, how much the strength of either side consists in horse: For by fix hundred Horse (they were no more that began, and but twelve hundred when they won the battel) full ten thousand Foot were part slain, part taken prisoners; and the rest of the Armie (no lesse then eight thousand Horse) in the space of an hour and an half, with the losse of onely nine of the Kings men, were routed; thirty four Colours taken, with their field-pieces, and almost all their Carriages and Baggage. Their Generall himself, and some persons of qualitie came into the enemies power; the rest, with the greatest part of their Horse, that ran at first, got basely off, flying, some to Gemblac, most to *Bruxels*. Nor secure at Gemblac, though it was fortified, upon the approach of the victorious Army, diverse, before the assault, fled further into *Brabant*, the rest promised to render upon certain conditions. But Don Iohn refusing to give any, they yielded themselves and the Town to mercy. Nor was this a contemptible addition to the Victorie: For the enemy determining to make Gemblac the seat of the Warre, had victualled it for many moneths, and laid in Arms, and store of Ammunition, which came all into the Conquerours hands. The Town, destined for a prey to the souldiers, by a kind of fate upon the place; (for ever since the year of our Lord 900, it is famous for many sackings, burnings, and plundrings) at the earnest suit of Lambert Count and Abbot of Gemblas, made to Alexander Farnese, and by him unto Don Iohn, was preserved both from the plunder and injurie of the souldier. The Garrison being onely disarmed, such as were Low-countray men, taking an oath never more to bear Arms against the King of Spain; the rest not within a year, were all let go, save twelve of the principall, detained in stead of hostages, that were carried to the Castle of Namure, with their Generall Goigny. Who was before his departure brought to Don Iohn, and (they say) desiring to kisse his victorious hand, he gave it him with these words, *God thus breaks their contumacy, that impiously rebell against Religion and their King: The successe even of this battell, wherein so great an Army was defeated by so few, shew how much God Almighty favours his Majesties just cause.* But he onely answering, That he never took up arms against Religion, with the other prisoners was removed. Then Don Iohn taking notice of his own Souldiers merits, graciously calling to him every Commander, and the stoutest of the Souldiers, with great and glorious words magnificently commended their service. Among them all he was not ignorant that Alexander Farnese best deserved; yet the more he saw the Army look upon him, and extoll his courage, the more he thought it concerned his Love and Place to praise, not without care and caution, the virtue of that man whom he both feared, and affected. Therefore minding the Prince of his danger at the battell of Lepanto, he remembered him of the Office of a Generall, and said, He was sent thither by the King his Uncle, to advance the Warre, not with his hand, and the danger of a common

soul-

souldier, but with his counsel and conduct. Prince *Alexander* replying, that he could think no man fit to command in chief, that had not first valiantly performed the duties of a common souldier, especially under so great a Generall; was received both with the Armies applause, and the Generalls embraces. But the Prince of *Parma* wrote *Don Johns* praises (not beyond their merit) much more freely, and without any exception to the King: For together with the Generalls Letters, giving an account of the battell to his Majestie at *Argenton*, Prince *Alexander* gratulated the Kings victory won, first by Gods assistance, and in the next place by the prudence and valour of *Don John*: And that as the enemy in the field found him a most valiant Generall, so when they had laid down Arms, he shewed himself a mercifull Conquerour, by his Majesties example. And therefore it was to be hoped, that that victory, in all mens account the greatest ever gained in the Low-countries, would shortly draw along with it the redgement of many Cities. And writing a Complementall relation of the same victory to some Lords of *Spain*, that were his antient friends and acquaintance, at large to his Mother, more briefly to his Father, and his uncle-Cardinall; he still inserted the like commendations of *Don John*, nothing at all of himself; either out of the greatnesse of his spirit, hoping to do yet more glorious things, and therefore concealing this, as of no moment, or else assuring himself others would write to the same persons those very actions, much more to his glory. But at *Bruxels* where they yet heard not the misfortune of their men, they consulted in the Archdukes presence, whether *Don John* should be assailed, or expected in the fields; whether they should fight with all their forces, or a part: when suddenly the sad news ran through the whole city, that they had fought unfortunately with *Don John*, and lost a day where the Spaniard had his fill of blood. Which being confirmed by many that at last had got by their fear and flight, into the Town. It being further said, that *Gemblac* was taken by the enemy, who had the Generall of their army prisoner, and had put all their Foot to the sword, some reporting (as fear ever fancies danger near at hand) that *Don John* with his victorious army would presently be at the City-gates; *Bruxels* was so terrified, as the next day, leaving some kind of Garrison in the Town, the Prince of *Orange*, with the Arch-duke, carrying along the Courts of Justice, and the Senate, retired to *Antwerp*. Nor was *Don John* altogether averse from besieging *Bruxels*, propounding it to his Councel of Warre. But being hindered by the thinness of his army, which could not be recruited unlesse the King sent money, it was thought best, before men recovered that fit of terrour, to carrie into severall parts the Warre and Victory, consisting in expedition, rather then to dull the souldiers alacritie, with lying before a Town. *Ottavio Gonzaga* was therefore commanded with five hundred chosen Horse, and some regiments of Foot, immediately to assault *Lovain* and *Machlin*, Cities well affected to *Don John*. *Egidius Barlaumont* with *Charles Mansfeldts* French Regiment, and four colours of *Wallons* marcht to *Bovines*. And *Lovain*, not expecting a summons, turning out the Scottish Garrison, rendred themselves to *Gonzaga* of their own accord. So did *Judoignia*, a Town of more account for the healthfulness of air, then fruitfulness of soil, in which respect the ancient Dukes of *Brabant* used to make it a Nursery for their children: the like was done by *Tienen*, and a while after, not without force, by *Areschot*. To *Machlin* and *Vilvoord* (newly garrison'd by the States) *Gonzaga* came too late. But *Bovines* (a Citie accustomed to assaults, never attempted by the enemy in vain, often slighted; but ever by the

Alex. Farnese's Answer.

His letter to the King in praise of Don John.

F. br. 5.

The like Commendations inserted in many other letters, from Prince Alexander to Anton. Perez, Marc. Almazar and Marc. Aye-mont.

Feb. 15.

Feb. 13.

wherein he writes nothing of himself. The Deputies of the Estates, ignorant of the Victory, sit in Council.

Their trepidation when they heard the news. The Arch-duke and the Prince of Orange flee.

Lord of Hiere. Lovain yields to Don John.

Feb. 5.

And Judoigne. And Tienen.

Feb. 7.

And Areschot.

Feb. 17.

And Bovines.

peoples constancie fortified again) received the Lord of *Heirge* (but not before a great part of the walls was battered down) upon conditions.

Don John, while things succeed as he could wish, resolving to reduce the rest of *Brabant*, ordered *Alexander Farnese* to attack *Diestem*, a Town belonging to the Prince of *Orange*. He, with part of his forces, marching thither, lest he should leave *Sichem* on his back, a neighbour Town to *Diestem*, and a place at that time not to be neglected, both for the Fort (which afterwards was ruined, with a great part of the Town) and for the convenience of the River *Demera*, sends thither, with his *German* Regiment, *Lancelot Barlamont* Count of *Megen*. But they of *Sichem*, confident both in the place, which they had prettily well fortified, and likewise in their number; refusing to treat, industriously prepared for their defence. When Prince *Alexander* coming up, after he had offer'd his Devotions upon a hill close by the Town, where the Blessed Virgin works miracles out of an Oak, planted against the old wall of the Suburbs, standing in diameter to the *Lovain-Port*, eight demi-Culverins; and beginning at day-break to make a Battery no lesse violent then constant, holding till noon day, having made divers breaches in the Castle, he gave orders for an assault, which proved the stronger, by reason of the emulation between severall Nations. The *Germans*, under Count *Megen*, he commanded to march in the middle right against the Port, on the right hand the *Spaniards*, on the left the *Lovainers*, under the Colonells *Mondragonio* and *Samblemont*. Some companies of *Wallons* were also ordered to bring scaling-ladders, which they, when the signe was given, should fasten to the contrary part of the wall, for diverting the enemy. Then the word going about, and the souldiers animated, not so much with hope of glory, or plunder, (great matters being never expected from a little Town) as with fury at their preposterous confidence, and the shame it would be, if the victorious Army were said to stick at *Sichem*, both parties fought most gallantly; and while these, not daunted at the death of such as fell close by them, ran up the walls: those standing upon their ruins hindered them from climbing, by the interposition of their bodies; the event for a while was dubious: but the *Spaniards* having lost two Captains, such furie and indignation possessed them, to be so affronted, that anger whetting their courage, they made the Defendants turn their backs, and from their quarter entered first the Town. Likewise in other places the Townsmen being no longer able to resist, and hearing the *Wallons* scaled the walls on the other side, terrified with this rumour, all at once quitted their Posts. And the Town-souldiers, laying down their Arms, most of them yielded. But some of the Garrison in the close of the evening (they were about two hundred) suddenly got into the Castle. Others, almost an hundred and fiftie, stealing away in the night out at the breaches, fell upon the Horse (for that purpose placed by *Alexander Farnese*, beyond the River) and were all to a man cut off. The Pillage of the Town, as he threatned the enemy, Prince *Alexander* gave his souldiers, not permitting them to injure the women, and preserving by his presence, the Houses of consecrated Virgins. He put the town to their choice of Mercie, or the Sword, according as they yielded, or stood out. Nothing now remained but the Castle, secured onely by the stubbornness of the Defendants, which stubbornness was fomented by a hope, that the town-port being dammed up, they could raise no Battery whereon to plant Cannon, and consequently neither could the Castle be battered, nor they themselves

Sichem summoned.

Refuseth to treat.

Alex. Farnese makes ready for an assault.
Febr. 21.

Ordering his Forces.

In this manner.

They fight.
The Royalists.

The *Sichemers*

Peter Henriquez, and Barlaiz.
The Town is taken.

They that lie are cut to pieces

The Town plundered.

The Castle holds out.

selves forced to surrender in so short a time, but that Relief might come from *Diestem*. The besieged were also favoured by the *Spaniards* want of Pioners, and workmen, to dig and bank. But Prince *Alexander's* dexterity overcame all difficulties. For causing all the iron in the camp to be brought forth, and looking upon the great Commanders round about him, he himself first broke the earth; presently, by his example, the noblest of them, with emulous alacritie: in conclusion, the Captains, and Common souldiers, who at first seemed to disdain the work, followed it with such eagerness, as that verie night, though wearied with the day's fight, in four hours space they not onely levelled the earth-work on this side the Port; but cast it up again within the Town, planting upon it their battery against the Castle. But the next morning, when they in the Castle saw the new sconce, and thereon the Cannon, astonished with fear and admiration, they presently yielded, imploring the Conquerours mercy, but in vain: Because they were the first that would not stoop, till broken and subdued; and because most of them, contrary to their oath taken at the battell of *Gemblac*, were once more in arms against the King, Prince *Alexander* pretermittig unseasonable mercie, and resolving to punish them as traytours, commanded the Governour of the Fort, with the principall souldiers and Bouteveues, to be hanged over the Castle-walls; the rest, about four hundred and seventy, to be put to the sword by night, and cast into the River that ran below. Thus revenging hostile perjurie, he taught *Diestem* what to do by others danger. And they took warning by the example: For being summoned, though at first they refused to submit, in hope of succours from *Antwerp* and *Lyre*; Yet when the Kings Horse were quartered beyond the River, and had fortified some Countrey-mens houses, so, as they saw the enemy possessed of those parts, by which they hoped relief would come: and on the other side the River, Batteries raised, and Cannon drawn thither with admirable celeritie; by their neighbours misfortune admonished not to be wise too late, they rendred upon Articles, themselves and their Citie to the King. And *Alexander Farnese*, that he might put a difference between their Obedience, and others Contumacy, used these of *Diestem* with all humanitie, protected them and theirs, not suffering so much as one house to be plundered. But the souldiers (about three hundred, most of them *Wallons*) with their Arms, and Baggage, not their Colours, marching out according to Conditions, the Prince of *Parma* by their firm and well timbred bodies, making an estimate of their military hearts, made it be signified to them, That they might, if they would, be received into the Kings Pay: whereto they assented, and taking a new Oath to serve his Majestie, had their Colours delivered them, and were disposed of in the *Wallon* Regiment. *Levia* ran the fortune of *Diestem*, which Town lying between *Tienen* and *Diestem*, Prince *Alexander* being commanded to reduce it, it was the same day he attacked it; yeilded upon conditions, and taking away their Colours from an hundred of the Garrison, he dismissed them; but another hundred swearing to be faithfull to the King, he honoured with the redelivery of their Colours, and gave them entertainment.

These three Cities being rendred in seven dayes, *Alexander Farnese* brought back the Victorious Army to *Don John*, and marched with him to *Nivel*, a Town in the entrance of *Haynolt*, seated upon the

But Alex. Farnese batters down their works, and raises new of his own.

The Castle rendered.

The Prisoners executed.

Diestem rendered.
Feb. 24.

Submits.

And Alexander Farnese used them with all humanitie.

The Garrison of souldiers taken.
Pay of the King.

Levia ran the fortune of *Diestem*.
Feb. 27.

c. Mansfeld
attempts Nivel.

Is repulsed.

The Town treats
with Don John

A mutinie in
the Catholick
Army.

Don Iohn se-
vers the Muti-
neers.

Demande the
Principall of
them.
Makes them
cast lots for
their lives.

At last one is
hanged.

March. II.

The Nivellers
render them-
selves.

The Garrison
suffered to de-
part without
their Arms,
which are be-
stowed upon the
French.

A gift that

ruins them.

Mar. Delr. 15.

Paris Belg.

Such as were

lost.

The like mis-
fortune formerly
happened to

their Nation.

Anno 1552.

Pont. Heurer.

13. Thuan.

lib. 10.

skirt of *Brabant*, which *Justus Villiers* with six Colours of Foot, and two Corners of Horse, kept for the States. Thither *Don John* had sent *Charles Count Mansfeldt* with his *French Tertia*, who both by Battery and Assault had tried his fortune, but was twice beaten from the wais, rather for want of luck, then courage. But *Don John* and Prince *Alexander* coming up with the rest of the Army, the *Nivellers* finding themselves too weak, wrote Letters to the Generall, excusing the delay of their Rendition, not out of contumacy towards the King, or the Kings brother, but in hatred to the *French*, unto whom in regard of the ancient enmitie between the Nations, they held it a dishonour to submit. Whilest they treat, a tumult arose in the Leaguer, caused by the *Germans*. Some companies of them had for two moneths received no pay. Whereupon the souldiers took an occasion to rant, and sending a Messenger to *Don John*, unless for their arrears he would give them the pillage of the Town, proudly threatened to mutiny. *Don John*, who had resolved to shew his clemency to the Town, dismissed the messenger not without some hope. Then, to separate the rest of that Battalion from the seditious companies, he commanded their faithfull and valiant Colonell, Count *Megan*, with that part which was not involved in the crime (taking along divers companies besides them out of other Regiments) instantly to march towards *Bruxells* and *Antwerp*, as if from thence the enemy was feared. By which separation, the Mutineers, without their fellows help, left naked, were presently environed as enemies by the whole Army. First, they were commanded to lay down their arms, then to deliver the Authours of the mutiny: Twelve they delivered up, out of those were chosen eight by lots: of those eight four by the same chance were to die; for so many *Don John* resolved to punish. Yet at the earnest suit of severall Nations, petitioning for the particular men, two were, even at deaths door, pardoned: and two onely remained to suffer. But one of these an old souldier, and ever untill that day faithfull, going to die with one that never did service, shewed his scars, and alledging not falsely, his deserts, being generally pitied, was pardoned, upon the humble desire of certain noble *Spaniards*. One sacrifice finally expiating the offence of All, and quieting the sedition. That done, he returned to the treaty with *Nivel*, which was soon concluded, in this manner. The Citizens indemnified were received into grace. The Garrison leaving (except their swords) all their arms, ammunition, and baggage were permitted to depart. Which arms and baggage, *Don John* bestowed upon the *French*, to make amends for their losse in the assault, and some kind of satisfaction for the plunder of the Town, which in their hopes they had devoured. But the Bountie was to many of them farall. For the *French* breaking into the Palace of Justice, where these Arms were kept, and in despite of their Officers fighting for their shares, not a few were wounded; in the mean time, a spark by chance falling from a souldiers match, into a Flask of Powder, and with the flash firing the priming pans of the Muskets that lay on heaps, and were by the enemy left charged; almost an hundred and twenty were slain outright, or miserably maimed, and bloudying the Palace with an unexpected slaughter, dearly paid for their rashness and precipitate avarice. Renewing the memory of that misfortune, which, in this very Province, befell their country-men; who, the while their Generall treated with the inhabitants of *Gmora*, about the render of the Town, scaling the walls in hope of plunder, as they ran about the Castle which they had surprized, the powder taking fire, almost two hundred of the plunderers were burnt. But at *Nivel* the

the rest of the *French*, on what motive is uncertain, desired the Generalls leave to depart. Whether angry with their own unfortunate miscarriage in the siege of *Nivel*, so as they could not brook the sight of their fellow-souldiers, or whether losing their hopes of pillage (which drew them to it before the Army came up) and therefore discontented that the Generall had been so quick in giving them conditions, and had (onely that his clemency might be famed) spared a Town deserving to be sack'd: or lastly, whether (as I rather think) induced thereto by the States Emissaries, which perswading them, that the Kings brother, the Duke of *Alençon* would come into the *Low countreys* to oppose *Don John*, won them to his service. I am sure the *Spaniard* found, that most of them, two moneths after, returned enemies out of *France*. Whatsoever their reasons were, *Don John* willingly dismissed them, whom, though gallant souldiers, yet impatient of military Discipline, especially under a *Spanish* Generall, he could hardly govern: withall being covetous, and making high demands, he, as it often happens, to avoid their ill opinions, sometimes gave more, lest he should be suspected to give lesse, then they deserved. But almost fix hundred of these men, that a while after came back from *France*, to serve the enemy, had as evil fortune, as advice. For surprizing some villages in the entrance of *Haynolt*, whilst they feast, and think themselves secure, *Camillo* a *Monte* falling upon their quarters, who for his speedier march brought three hundred Horse with every one a Musketeer behind him, presenting death before battell, killed above two hundred of them. The rest valiantly fighting, made good their retreat into the neighbouring Castle of *Avena*, under the command of *Randolpho Cenamio* a *Lucese*. To whom *Camillo* sent *Laurentio Tuccio*, *Cenamio's* old friend (for they were Comrades in the Wars of *France* with *Santa Martinnego*, and *Sacramono Birago*) in hope he might perswade him to surrender. After a short parley, broke off with some hot language; *Cenamio* in a hostile manner, though wounded and bleeding, sent him away, professing he would sooner part with his life, then with the Castle. Whereupon *Camillo*, more enraged, had now drawn out his men to the assault. But not daring without Cannon to adventure upon the Castle, new garrison'd by the *French*, he marched back to the Army, that was at the same time, with strange celerity, victorious over *Haynolt*.

For after the render of *Nivel*, divers strong places of that Province, within fifteen dayes, yielded to the King. *Binch*, sometimes the delight of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, and therefore exposed to the hatred of *Henry* the second of *France*. It is reported, a stone was there found engraven by King *Henry* (in revenge of his House, defaced by Queen *Mary*), with these words, *Bedlam-Queen, remember Foblembe*. Likewise *Malbuge* upon the river of *Sambre*; *Reux*, *Beaumont*, *Soigniac*, *Barlamont*, and other towns, though little, yet verie commodious for quartering the Armie in *Haynolt*. *Cimace*, the Principality of Duke *Areschor*, stormed, and the Castle rendred upon these conditions, That the Governour should march out safe, on horseback, with his sword and dagger, the souldiers (that were fix hundred) in the same manner, onely the Foot were to leave the rest of their arms and baggage. But at *Philipvil*, a new city of *Haynolt*, onely thirty three years old, yet by the site and fortification very strong, for keeping off the incurfions of the *French*, the Armie was more put to it then in any other place.

Philipvil stands in a great plain, upon somewhat a rising ground; its circumference is very narrow, but defended with five sconces, encompassed with high

The Frenchmen move for a discharge from the service.

Duke of Alençon.

Don John easily grants their suit.

They return in arms against him.

Part of them slain by surprise Part retire to a Fort.

And will take no conditions.

Towns surrendered to Don John. Binch.

1554.

Malbuge. Reux, Beaumont, Soigniac, Barlamont. Cimace taken by Assault.

April 15. The Castle yields.

Philipvil besieged. It's site.

'Tis invaded

As we read in
Cesar, Livie,
and others.

Don John per-
forming the
parts of a Ge-
nerall and a
common souldi-
er.

It is rendred.

upon these
terms.

May 19.

high walls, lined thick with earth to damp the Cannon-bullets, and guard-
ed with a marvellous broad ditch. *Don John* considering all this, delivered
his opinion, that it was not to be assaulted with the Sword, but with the
Spade, the old and faithfull instrument for taking places fortified; all our
great souldiers (even at this day, when we are grown so much more inge-
nuous then our Ancestours, in multiplying the engins of death) being not
able to invent a surer way to ruine walls; which are lesse endangered by the
thunder of the Cannon, then by this slow and silent weapon of the Pioneer,
whence souldiers have a Proverb, that *'tis the spade and pickaxe, which build
and destroy Forts.* Therefore after he had drawn a line about the town, and
brought his trenches near the ditch, *Don John* commanded the Pioners,
working under long and thick boards, in the form of a Tortois, covered
with raw hides to secure them from Granadoes (anciently called Vine-
yards, and Galleries) to enter the ditch, and with their Pickaxes and Spades
to undermine the foundation of the wall. Which whilst they (guarded
by the souldiers) strongly endeavoured, the defendants sallying out, and at
the same time others from the walls pouring down stones and wild-fire,
they had divers bloody encounters, with great losse on both sides. *Don
John* in the mean time, omitting no duty either of a Generall, or Gentle-
man; so as at the works, he both called upon, and contended with the com-
mon souldier. At last, the hearts of the besieged no lesse shaken then their
walls, partly being divided among themselves, so that first they imprisoned
Florinus Governour of the Town for favouring the Royalists, and after-
wards released him; partly upon news of the defeat of those forces, which
to relieve the Town, the Prince of *Orange* sent for out of *France*; they be-
gan a Treatie, demanding indemnitie for the Citie; and that so many of
their souldiers as would serve the King, might have three moneths pay, then
due to them from the States: the rest to be suffered to depart, with drums
beating, Colours flying, and the wonted pomp of souldiers, that carry out
the funerall of a citie. Their demands being granted, almost five hundred
of the Garrison changed their service. As many, with one Troop of Horse,
departed: the Town reduced to the Kings obedience, was continued under
the Command of their old Governour *Florinus*.

The End of the ninth Book.



The Historie of the LOW-COUNTREY WARRES.

The tenth Book.

IN the meane time Don *John* of *Austria*, having by his daily and nightly Labour contracted a weaknesse of Stomacke, and a Languishing of his whole Body; whilst he went to *Namure* for his health, left the Army to Prince *Alexander*. But first holding a Councell of Warre about the besieging of *Limburg*, which it was feared would otherwise do much hurt to the Province of *Luxemburg*, he commended that Service to the Prince of *Parma*. He willingly undertooke it, and the rather, because he hoped to fight with *John Casimir* Brother to the Prince Elector *Palatine*, who, it was said, would bring his Army that way into the *Low-countries*, thereby to vindicate (as he told the great Commanders) the honour of the Royall Army, which in some men's Letters was aspersed, as if they shunned the Enemy, and durst not come to a Battaille with the States; but that declining the Encounter, they carryed the Warre up and downe, only to bug-bear Townes and Villages. Therefore Prince *Alexander*, sending before *Gabriell Nignio* a valiant *Spanish* Colonell, with seven Colours of Muskettiers, and commanding *Camillo a Monte* should follow with the Horse to second *Nignio*, when he stormed the Suburbs of *Limburg*, hee himselfe, about Midnight, moved with the *Spanish* and *Wallon* Foote, leaving *Fronsberg's* Regiment to conduct ten peice of Cannon that came after. And *Nignio*, beating the first Companies that opposed him, afterwards with some losse taking the Suburbs, got a huge booty of Cattell and Victuall. But as it was a worke of too much time to besiege the Towne, so it seemed of too much difficulty presently to storme it. For *Limburg* stands upon a high Rock, the Valley about it being all craggy, and therefore, saue only by the higher ground towards the South, inaccessible. Besides, it might be relieved by the River *Vuest* running through the Towne. All this troubled not Prince *Alexander*, who viewing the Place, chose a Hill whereon to plant his Cannon, betweene which and the Towne was the smoothest part of the Valley. From the Hill he commanded the Pioners to run a Trench sloping

A a a

dawn

1578.

The expedition of Limburg by Don John in his sicknesse committed to Alexander Farneze.

Why he undertakes it.

Part of his Forces sent before.

June 7. The Suburbs taken.

The fire of Limburg.

Vuest.

Workes in order to an Assault.

1578.

Prince Alexan.
ders Letter to
the Limburgers

They defer the
sending of their
Answer.

Whereat enra-
ged.

He hastens the
finishing his
workes.
Comes Nico-
laus Cæsius.

And begins to
batter from the
hill.

A large Breach
made.

The besiegers
come up to the
City gates.

A Messenger
from the Towne
to Prince
Alexander.

His Answer.

He grants them
an houres time
to consider.

The women
Supplicate
from the
walles.

June 16.

The Towne is
rendred.

downe into the Valley, and from thence to carry it within sight of the Towne, thence turning againe obliquely, to bring it to the Sconce at the very City gate: whilst the rest of his Workmen on the other side undermined a Tower at some distance from the Castle, shooting out like a promontory. In both Works was more of Terrour then Danger to the Towne. For they had scarce broke the Earth two foote deepe, when they were hindred by Rock. Yet making blindes of Boughs they defended their Trenches against the Shot from the Walls: Prince *Alexander* himselfe hastening the men at worke, sometimes visiting the Diggers, sometimes the Miners. He likewise used gracious Invitations to the *Limburgers* sending them Letters by a Trumpetter: Wherein he forbore to reprove, but rather admonished them, as assured of the Victory, and only carefull not to destroy the King's City and Subjects by the Sword. They receiving the Letter from the Trumpetter at the Gate, and reading it in publique, bade him returne at the same houre next day. But when he came, they told him no Resolution could be Pitcht upon, by reason of the difference betwixt the Townsmen and the Souldiers, but if he would come, yet once againe, he should the day following have an absolute Answer. Prince *Alexander* knowing that the Besieged used such trifling Delays, only to gaine time, forbade the Messengers to go any more: conceiving it below the Dignity of the King's Army, and that it would shew like a Confession of some Weaknesse: but was more industrious in advancing towards the Towne his Trenches on the one side, and his Mines upon the other: Comes *Cæsius* overseeing the Workes, a bold and active man; He himselfe (fortifying the Hill with Trenches and Pallisadoes, setting up Gabions to be filled with Earth and turfe, and drawing Cannon upon their Cariages in fight of the Enemy that shot continually) watched two nights; both hideous ones, that with raine from Heaven, this with Thunder from the Walls. But the Battery beginning at the breake of day with nine great Cannon from the Hill: when the *Limburgers* saw their Walls shaken, and a great Part thereof, nolesse then thirtie Cubits beaten downe in foure houres space; and likewise a Trench brought downe the hill (a thing they held impossible) by which the Souldiers marched under covert and were ready to assault the Port: Instantly sending to Prince *Alexander*, the Towne earnestly beseeched him a little while to respite the Assault, and grant a Cessation of Armes but for an houre, for their last consultation. The Prince of *Parma*, though it was a welcome Message, because he well knew unlesse they yielded of themselves it would be a long Worke to force them. Yet left his facility in condescending might argue some diffidence in his Strength, putting on a face of Terrour he angrily told the man, there had beene now going and coming enough: nor was it necessary his Souldiers should purchase that by other mens Consultations, which shortly would be their owne by the Law of Armes. Howbeit to mix Clemency with Threats, he bade him tell the *Limburgers*, that he would not deny them an houre's Deliberation: but if they dallyed any longer he would come with a Mischiefe to them, and breake off their Debate. The Cannon scarce left playing, when a Croud of Women appeared upon the Walls with their little ones in their armes, their hands lifted up to the furious Assailants, and begging Peace and Pardon on their bended knees. In the very same houre the *Limburg-Commissioners* (though the Governour would have hindred it) securing the Lives and Fortunes of the Townsmen and Souldiers, rendred the City and Castle to the Prince of *Parma*. All the Garrison

(about

(about 1000.) taking the new Oath were entertained into the King's service. Only the Governour, infinitely detesting the baseness of his men, was suffered with his Wife to go for *Aquisgrane*. But Prince *Alexander*, entering the Towne, and viewing the new Fortification, defensive Bulwarkes and Sconces turfed and pallisadoed, strong as Castles, with all that had been done upon the place by the ingenious Engineer: besides 15 great Brassie-Cannon, and many lesse, as also no little Magazine of Armes and Ammunition: then, measuring the greatnesse of his Victory, he himselfe gave thanks (commanding the like should be solemnly done by the Army) to God the God of battailes, by whose Favour a Towne of that Strength, not to be taken without much paines, cost, and losse (as tis usuall) of the best Souldiers, so easily, and without blood, ignorant of its owne power, had yielded to him.

The same day the Prince of *Parma* appointed his great Officers to attacke the remaining Cities of that Province, some one, some another. And all within a few dayes obeyed his Summons, except *Dalhem*, that was stormed. Thither Prince *Alexander* sent *Camillo a Mente* with a Letter exhorting the Towne to returne to the King's obedience. But the Souldiers of *Holland* and *Gelderland* (not above two hundred and fifty) which held the Castle, shot at the Messenger, and would by no meanes suffer a Parley, or the Delivery of his Letter. Upon notice hereof the Prince of *Parma* wondring at so much confidence in so small a Towne, calling to him *Henry Viennius*, Lord of *Cenranium*, "Go (said he) to *Dalhem*, take Cannon and shoote me a Letter into the Towne. He speedily carrying along six great Gunnes with his Regiment of *Burgundians*, and four Colours of *German*s, daunted the Towne, and turning his Cannon upon the Castle, into which Souldiers had retreated that would sooner die then yield, he began a fierce, but fruitlesse battery: for the Walls were as stubburne as the Men, and easily baffled the Cannon. Till the *Burgundians* undertaking the Scalado, set Ladders to two sides, and with incredible courage fighting hand to hand upon the Walls, with various successe, at last with the losse of ten, though many more were wounded, they stormed the Castle and the Towne; with such a Slaughter of the Defendants (of whom not one escaped,) and Towns-men, that no age, no sex was spared, but the Army long affronted and kept off, poured their fury like a Torrent equally on all. Where an accident hapned, as sacrilegious, as barbarous. Into a Church for Sanctuary with the rest of her weake Sex, fled a maide of about 16. yeares old; Daughter to the Governour slaine in the Assault, and now to be registred among the Examples of unfortunate Beauty. She, handsome both in her person and her Dresse, was taken notice of, and immediately seized, by a couple of Souldiers, one a *German*, the other a *Burgundian*, who quarrelling about the prize tugged the poor Lady, in vaine objecting the Reverence due to the place, and crying out for succour (which was all she could) to God and his Saints. But while they fought she being in the middle, either by chance or by the malice of him that found himselfe the weaker, receiving a cruell wound in her neck, all bloody, she fell downe upon the floore; the other was about to have revenged it, when a great sort more coming in, the man, lest he might lose his prize, and some other should enjoy her, mad with Rage, struck at the maide looking about her in hope to make an escape, and holding up her hands to the rest, whom she thought more mercifull, and with his Sword gave her a deadly cut under the Eare; ready to

1578.

Though fortified,
And in a condition
to hold out

The Conquerors
give God thanks.

P. Alexander
summons
Dalhem,

His Trumpet
not admitted,

The Castle battered,

To no purpose

The Burgundians
scale it.

And take both
Castle and
Towne by
storme

June 10.
With a great
Slaughter of
the Citizens:
The sad fortune
of a Maid.
Two Souldiers
strive for her
and in their
struggle, use
their prisoner
most inhumanely.

Was wounded
and halfe dead.

1578.

*Is taken from
them.*

*But immediat-
ly dies.*

*The benefit
that followed
the taking of
Limburg.*

*Thanks sent to
Alex. Farnese
by the Princes
whose Estates
lay neare the
Towne.*

*To the confede-
rates great
griefe at first:
afterwards to
their great
joy.*

*Upon a Report,
that Prince
Alexander,
with diuerse
more, was
slaine.
Coyned by the
Prince of
Orange.*

*Why such kind
of newes is of-
ten forged,*

*What truth
was in this
Rumour.*

double his blow, if the Company (one of which was Signior *Panlo Rinaldo* a confident to Prince *Alexander*, that lifted up his voyce and sword together) had not in time frighted the villaine. But the two Souldiers knowing *Rinaldo's* Intimacy with Prince *Alexander*, in feare of his Authority ran away. *Rinaldo* carrying her to her Father's House, with much humanity tooke care of the Lady, and instantly sent for Chirurgeons to dresse her: but she, past all cure, was scarce laid upon her bed, when she gave up the Ghost, leaving indeed a foule blot upon the Catholique Army: which notwithstanding would have been washed out with the bloud of both the *Russians*, if they (condemned with the generall execration, and searched for to be executed) had not prevented punishment by running quite away. But the Prince of *Parma* in the space of twenty dayes losing just that number of his men, with so little damage, recovered for the King the whole Province of *Limburg*: a very great Addition at this time, to the Royall Party, not so much for the greatnesse of the Province (which is indeed but little, compared unto the rest) as for the opportunity of keeping out the enemy, which might easily by that way have come from *Germany*. Besides the private benefit likewise accruing to the Neighbour-Princes, particularly to the Bishop of *Liege*, and the Duke of *Juliers*, both which by severall Embassies congratulated Prince *Alexander* for the happy course of his Victories, either of them giving thanks in his owne behalfe, especially for the destroying or removing the Garrisons of *Limburg* and *Diafteen*, that daily robbed their Subjects. But the newes of this Victory awakened diuerse Passions in the States at *Antwerp*. Griefe, at first, when they heard *Limburg* was taken, excessive Joy when it was rumoured through the Towne, and a printed Pamphlet likewise published, that the Castle of *Limburg* the Magazine being fired, was shattered to the ground, the *Spanish* Commanders miserably and deservedly blown up, the Prince of *Parma*, *Mondragonio*, *Heirg*, and the other great Field-Officers buried in the Ruines: and that Don *John* of *Austria* was run mad upon it; and resolved to make his Retreat from the *Low-countries*. All this appeares to be forged by the Prince of *Orange*, that he might the easier keepe up the people's hearts, dejected with the *Austrian* victories, by making a *fained*, since he could not make a *reall* Slaughter; and likewise that the rest of the money granted to him long agoe by the Arch-Duke's procurement and command, now by occasion of hastning the Army against Don *John* (who had lost all his Commanders) might bee speedily collected. An ordinary artifice practised at this day by many, that give out the quite contrary to what hath hapned: partly to defraud the aduerse party of the first Heate and Spring of Joy, which afterward will come more languishing; and perhaps intermixed (as all things humane are) with some improsperous Successe: partly to use that short time wherein they are believed to have got the better, for ordering their Affairs by a fruitfull Anticipation: slighting the future shame of the lie, ballanced with their present profit. Yet this invention of the Prince of *Orange* and his Faction had some little Truth in it. Newes and Money being never so adulterate, but they must have a mixture of right-Mettall. For the Day after the Rendition of *Limburg*-Castle, the powder that was kept in one of the Towers fired, by chance or upon designe, blowing up the Wall, the Stones which fell againe, beate downe a great part of the Tower, killed foure, and those only Common Souldiers, hurting six or seven. One passage among the rest Prince *Alexander* writes to his Mother for

for a Miracle. He had left *Christophero Mondragonio* with a Company of Spaniards Governour of the Castle and Towne; He himselfe by God's Providence that night returned to the Campe. The Powder in the meane time tooke fire, and blew up the Tower with the building round about, *Mondragonio's* Chamber by the fall of the upper Lodgings being beaten to the ground. The Souldiers in the morning, when all feare of the Enemy was past, ran to behold their fellowe's fortune, lamenting the fate of their valiant and Noble Commander *Mondragonio* that lay next the Tower. A strange Story and Spectacle, they finde the Seeling and Walls of the roome broken downe, but so much of the floore yet left as bore up *Mondragonio's* bed, with a Trunke standing besides it. The Souldiers at once trembling and rejoycing fetcht off their Colonell safe and unhurt, the Trunke (which I suppose *Mondragonio* himselfe had drawne out of the fire and Ruines) they beheld full of Reliques, and consecrated Church-Plate believing that to be the Cause why the fire out of reverence proved so innocent; and that the very Preservation of those holy things opportunely saved the Pious preserver. This while at *Namure* dyed *Charles Count Barlamont* and *Lancelot* his Son Count of *Megen* (this fell sick at the Siege of *Philipvill*, he was old and had lived out his time) whose Funeralls *Don Iohn* celebrated with the Sorrow of all good men. Indeed Count *Charles* as valiantly and constantly as any Low-countrayman whatsoever, both at home and abroad, fought for religion and his Prince; teaching the same Arts to his Children; whereof the Lord of *Heirg*, was Generall of the Train of Artillery, and Colonell of the *Wallons*, *Megen* Commander of the *Germanes*, *Floio Heirge's* Lieutenant Colonel, *Altapen* Captaine of a Troop of Horse, in their Father's life time: and after his death the first of these succeeded him in the Governement of the Province of *Namure*, and in the Treasurership.

Hitherto all went prosperously with *Don Iohn*, which struck not little feare into the Archduke: and the States openly taxed the Prince of *Orange* as taken up with other Affaires. But he was founding his Empire on the Sea-Coast of *Holland*, whence he might extend it over *Brabant*. To this Designe when he saw the only Rubbe was *Amsterdam*, the richest Towne of all *Holland*, equally faithfull to Religion and their King: all his Indeaours were bent to get it either forcibly, or by Stratagem; and to use Force was vaine; for in the end of the last yeare this City being surprized by the *Orangians*, and they advanced as far the Market-Place, the Citizens taking Armes expelled those victorious *Gheuses*, with a great Slaughter of the Enemy, not without the memorable Assistance of some Women that privately carried a very great Gun, which they mounted and discharged, killing a huge sort of the *Gheuses*. Afterwards the Town blockt up with new Forces by Sea and Land held out a long Siege, till the Prince of *Orange* promising them free Exercise of the Catholique Religion, they at last surrendred. Yet he, when they upon this Capitulation thought themselves secure, contrary to their Articles introduced a strong Garrison, and Promoters of Heresie, who causing all holy things to be defaced, their Priestes to be turned out, and Heresy by consequence brought in, (a surer Guard then any Garrison to keepe Cityes from the Spaniard) he secured *Amsterdam*, and revenged the men lost a month before at *Gemblic*, with a long-continued Slaughter here. Then designing to bring Forces out of *Germany*, he perswaded the Archduke and the States to make a Truce for some Months with *Don Iohn* of *Austria*. For *Iuan Sellio* was returned

1578.

A Miraculous
Accident
June 30.

The Deaths of
Count Barla-
mont & Count
Megen.

C. Barlamont's
Encomion.

Egidius.

Lancelot
Charles.

Don John's
prosperous for-
tune troubles
the Enemy.
Amsterdam, at-
tempted by the
P. of Orange
1577.
November.

Beates out his
men.
Mar. Del. 1. 4.
Turb. Belg.
For which the
Women are to
be commended,
February.
At last the
Towne is ren-
dered,
and deceived.

The Prince of
Orange votes
for a Truce
March 10.
Sellio in the
Kings name,

returned

1578.

Treaties with
the Deputies of
the Estates.

But so no end.

The Prince of
Orange will
only give ear
to a Truce.

Which Prince
Alexander
likes not.

March. 25.
His Letter to
his Father
Octavio Duke
of Parma.

Neither is it
approved of by
Don Iohn.

New Officers
from Spaine.

Pedr. de To-
ledo.
Lopez, Figu-
eroa.
Alphonso Leva.

Gabr. Serbell-
onio.

returned from *Spaine* sent in the Kings name to use his utmost Indeavours for a Peace; and delivering Letters of this Tenure to Don *Iohn*, passed to *Antwerp*, where to the Deputyes of the Estates he imparted secret Commands from the King, promising largely to satisfy their desires: and, if so be they would resume their old Religion and Loyalty to their Prince, he would call Don *Iohn* out of the *Low-countries*; and substitute in his Place either *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma*, or the Arch-duke *Ferdinand* Vncle to the Emperour, or else confirme the Arch-duke *Matthias*; yet proposing like a King, many other Conditions. But the great Lords had their eares now luted against the sound of Peace, both with the once tasted sweetnesse of the Sovereigne Authority, and by many mens Perswasions, That no Peace was to be hoped from the incensed *Spaniard*. Besides their Censor, the Prince of *Orange*, was busy cavilling at the King's Promises, amplifying the *Spanish* Tyranny, the *Lowcountrymens* Patience, and their neare approaching Liberty. So as he made them answer *Sellio*, they would presume upon the Kings proffered benignity, and therefore desired, till the Provinces had consulted about that Election, a Cessation of Armes. *Sellio*, before he communicated the Deputy's Answer to Don *Iohn*, discovered to Prince *Alexander* the King's Resolution to create him Governour of the *Low-countries*: and he himselfe being to treat with Don *Iohn* for a Cessation of Armes, was earnest with the Prince of *Parma* to use his Power with his uncle in advancing the King's designe for Peace. But *Alexander Farnese* refused to meddle in it, professing that any Truce at present would be disadvantageous both to Religion, and the King. Nay in his Letter to his Father he said, "He should not like to be Governour of the *Low-countries* upon such Conditions; as Don *Iohn* of *Austria* came to it, and gave the Duke these Reasons." For that were, said he, even "to be delivered into these mens hands a fettered Prisoner, and prescribed a life hatefull to my selfe, idle, inglorious, and, my Genius considered, most unhappy. Indeed I, that find the Impulse of Nature inclines me to seeke by the Glory of Armes the Immortality of my name, cannot but hope, the Divine Assistance will enable me in that profession above the Common sort of men. And I stand upon it the more, as conceiving how much it behoves the King to suite all his Ministers with fit Employments. Nor was Don *Iohn* otherwise opinioned of a Truce. Which in behalfe of the States being afterwards earnestly pressed by Embassadors from the Emperour, Don *Iohn* the more earnestly denied, conjecturing by the Requesters unusuall Endeavours their Necessity.

And his hope was advanced, by the opportune Arrivall of many in the Campe. For at the same time, beyond Expectation, were come from *Spaine*, *Pedro de Toledo*, Son to *Garcia* Viceroy of *Sicily*: *Lopez Figueroa*, that commanded a *Spanish* Regiment, which he brought with him out of the old Garrisons of *Italy*, and *Alphonso Leva*, Son to *Sancho* Viceroy of *Navarre*, with a hundred selected *Spanish* Gentlemen, to whom the Brother of *Alphonso*, *Sancho Leva*, was Lieutenant, & *Diego Hurtado Mendoza*, *Alphonso's* Vncle, Ensigne. Not long before this *Gabriell Serbellonio* was released from *Tunis* by *Gregory* the thirteenth (in Exchange for Prisoners kept in *Hardrians* Tower, ever since the Battaille of *Lepanto*) an eminent Commander, that both in regard of his perfect yeares and judgment in military affaires, was by Don *Iohn* and all the Royall Party highly esteemed, especially having levyed by Don *Iohn's* Command 2000 *Italians* in the Province of *Millaine*, and brought them along with him. But nothing

thing more encouraged the Army, then the returne of the Lord Bull out of *Spaine*, sent thither by Don John after the battaile of *Gemblac*, to move his Majesty for new Supplies, which he obtained. For the King made Don John an Exhibition of 300000. Ducats a moneth, to pay 30000. Foote, and 6000. Horfe, letting him know, this was the summe he could and would spare for the *Low-countrey-Warre*, and cutting off all hope of an enlargement. To the Prince of *Parma* his Majesty once more offered, which he commanded him to accept, a yearly pension of 12000. Crownes and 2000. for his Friends and servants; sending him the Arreares thereof since the day of his coming into the *Low-countreys*. He likewise confirmed *Ottavio Gonzaga* Generall of the Horfe, with a stipend of 500. Crownes per Month. *Christopher Mondragonio* and *Francesco Verdugo*, *Spanish* Colonells, had an Affignation, that of 800. Crownes, this of 500. and *Antonio Olivera* chiefe Commisary of the Horfe was to have 300. yearly: Besides he gave *Charles Count Mansfeldt* 16000. Crownes, and distributed many Donatives to others. But at the same time Don John understood, that by orders from the King new Forces were raised in *Italy* for the *Low-countrey-service*. The Governour of *Millane* nominating for their Commanders, *Alphonso Count de Somai*, a *Millanese*; *Vincenzio Carafa*, Prior of *Hungary*, a *Neapolitan*; *Pyrrho Malvezzi* a *Bononian*, and *Stephano Mutino*: all men of quality, and able Souldiers. Yet it stung Don John to the quick, that Officers of his Army should be chosen at the pleasure of the King's Ministers. Therefore dispatching away Letters to the King, after his humble thanks for the Money and Men sent into the *Low-countreys* by his Majesty; he shewed him. There would be no use of more Souldiers out of *Italy*; because he had already ordered the Counts, *Altempsfe* and *Polvillerio*, old and faithfull Commanders to bring men from the nearest parts of *Germany*, some of which were arrived: & his allowance, being limited, could hardly maintaine the Army now raised, much less that to be raised. So he stopt the Levies of *Italy*; yet in the *Low-countrey-Army* still kept afoote the once believed Report of new *Italian* Recruits, to discourage the enemy, and to animate his own forces. Indeed the King's men needed no lesse Incouragement, considering what preparations were made against them. For an Army raised in *Germany* for the States had passed the *Mose*, and was now before *Nimwegen*; and Duke *Alencon* Brother to the King of *France*, of whom we shall speake much hereafter, was with a *French* Army come to *Mons* the chiefe City of *Haynolt*: and John Casimir with a very great strength marched towards *Nimwegen* through *Gelderland*; certaine intelligence whereof was brought from all parts to Don John, who calling a Councell of Warre, resolved to fall upon some Quarter of the Enemy, and immediatly inforce them to fight. But either by his delay, or the Enemies expedition, it hapned, that the *German* Auxiliaries joyned with the States Army, neare *Lyre*, and *Mechlin*, before Don John could bring his men to their Colours, and muster them. Yet hee had lost the opportunity, not the Desire of fighting, especially when at another Councell of Warre, he saw all the rest of the Commanders desirous of a battaile, onely the Prince of *Parma* dissented, to the generall Admiration; which he himselfe observing, gave his reasons in this manner, and almost in these very words, which he wrote into *Spaine* to *Samaniego*. "I see, *Grandeers* of the Warre, you wonder I should not concurre, as one that many have taxed of Confidence, none yet of Feare: you may therefore imagine I am induced by some great considerations, that contrary

"to

1578.

June 22.

New Supplies
of money from
the King to
Don John.

To Alexander
Farnese.

To Octavio
Gonzaga.
To Mondragonio.
To Verdugo.
To Ant. Olivera.
To Count
Mansfeldt.
New levies in
Italy.
Under these
Commanders.

Don John
troubled at it,
Stops their
proceedings.

Three Armies
of the Enemy.
The States
Forces.
The Duke of
Alencon's.
July 19.
John Casimir's.
July 17.

Don John's
Councell of
Warre.

Alex. Farnese
votes against
fighting them
August 18.

1578.

"to my custome I thus decline a Battaile. Which considerations, though I
 "am better at Action then Discourse, I shall in short explaine. We invade
 "an Enemy strong in number, safe in their ground, and conveniences for re-
 "liefe, intrenched and pallisadoed by the adjoyning woods. If they, when we
 "come to face them, knowing themselves secure, and therefore slighting us,
 "shall keepe within their Trenches, by what Force, by what Art can we draw
 "them out into the Field? But if we only shew our Army, and having given
 "them a sight of us, retire, what shall we gaine by our troublesome March hi-
 "ther, and the leaving our Garrisons naked, and consequently exposed to
 "the danger of the French: Yet their backwardnesse to fight will make them
 "appeare the weaker, why rather should not our frustrated indeavours and
 "our Retreat shew them to be invincible? Besides, never without losse did a-
 "ny Army fall off, and give the Word for a Retreat, though never so skil-
 "fully and Souldierly. But suppose the Enemy, as we wish, draw out, and
 "give us Battaile of their owne accord. Or say our valour force their Tren-
 "ches? Shall we presently promise our selves the Victory? Truly a wise Ge-
 "nerall is concerned not only to consider his owne, but likewise the Enemies
 "strength and Inclination, and industriously in his heart to cast up a just ac-
 "count of what benefit will result to himselfe, what to the enemy by the fortu-
 "nate or improsperous chance of Warre. Indeed my opinion is, that our con-
 "dition and theirs at the present differs very much. In the Royall Army, here
 "in the Field with us, all our strength consists; that being defeated (which
 "Omen God turne upon the Enemy) where shall we raise men to defend our
 "Remainder of the Low-countries against the Conquerour? But they will
 "not be so much endangered by the losse of a Battaile. For if that Army we
 "march against be routed, they can recruit, assisted on the one part by Duke
 "Alencon and his French-men, on the other by Prince Casimir, and the
 "still increasing German Succours. But in case (which is to be hoped from
 "God's goodnesse and our Souldiers Courage) the Catholique Army shall with
 "a better Cause likewise have the better Fortune; with how much bloud, with
 "what exchange of Gold for Drosse must we buy the victory, fighting before
 "their Campe, with their fresh and intire Forces? But when we have thus
 "weakned our selves by conquering, if the French, that watch all occasions,
 "fall upon us; how I feare our Conquest will be followed with a farre greater
 "misfortune; we indeed shall have the Honour of the Day, but others reape
 "the profit. In summe, we may be victorious in the Battaile, and vanquished
 "in the Warre. Wherefore since in this our voluntary expedition, we may
 "in reason feare almost the same Disaster, whether conquered or conquering,
 "my opinion is, that we should give off the attempt, and at present check this
 "Courage rather great, then fruitfull. Don Iohn thought this speech of the
 "the Prince of Parma's, more true then gallant: and therefore besides Ga-
 "briel Serbellonio (one that Don Iohn used to call Father, and to preferre
 "his judgement before the rest) none of all the Councell of Warre was of
 "Prince Alexander's mind. And the Generall carried it for assaulting of
 "the confederates Campe, before they should be reinforced with new sup-
 "plies. Count Mansfeldt the Campe-master held it a point of Honour for
 "the Royall Army to rouse the enemy within covert, that trusted more to
 "the place, then either to their Armes or Valour. The Generall of the
 "Horse, Oñavio, said, the Souldiers Alacrity must be used before Delay
 "had dulled it, and that they were to follow the happy presage of victory
 "expressed in their unanimous consent to fight: and a successe was to be
 "hoped, especially at this time, by reason of the enemy's Discord. For Fe-

derick

Only Serbellonio
 concurs with Prince
 Alexander.

The rest, viz.
 Gonzaga.
 Mansfeldt.
 Olivera Mon-
 tin. and Mon-
 dragonio were
 of Don Iohn's
 opinion.

derick Perenot, Lord of Campin, by the Prince of Orange's Command was sent Prisoner to Gant, and his House at Bruxells plundered, because he was reported to be making his Peace with the King, by meanes of his Brother Cardinall Granvell: and indeed he was discontented that the Prince of Orange slighted him in Comparison of Aldegund. The like was by the Prince of Orange attempted upon Hese, and Glime both which they say upon a rumour of the Prince of Oranges Murder (Spread by his owne Ministers and Direction, very ominously for himselfe, only to try the faith of others) expressed no dubious signes of Ioy. And therefore in imitation of the Battaile at Gemblac, they having now intelligence of like divisions among the Confederates, their Army factious and destitute of these Commanders, should be forthwith assaulted, and no doubt but the like Successe would follow, as Don Iohn concluded. The Battaile therefore being now resolved on, Mutio Pagano and Amator of Abadien, Officers of Horse, sent Spyes to discover the Enemyes Campe and to Chuse the ground where they should fight, brought back word, That the Confederates Army was intrenched not farre from Machlin, the Rere guarded by the Village of Rimenant, the Flanks with a Wood and a Fen, their Front with a Trench and a Line drawne betweene both the Flanks. Before that Trench was an open Plaine very commodious for drawing out the Enemy to Battaile, but they found no Avenue to the Village, but one, neare the Wood, on the left hand, a way that would only hold six or seven men a breast. Vpon this Discovery, Don Iohn sending back some Companies to garrison the Frontire Townes for keeping out the French, moved from Tienen, and passing over his Army at Areschott-Bridge, the second dayes March he came within sight of the Enemy: and knowing the Plaine, by the Description his Scouts had made, he presently imbattailed his Army consisting of 12000 Foote and 5000 Horse. Then the Prince of Parma, whilst Don Iohn put his men into Battalia, was a very earnest Suiter, in case they fought that day, that he might lead up the spanish Infantry ordered to begin the Battaile, to demonstrate, as I conceive, that his Courage to advance the Expedition was no lesse active, then his Counsell formerly to retard it. Don Iohn admiring the Greatnesse of his Spirit, and Contempt of Danger, at first put him off, at length consented, because he knew it would be of great Concernement under whose conduct that Battalion should march, which must give the Omen to the Victory. But till they joyned Battaile he would have Prince Alexander's Company to ride about the Field with him. In the interim his Army was drawne out in the entrance of the Plaine, and by the ordinary sound of Drums and Trumpets challenged the Enemy to fight. Where expecting for three houres, and the Enemy not moved, with any kinde of Invitation to the Field, still keeping within their Trenches; Don Iohn called Alphonso Leva that commanded an extraordinary Regiment of Muskettiers, & said to him, "Go" Alphonso, "put thy selfe and thy men in. "to that narrow way betweene the Wood and Trench, as if thou hadst a designe "to enter the Village in despite of their Army: no doubt but they will oppose thee, when they come on, do thou retire, to draw them into the Field. With all he commands the Marqueesse a Monte with three Troops of Curassiers and Lanciers to bend that way, and be in the Rere of Leva's Foote. The Enemyes whole Army under the Arch-duke and the States was commanded by Maximilian Hennin Count of Bolduc, an experienced and wary Souldier. He intending to frustrate Don Iohn's indeavours, either by sit-

Bbbb

ing

1578.

Especially hearing the Prince of Orange was false out with Campin.

And with Hese and Glime Marr. Delr. l. 4 Turb. Belg.

Don Iohn resolves to fight.

The site of the Enemy's Campe described by the Kings Scouts.

Don Iohn moves towards them.

Marshalls his Army. The number of his forces. Alex. Farnese sues for the honour to command the Van.

Don Iohn of Austria challenges the Enemy to a Battaille.

They answer him not. He sends one to anger and rouse them.

The flying Squadron. Giovanni Baptista a Monte. The Generall for the confederates. Vses the same artifice to deceive the Royalists.

1578

The fight
At first little
increaseth
more and more.

Alexander
Farnese in the
Head of the
Foote.

The King's men
beate the ene-
my.

Take their
trenches and
the village.

They send to
Don Iohn for
more men to
make good the
Chafe.
Co. Nicol.
Casio.
Alex. Farnese
doubts a stra-
tagem.

And perswades
Don Iohn to
call backe his
men.
But first they
were come to
the Enemies
true Campe.

The site of
the Enemies
Campe.
Their number.

The fight re-
newed.

ing still, or acting with some Stratagem, commanded *Iohns Norreys* an English Colonell, who defended that Post, to meete the Enemy, but so as not to fight at too great a distance from the place. The Battaille was therefore begun, betwene the *Spanish* and *English*, very gently at first, for neither *Leva* nor *Norreys* meant to ingage very farre, till to relieve the *English*, because many of them were slaine, Count *Egmont* coming in with his Reserve of Horse, A *Monte* likewise immediately advanced with His. Against *Robert Stuart* also bringing up with him some *Scotch* Foote Don *Iohn* sent *Ferdinando de Toledo* with the rest of those active Foote under his Command, and *Camillo a Monte* in the Rere of them, with two Corners of Horse, he himselfe moving forward in Battalia with the whole Army in hope of a generall Battaille with the now irritated Enemy. The Prince of *Parma* also leaping off his Horse, tooke the place which he had so earnestly desired among the *Spanish* Infantry, and appeared in in the head of them with his Pike in his hand. And now the Forlornes of both Armyes fell on, not like Skirmishers, but as if the Summe of Affaires were in dispute. When *Leva* having happily lined the thickets with his Muskettiers, possessed himselfe of the Wood on the left hand, and *Toledo* entring the Passe which had few left to defend it, both, with great Violence, backed by the Horse assailed the Trenches, & at last beat the Enemy, sometimes retiring, somtimes facing about & fighting, even into the Village. Nor did their Flight seeme to be ended there, but forasmuch as they fired the Hutts they left behinde them, it was undoubtedly believed they meant not only to leave their Campe but the Village too. But then *Toledo* and A *Monte* sending *Cames Casio* to Don *Iohn*, beseeched him presently to dispatch away fresh men, for the Victory was his own. But Prince *Alexander*, because he had observed, that the Enemyes without much Dispute quitted their Campe, & fled orderly, as if it were upon Designt, began to suspect it was not done by Necessity, but on Purpose. He therefore instantly mett Don *Iohn*, and finding him unresolved about sending in Supplies, increased the Generalls Doubts, professing his owne Opinion was, that the Campe which the Enemy had so easily parted with, and not formerly secured, as the custome is, with Field-Pieces, was only chosen by way of Stratagem to deceive the Royall Army with vaine hopes of Victory, and under colour of Flight to bring them into the danger of an Ambuscado. Wherefore it would be good, till the Place were discovered, to call off his men that pursued the Enemy. And *Casio* went from Don *Iohn*, with whom the jealousy wrought very much, to command them to make a Stand. But they had already past the Towne, chasing the Enemy that fled scatteringly, & were entred the Plaine towards *Machlin* hemmed in with the River *Demera* on the one side, and on the other with a thick Wood: and such a military heat transported them, that being blinded with a Cloud of dust, before they understood the Mystery, they saw themselves come to the Enemyes true Campe lying between the River and the wood, intrenched round, and strongly guarded on the Front with Cannon. There the Enemy had pitched; being no fewer then 12000 Foote, and 7000 Horse, distributed into severall Divisions, so as they reached as farr as *Machlin*. All this daunted not the Royalists, but making a Halt (for *Norreys* now supplied from the Neighbouring Campe, had rallyed his flying men) they put themselves (as well they could) in order, suddainly imbattailed, and with new Ardour began the fight. These were 5000 Foote, all Muskettiers, and most of them *Spaniards*, the

the Horse were *Italians*, *Spaniards*, and *Low-countrymen* about 600, armed with Lances and Pistols. The Enemy was equall in Foote, superior in Cavalry. Yet both Armyes fought with strength above their numbers, and with Courage about their Strength: *those* the Successe of their plott and neareness to their Campe; *these* the shame of being cozned and a kind of Desperation precipitated to a Battaile, and made them joyne with farre more animosity. Some Companies of *Scots* made themselves remarkable; who either in bravery, or not able to indure the heate of their Running, and the Day, the Sun putting the whole Sky into a Flame, stript themselves, contented only with their Shirts, some casting off those too, and tying them about their middles, came on naked among the armed men. Yet many of them were no lesse safe then others that wore Armes which made them unwieldier, not so nimble to avoid a hurt, slower to rise when they were down, last in a Retreate, and often either slaine by the Enemy, trod under their horses feete, or taken Prisoners. But the Enemy's Cannon often and safely thundering from their Trenches, cruelly shattered the Kings men, from which destruction not able to defend themselves, because no part of the Plaine was free from the Shott, they found but one Remedy, which was with their last indeavours to assault their Trenches. But those were likewise fortified, and they themselves hardly could stand a Charge, much lesse assaile others, so that *Cæso* returning to Don *Iohn* with a true account of their Condition, beseeched him, since they could not retire without being pursued and ruined, nor yet much longer sustaine the fury of the Cannon, that he would send Ayde which might incourage them with assurance of Successe, to invade the Postes of the Enemy. Don *Iohn* transported with Griefe and Anger, though he denyed to send so much as one man to those, that ingaging beyond the limits of his expresse Command, had brought themselves into those Straites and Intricacyes; yet he was pleased briefly to heare the Iudgment of *Alexander Farneze*, *Ossavio Gonzaga*, and Count *Mansfeldt*. All which concurred in opinion, that it was not safe to send others, who rather would partake their danger, then come to their reliefe; yet that such men ought not to be deserted with so great a losse both of Souldiers and Reputation: but that the place at a nearer distance should be viewed, and a Resolution taken according to the present Exigence and Expedient. This Charge was committed to Prince *Alexanders* Care, who galloping thither, and taking a strickt Survey both of the Danger of the party that fought, and of all the Advantages of the Field for their Retreate, observed, that in the hollow of the Plaine betweene certaine hedges and well-planted Orchards, lay a Passe, by which he despaired not to bring off the Foote. He advised about it with Don *Iohn*, and *Gonzaga*; not denying, but it was a dubious and almost a rash Attempt: yet he said, that in acute Diseases sometimes desperate Remedyes are not unskilfully applyed by the Phisicians. His designe being approved, he himselfe undertooke it, the rest easily giving way that he should fetch them off; which he did in this manner. At the Avenues of the hedges, planting Muskettiers, he ordered them with a suddaine haile of Shott to stop the Advance of the Enemy; and commanded *Gonzaga*, that rallying and animating the Horse, he should bring them to guard the Rere whilst they retreated, and when the Foote were safe among the hedges, give the Enemy a hot Charge, and by the way they first entred, betweene the Village and the Wood, narrow indeed, but faire and commodious for horse, retire to his Poste.

1578

*What forces
fought on both
sides.*

*The Confede
rates.*

The Royalists.

*The Scots
fight naked.
August 1.*

*The Royalists
in a sad condi
tion lying open
to the Enemies
Cannon.*

*They send to
Don Iohn for
Fresh men.*

*Who in his An
ger at first de
nies them.*

Then adviseth,

*And resolves
to have the
place consid
red.*

*Alex. Farneze
goes to view it
and contrives a
way to fetch off
the men.*

*Which he exe
cutes.*

1578.

Don Iohn ex-
horts his men
to keepe their
ranks.

Alex. Farneze
makes the
Foote give
ground upon
Designe.

And the Horse
to make it good

Who were fore
put to it,

The rare valour
of the King's
Horse in their
Retreate.

I. Norreys, who
commanded the
English,

Particularly
of Camillo à
Monte's Troope

The Names of
the principall
Horse-men.

All of one Re-
solution,
And one cou-
rage,

What losse on
both sides.

Nor with lesse care the *Austrian* Generall in the meane time, riding about the Army, exhorted the Colonells and Captaines, that keeping their men firme in ranke and file, they should receive their fellowes returning from the fight, without Disorder, which was destructive to the enemy at the battaile of *Gemblac*: where their Horse fled scatteringly, and routed their owne Foote: which very misfortune might befall the Royall Army, if upon the Approach of their fellowes amazed and distracted, the Enemy, animated by others Feare, should then invade them. Things thus disposed, Prince *Alexander* before he called off those that fought, commanded the foote, partly as if they gave ground, partly as if they meant to wheele about and fight againe, by degrees to fall back, till they came to that part of the plaine which he had shewed to *Alphonso Leva*: then hee gave a private Signe for the Retreate, and *Gonzaga* with his Horse stopped the enemy by renewing of the Fight: Don Iohn still sending in fresh supplies: *Toledo* lining the hedges with his Musketeers: in the meane time *Leva's* men gave back so happily, that, at first, they were too quick for the eye of the confederates. But when they found the *Spanish* Foote to be upon their Retreate, then the Battaile, if ever any, was a fierce one, and it appeared, both what courage and what necessity could do. The Royalists (and they were but a very few, most of them Foote) being now without the danger of pursuite, had the Cannon turn'd upon them from the Campe, and were shot at both as farre off, and neare at hand. Yet their valour more then the place befriending them, 700. Horse alone commanded by *Giovanni Baptista à Monte*, and his brother *Camillo*, not only stood against many thousands that charged them, but sometimes beate them back, and fought in their Rankes so firmly, as they forced Colonell *Norreys* the stoutest enemy they had that day, after three horses had been killed under him, to fight afoote; the rest of the confederate Cavalry not too much presuming upon themselves, and tired, with a Fight so long doubtfull; at first all the *Spanish* Infantry, and at last the Horse, in face of the Enemy's Cannon, were brought safely off. Among which Horse, no doubt but that Troope of *Camillo's* merited most Commendations, that was last in the field, commanded by Captaine *Perott*: being a Troope of Reformados, namely, *Hanniball*, *Gonzaga*, *Flamino Delphino*, *Giovanni Mauriquio*, *Lepido de Romanis*, *Laurentio Tuccio*, *Nicolao Cesio*, and others only Souldiers here, else where Commanders. The memory of all which men, for example sake should be with their names extended to posterity, if I could as readily know their persons, as I doe admire their valours. These, lest the enemy should breake in, opposing themselves and crowding together like a bulwarke, covered the rest of the Cavalry, with such constancy and contempt of Death, that when any of them fell, as if a piece of a worke were beaten downe, the place was presently made good by a fresh man that stood behind. That which befell *Lepido* killed with a shot, and *Delphino*, who going to assist him was taken prisoner, could not yet deterre *Cesio* from taking *Delphino's* place; either by feare of Death, or of captivity: till at length they themselves, when all the Horse were safe, left the Field last: and like excellent Actors in the Tragedy of *Mars*, came off with infinite Applause. So Generall *Bolduc* sounding a Retreate, for feare his men might fall into a Counter-Ambuscado, the Battaile ended; begun with farre greater preparation, then it was followed by either side, with Execution. For in all not above 400. men miscarried, the losse of both parts being in a manner equall: only more

more of the King's Army were hurt and taken, more of their's flaine. And the Generalls that day merited a quite contrary censure. For Don Iohn redeemed the rashnesse of fighting with his judgement in ordering the Battaille; *Bolduc* was cautious in the beginning, but losing the opportunity of pursuing with all his Forces, spoyled the conclusion of his Victory. Wherefore, in regard of his greater prudence and valour the Prince of *Parma* was famed through all the Royall Army, who by a miraculous foreknowledge of Events premonished them of all that concerned the expedition: and when the Army was so dangerously ingaged, and the rest easie to be involved in the same Ruine, with like Judgement and courage fetcht them off. Insomuch that truly *Alexander Farnese*, who ever till then wrote very sparingly in his own Commendations, could no longer containe himselfe, but in his Letters to his Mother *Margaret of Austria* inserted, "How he could not but thinke he had that day deserved more then ordinarily of the King, whose Army the nearer it was to destruction, the more he merited that saved it. Indeed the oldest Commanders seeing their danger that were caught in a Trappe by the Enemy, openly gave them for lost, so as not one would undertake to make good their Retreat whose condition they accounted desperate. Therefore he held it a greater Honour to himselfe, by whom it was so willingly and fortunately attempted. But this only her excellence might please to looke upon, as the glorying of a Souldier to his Mother: and he could not but thinke it fit to give her an account of those generous Spirits she had infused into him. This while, Don Iohn marched with his recovered Forces towards *Areschott*, prepared, if the enemy should follow him in the Rere to fight. But when the confederates either astonished at the extraordinary confidence of the Royalists, or fearing to be answered with a stratagem, appeared not, Don Iohn free from further care returned to *Thienen*, having won more glory among others with taking their Townes and Campe, then among his owne, that had run a hazzard, and well knew their danger. While these things were acted in the Low-countreys, at the same time the Portugeses fought unfortunately, upon the Coast of *Africa*. The newes of which overthrow Prince *Alexander* first received from *Spaine*, accompanied with a Relation of what exceeded the Losse of that whole Army, the King of *Portugal's* death: and therefore sending *Fabio Farnese* to *Henry* Cardinall of *Brigance* Uncle to King *Sebastian*, he condoled with him, out of the private interest of Affinity the publique Misfortune, and withall congratulated his Succession to the Crowne: presenting him a change of Affections, as suddaine, as that of Cloathes in a Play.

But now the States having recruited their Army out of *Germany* and *France*, Don Iohn alter'd his opinion: and hearing that *Areschot* was betrayed, the Governour whereof *Mutio Pagano* a valiant and faithfull man, sick a-bed rose notwithstanding to quiet the Tumult, and was flaine upon the place: *Camillo Schiaffinate* a Lieutenant of an undaunted Spirit in vaine resisting. He began to feare, that many other Townes would be guilty of like Treason, which he could not yet relieve without weakning himselfe by dividing of his Army. He therefore thought it his best, to dismantell some Castles, slight some Garrisons, and calling away the Souldiers to bring into one place all his Forces: till such time as money came from the King, and Recruits from *Italy* and *Germany*. But instead of men and money Don Iohn receiving Letters from *Spaine*, that commanded him to try all wayes and meanes for an Accommodation, Com-

missioners

1578.

The Generall censured.

The Royall Army highly praise Alex. Farnese.

Who conceives that he merits no lesse commendations as appears by his Letter to his Mother August 7.

Don Iohn very carefull in making his Retreat.

Newes of the death of Sebastian King of Portugal. August 4. Whereupon Alex. Farnese sends a ceremonious Embassage into Portugal Septem. 13.

The Towne of Areschot lost by treachery. Mutio Pagano flaine.

The Straites whereto Don Iohn was reduced.

1578.

*A Treaty of Peace.**The conditions proposed by the States.**Alex. Farneze's opinion touching those Proposals.**Don Iohn makes some difficulty to approve of this Counsell, but presently after follows it.**Writes to the King.**And fortifies his Campe August 19. The Emperour Charles the fifth 1554. With workes designed by Serbellonio, And made by Campio. Serbellonio falls sick. Don Iohn brings his whole Army within the Workes, and comes himselfe sick to them.*

missioners on both sides being chosen, the businesse of Peace was set a foot againe. But when they had delivered to Don Iohn three Heads, which the States insisted on, That he should surrender the Government of the *Low countreys* to the Arch-duke *Matthias* upon the same conditions which they had formerly sworne; That Duke *Alencon*, and Prince *Casimir*, should be comprehended in the Articles of peace. That the province of *Limburg*, and whatsoever Don Iohn had taken, either by Force or Rendition in *Brabant* and *Haynolt*, should before the end of *August* be restored to the States; extremely offended at these insolent demands, Don Iohn, as he used to do, communicated his Resentment to the Prince of *Parma*. He, though he denied not the conditions to be indeed very unjust, yet said, "It would be much worse, if the States despairing of a peace with Spaine, should put into the hands of the King of France the Frontier-provinces, which he had so oft attempted. It was to be considered, that even Charles the fifth (and how great an Emperour was he!) could hardly cleare those Provinces of the French only. What should the King's Forces do at the present (commanded indeed by a Son to Charles the fifth, but with a lesse number of men) both against the French Nation and two other powerfull Armies? His opinion was therefore, that the Commissioners should be put in hope of peace, till the King's pleasure was knowne, as to those propofalls, which if he accepted, no doubt but in his wisdom he would provide another place worthy of his Brother: but if looking upon their basenesse he rejected them, then, in case the Confederates were prosecuted with more severity hereafter, his Majesty could not accuse his Brother and the Army, as desirous to keepe the Warre a-foote. Don Iohn, though he did not much feare the Confederates, knowing them to be oppressed with their own multitude; and understanding that Prince *Casimir's* Army marched in a body by themselves, because they refused to obey Count *Bolduc* Generall for the States: Yet constrained for want of men, and money, besides his Sicknesse both of body and mind, which is able to breake the greatest Spirit, and forcibly to cast it downe upon considerations, at other times contemptible; He resolved to follow *Alexander Farneze's* Counsell. Though in his Letters to the King, certifying their Propositions, he with some bitterness complained, "That the Rebels confidence received Incouragement out of Spaine: and the Assistance promised to him by his Majesty, was from time to time put off: and when he intreated money, only a returne was made of words; wherewith a Warre cannot be managed; unlesse they imagine, that he is able out of Words to extract Gold. He therefore humbly beseeched his Majesty, either to subdue the Enemy, or at least not to suffer the Generall of his Royall Army so unhandsonly to conclude a peace. In the interim he commanded *Serbellonio* speedily to advance the Trenches which he had a while before designed not farre from *Namure*. Don Iohn had chosen that ground upon the Hill of *Buge*, close by the River *Mose*; induced by convenience of the place, and his Father's example, who being pursued by *Henry of France* with three great Armies, brought his Forces then very small to this ground, and here intrenching secured them. And now *Serbellonio*, quick both at raising and defending workes, had finished most of the Redoubts, and drawne about a line, (by the directions of *Scipio Campio* of *Pisaura*, an Engineer not inferiour to his Father, *Bartholomeo*, slaine at the Siege of *Harlem*) where overtoiled with hasty labour, or struck with a pestilentiall aire, he fell dangerously sicke. At the same time, Don Iohn having now brought all his Army within the Trenches, except the

the Horse which *Ottavio Gonzaga* had quartered upon the neighbouring Villages, his owne sicknesse increasing, would needs be carryed into the Campe. Both of them kept their beds, and their Fittstooke and left them in the same manner. But the Physicians made farte different Judgments of their two patients. For they all (and there was a whole Colledge of them) either deceiving others, or deceived themselves, pronounced that *Don Iohn* would certainly recover, but *Serbellonio* could not possibly escape with life. And what they said was credible enough, this being about 73 yeares old, he not yet 33; and yet when the young man dyed, the old man was perfectly well againe. Whereupon *Hippolyto Pennonio* grew into great Esteeme (formerly commended by Duke *Ottavio* for Physitian in Ordinary to his Son Prince *Alexander*) who durst against the whole pack of those Doctours affirme, that *Serbellonio* would live, and *Don Iohn* die of that disease. For which a long while being jeered and scorned, he became thereby better knowne to the People, and finally more honoured.

Vpon the day of Saint *Matthew* the Evangelist (on which very day was twentie yeares dyed the Emperour *Charles* the fifth) *Don Iohn*, as if by remembring of his Fathers death he were minded of a time alike fatall to himselfe, casting off all humane Cares, transferred the whole Power of Peace and Warre upon *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma*, and (in case he should dye) declared him Governour of the Low-countries, and Generall of the Army, till the King should otherwise determine. And truly Prince *Alexander* doubted for a while whether he should undergo the Burthen, not ignorant how miserable and broken a Province he must have, and withall how much it would reflect upon his Honour, if perhaps the King did not confirme upon him that Assignment. It being more Disreputation to fall from a place of Eminence, then never to have beene advanced. Yet that he preferred his Faith to God and the King, he writes to his Mother, calling God to Witnesse, that he should justly thinke himselfe a Traitor, if when they had such an Increase of Enemyes, and no Generall, he should have deserted the Kings Army in that Coniuncture of time, wherein undoubtedly all the remaining Catholique Religion and Allegiance to his Majesty would have beene endangered. And forasmuch as the Duke of *Parma* did not very well like this Resolution of his Son's, nor gave Assent to his Acceptance of the Regency, but reproved him for his overmuch confidence; Prince *Alexander* at length answered his Father in these Words. "Str, Whereas in your Wisdome your Excellence
"thought fitt to admonish me, as if I were gone too farre in accepting of that
"Government, which by my endeavours should rather have beene transfer'd
"upon the Royall Senate of the Low-countries; it is no more then I my
"selfe imagined, as when I wrote of *Don Iohn* of Austrias Siegesse, I sig-
"nified to your Excellence. But when I called to minde, that after the death
"of the greate Comendador, the Lowcountries were undone by that very
"Trust of the Royall Power in the Senates hands, which Ruine in all men
"opinions had never hapned to the Provinces, if his Successor had beene
"forthwith nominated. And when I plainly saw the Losse of this Catholique
"Army, without a Generall, to be inevitable, by reason of the fends among the
"Lords, and their discordant winder, some drawing one way, some another;
"and daily more slack in asserting the Kings Right; and, which is yet more
"considerable, one or two of the greatest in the Army not obscurely wavering
"in their Fidelity to the King; which would perhaps, if things among us
"were

1578.

The Physicians
opinions of *Don*
Iohn and *Ser-*
bellonio.

False in both.

Doctor *Penn-*
onio grows fa-
mous for his
judgement.

Septemb 21.
Don Iohn de-
clares *Alexan-*
der Farnese
Governour of
the Lowcoun-
treys.

Who cannot
well resolve
whether he
should be bur-
then himselfe,
yet at length
condescends.
And gives his
Mother an Ac-
count of his re-
solution.

Octob. 6.

And his Father
disliking it sa-
tisfies him thus
Octob. 6.

1578

Another reason
that induced
him.

And another.

Alexander
Fameze's ex-
traordinary
care of Don
John.

Of ordering the
Army.

And of certi-
fying every
particular
accident of
Don John's
sickness to the
King. By
Doctor Ramir.

Don John past
hope of life
Septem. 28.
is prepared
with the Sa-
craments,
Grows rage-
ous.

Comes to him-
selfe at the
names of Iesu
Maria.

And dyes reli-
giously.
The summe of
his life.
His Country,
St Matthew's
day. Feb. 24.
1545.

were troubled, go over to the States: I, for these Reasons, first making my Prayers to God, resolved, as to the point of my owne Honour, to run the greatest hazard (which I saw impending) if either the King unmindfull of me should bestow the Place upon another; or that the Warre succeeding unfortunately should be censured by the Event: rather then to refuse the burthen layed upon me, and for my owne Security and Iealously, to quit that Remainder of the Low-countrieys which none sufficiently defending must needs have come into the Enemyes Power: Nor do I so much as doubt, but God, that only knowes I have therefore adventured upon this doubtfull Chance, to show my selfe actively faithfull to my King (now when he wants my Service, and that for his sake I contemne all dangers) will in his divine mercy so regulate my affairs, that in the interim I shall doe nothing unworthy your Excellences prudent Care, or my owne infinite affection to my Prince. Yet he ingenuously confessed, that, besides these Motives, he found himselfe not a little toucht with a scruple: Left in that juncture of difficultyes, when the Confederates in their highest Iollity surrounded the Army, and were Masters of the Field, he might have beene censured out of feare to have declined the Governement. He was likewise wrought upon by the passionate love of the Army, unanimously professing, that without any Designation, they would of their owne accord have submitted the Militia only to Prince Alexander. He himselfe, in this interim, divided with severall Cares, now waited on his Vncle, and was serviceable to him, not only in Ceremony but Effect; for I finde that he furnished Don John at that time with some thousands of Ducats: now he looked to the Souldiers military Dutyes, sounded the Enemyes Designes, industriously performed all the parts of a Generall, gave the King also an account of Don John's Sicknesse, having commanded all that was therein of moment to be observed and set downe in a Diary, (or Ephemerides) with so much paines and exactnesse, as if the sick man were not (so Prince Alexander writes) a particular person, but that military Vertue it selfe, and the All of a Generall's Indowments, were in one man indangered. But now Don John by little and little gathering strength, when they conceived him perfectly recovered, relapsed upon the suddaine, and the 28 of September, having disburthened his Conscience, and from the hand of the Priest, that said Masse in his Anti-Camera, received the heavenly Viaticum, presently his braine turning, began to rave, and like a Generall in the field, to place his men in battalia, to call upon the commanders to send forth Parties of Horse, sometimes to be angry that his men were such fooles as to be circumvented, sometimes with his eyes, hand, and voice crying, *Victoria*. It was observed when no industry of his friends, no art of his Physicians could put out of his head those Images of Warre, at the only naming *Iesu Maria* he would be so hushed and still, as he tooke rest immediately: and whatsoever for their sakes was desired of him (otherwise imperious and inexorable) he would do it, not unwillingly. Of so great concernement it is, to get a habit of Piety, while thou hast thy understanding, that being not thy selfe thou canst not but be pious. Finally on the first of October, in which Month he ever celebrated the memory of his Victories at *Lepanto* and *Tunis*, being restored, beyond all hope, to his senses, once more remembring and confessing his finnes, about noone-day with great expressions of Piety, he died.

Don John of Austria was borne at *Ratisbon* in Germany, having the very same birth day, which the Emperour Charles the fifth his Father had.

His

His Mother was Barbara Blomberg of Ratisbon, no less noble in beauty, then in quality, who therefore being presented to the Emperour to allay his Melancholy with the sweetnesse of her voice, for she sang rarely, had a Son by him, long a Widower, having lost his wife *Isabella* 7. yeares before; for while she lived, they say, he most religiously observed his matrimoniall Vow. Nay he was very carefull the City should know nothing of the child, and therefore within the yeare tooke it from the Mother, delivering it to *Aloysio Quisciada* Lord Steward of his Imperiall Palace, whom he had found very trusty, to carry it into *Spaine*, that his Wife *Magdalena Ulloa*, a nobly-borne and modest-carriaged Lady, might breed up the Infant: charging *Aloysio*, that no creature living should have cause given to guesse who should be its Father. Which trust he singularly well discharged: and when he brought the Infant to *Villa-Garcia*, a Towne of his owne, he only commended it to his Wife, as the child of a speciall Friend of his. Which for a good while made her suspect it might be her Husbands, and she was therefore the more tender of it. Yet she began to thinke the Father a greater man, when she saw her Husband to have a more then fatherly care of the child's Education. A part of the house by accident taking fire, where the Lady and little *Jack* lay together; the flame now crackling about the bed, and waking *Aloysio* that lay in the next roome, he presently ranne thither in his Shirt, and catching up the Child, carried him out of the danger. That done, as if he were now secure, he returned to fetch off his Wife, struck with admiration at his carriage; for knowing, that her husband loved her above all the World, she conjectured by this Action, that the Child's Father was some more eminent person. And indeed his Princely disposition, his naturally grave Courtship, his Meene, and Aspect, expressed him more then a private person. He applied himselfe to the boyes his Companions, but like their Superiour or commander. You would thinke him to be *Cyrus* among the Shepheards. He would wrestle with them, or run, or pitch the Barre, or use any other exercise in the Field, only so long as he was getting of the mastery, till his victory was secured. He was therefore much delighted in Horseman-ship, because therein he easily excelled them all. In the morning when he rose, the first thing he did, was to get on Horse back, to traine the boyes, to breake Speares to Truncheons, or at full speed to take the Ring. At which exercises because he continually had the beholders Acclamations, the emulation of the boyes prevailed so farre, as by common consent and at the publique charge the Towne entertained a Riding-master to teach their Sons, in hope they might one day conquer this Conquerour. And *Aloysio*, being himselfe a Souldier, exceedingly rejoyced at the child's warlike propension, and laying the foundation (as *Aloysio* called it) of higher Actions. Till he received the Emperour's Command, to prepare him with softer breeding to the love of holy Orders. But as the first age, after the tincture of pleasure, seldome or never takes another die: the boy was hardly drawne to leave those Sports, and a while after, *Charles* the fifth deceased. A little before his death, the Emperour discovered to his Son *Philip* King of *Spaine*, (which till then he had concealed from him) that *Philip* himselfe and this *John* had both one Father, and therefore charged the King, to send for him, and to love and regard him as his naturall Brother.

But King *Philip* deferred to do it, two yeares after the Emperour's death, till his Son *Charles* Prince of *Spaine* was growne up. Then resol-

1578.

His Mother.

He was conveyed into *Spaine* in his infancy by *Aloysio Quisciada* that only knew the secret of his birth.

Mag. *Ulloa Quisciada's* Wife Governesse to the child.

Nor knowes she who is Father to it.

The Infant in danger of fire *Magdalen Ulloa* her selfe made this relation.

Whereat *Quisciada* is much troubled.

The child was afterwards in like perill at *Madrid*.

His nature and garbe.

His manner of Play with the Boyes.

Herod. l. i.

His love to Horseman-ship

Wherein he was still victorious.

The Emperour designs him for a Priest, But too late.

Charles the fifth, on his death-bed reveals his Son *John* to King *Philip*.

To whom he commends the Child.

The owning of Don *John*.

1578.

*The King goes to hunt.**And bids Quiciada bring the Boy to him upon the field.**Quiciada shewes himself not to bee Father to Don Iohn by the new Title he gives him.**The Childs Astonishment. The beholders Expectation.**The King questions the boy about his Father.**And imbraces him as his Brother.**Assigning him household-servants.**The hunters hallow out their joy.**The Kings expression.**Don Iohn brought to Court is bred up with Prince Charles and Alex. Farneze In the beginning of this year. Prince Charles, Don Iohn, and Alex. Farneze, compared.**His person.**His Manners.**The King offended with him for refusing to enter into holy Orders.**And for staying away to go for Malta.*

ving to acknowledge his Brother, he went to *Validolid* to the Abbey of *Spina* with a great traine of Lords to hunt: commanding *Aloysio* to bring the Boy, and meete him in the Field. *Aloysio*, when his Doggs were in a readinesse, mounted a Horse richly trapt, and carried along little *Iack*, on an ordinary Horse among the croud of hunters. When they came to the hill *Torose* (where he discovered the King a-hunting) he then leaped off his Horse, and bad *Iack* doe so too: Which done, presently *Aloysio*, falling on his knees, "Give me" said he, "your Highnesse's Hand to kisse. What this usuall Honour I now do you signifies, the King, that hath sent for you, will explaine. Now get upon this Horse, that had not shone in all this bravery but for you. The Boy stood amazed at the novity, yet gave him his hand to kisse, and got upon the Horse; the lookers on admiring and longing, as upon a Stage; to see how that Scene would end. When behold King *Philip* with those that waited on him to the Chace comes in. Immediately little *Iack*, presented by *Aloysio*, bowes himselfe, and handsomely honours the King upon his knee. His Majesty raised the boy with his hand, and smiling, asked him if he knew his Father? And when he doubted what to reply, because he saw himselfe now disclaimed by him he formerly thought his Father, the King alighting said, "*Alegramente*, boy, thou art Son to a man of Honour, the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, that dwells in heaven, is Father to us both, uttering these words he imbraced him as a Brother, set him upon his horse, and appointed Servants to attend him, as became one of the House of *Austria*, and the Son to an Emperour; the whole Plaine ringing with the joyfull Halloes of the Hunters, and Gratulations of the Lords cheerfully wishing that day happy to the King, happy to the King's new Brother: his Majesty himselfe often protesting, "that in all his Life he never had better hunting Fortune. Thus Don *Iohn* of *Austria* being acknowledged was brought to Court, there bred with *Charles* Prince of *Spaine*, and *Alexander* Prince of *Parma*, who not long before was sent out of Italy by his Parents to the King his Vncle, as I have in its place remembred. And they were allmost all three of one year, the eldest being not about 14. But they were not all of one disposition, Feature, or Manners. Prince *Charles*, saving his haire and Complexion, in all the other parts of his body was deformed: for one shoulder was higher, and one leg longer then the other, nor was he lesse deformed in his furious and haury mind. Prince *Alexander* was indeed of a passionate and military Inclination, but full of Courtship, whereto his sweete and pleasant Countenance seemed to be naturally composed. But Don *Iohn* of *Austria*, as well in the habit of body, as Generosity of Deportment far transcended both. His face was not only faire, but excellently featured. His haire yellowish; his eyes quick & shining: with a lovely proportion of all his limbs, answerable to each other. His manners infinitely set off his Louelines, & his Louelinesse his manners. Civility, Industry, and Integrity, were eminent in the Youth, and, as in one newly come to his Honours, Modesty. Which Vertue and Beauty of his, compared with their Contraries in Prince *Charles*, at first made him beloved, afterwards envyed, as eclipsing the Prince in his Fathers Court. And King *Philip* was somewhat distasted at Don *Iohn's* Aversion from holy Orders, to which he had beene pressed, upon his Fathers Designation, but too late. His Majesties Displeasure was increased by his suddaine leaving of the Court, when, inflamed with a desire to fight in *Malta*, without the King's Leave (which if he had hoped, he would never have declined) he tooke Post for *Barcelona*, with a great traine of Gentlemen, being then

then 18 yeares of age. And this Levity he aggravated with his Pride, not vouchsafing to heare what message *Aloyſio Quiſciada* brought, who followed him by his Maſteyes Command. But as he was going abroad at *Barzelona* receiving the Kings Letters, which threatningly commanded his Returne: ſwifter then imagination, he rode back to *Vallidolid*, and by his ready Obedience not a little qualified his Maſteyes Indignation: which a while after, he clearly cancelled, when he firſt diſcovered to the King, his Son Prince *Charles* his new deſigne. For this Service, his Maſtey in the Warre of *Granado*, made Don *Iohn* his Generall againſt the *Moore*s; which held him play for a long while, but at laſt he fortunately defeated them. And that which ſeemed to be his Remuneration, was but a ſtep or Earneſt of more Honour. For when the *Chriſtian* League was concluded, he was made Generaliſſimo of the Fleete, that carried the Forces and Hopes of *Chriſtendome*, and joyning battaile with the *Turkes* at *Lepanto*, gained upon the common Enemy a Victory; ſince the memory of the *Othoman* Name, the greateſt. Thence from the Eaſt turning his Armes into *Africa*, he conquered *Tunis*, that commands the *Libyan* Sea, the *Mahometans* flying before him; ſtormed *Biferta*, and tooke priſoner their King *Amida* with two of his Sons, which he brought in triumph back to Italy. Here the of *Spaine* was highlyer offended, becauſe Don *Iohn* had not only, contrary to the Commands ſent him from *Spaine*, not diſmantled the City, but had likewise furniſhed it with Munition, put in a Garrifon, and made *Gabriel Serbellonio* Governour, as if he had reſolved in that Towne to fix himſelfe a Royall Seate. As the King then eſpecially believed, when in that very point of time he ſaw the Pope's Legate in the name of *Gregory* the 13 move him to honour Don *Iohn* for his Victories in *Africa*, with the Title of King of *Tunis*. Which made King *Philip* jealous, that the youth, proud of his Conqueſts, would not long brook a private Fortune: and now only requeſted Kingdomes, but hereafter would invade them. Therefore removing from Don *Iohn* all ſuch as he thought adviſed him to thoſe courſes, he placed new Servants about him, and made *Iuan Eſcovedo* his Secretary, that is, he changed the names, but not the Natures, of his Brother's Followers. The King likewise obſerved, that his Brother grew to a greater Animofity. Becauſe, when he was called out of Italy into *Spaine*, to go from thence to the Governement of the Low-countries then deſigned him, he would not ſo much as come to Court: but went to the houſe of *Antonio Perez* to linger there, till he found whether the King would allow him place, as a Prince-Infanta within the Cloth of State. But the King that went out of Towne left he might diſcontent his young Brother with the Affignation of his Place, ſtayed on purpoſe in the Country; receiving him more affectionately, then magnificently, at *Villa Pardo*. And from thence, exaggerating, indeed not falſely, the Neceſſity of the Provinces, ſent him preſently into the Low-countries. His Maſtey's Suſpicion alſo appears by the Inſtructions he gave Don *Iohn*, at his Departure. The firſt and laſt whereof was, that he ſhould quiet the Provinces upon any Conditions whatſoever, but a Warre: ſo as he did it with a Salvo to Religion and Allegiance. For, though the King now weary of the infinite Expences of that Warre, wiſhed this might be the only Meanes of ſettling the *Belgick* Tumults: yet howſoever, I believe his Maſtey, who thought nothing ſecure unleſſe ſuſpected, would not have continued the Command of an Army to one perſon, left he ſhould at laſt have eſtabliſhed a Power irrevocable. For the ſame reaſon, when there was Neceſſity of a Warre,

1578.

But he makes
his peace with
riding back
poſt,
And with the
diſcovery of
Prince Charles
his journey.
He commands
in chiefe againſt
the *Moore*s.

Winnes the bat-
talle at *Lepan-
to*,
Stormes *Tunis*,

And *Biferta*,
Takes the King
priſoner.
King *Phillip*
againe diſplea-
ſed,

And jealous,

Placeth new
ſervants about
Don *Iohn*,

Who expects to
take place as
an Infanta.

The King goes
out of towne
purpoſely to
decline the
Grant.

And would
have him go-
verne the
Lowcountries
without an
Army.

Not affured of
his temper.

1578

The Prince of
Orange reports
that Don Iohn
is to marry
Queene Eliza-
beth.
Al. Cabrera in
Philip the 2.
l. 12. c. 3.
Iuan Vargas
Mexico
The death of
Escovedo.

Don Iohn
tempted with
an offer of all
the 17. Provin-
ces.
Ready to kill
the adviser.
Tacitus l. 1.
Annals.
Al. Cabrera in
Phil. 2. l. 11.
c. 15.
Says that Don
Iohn did wound
the man.
Why hee was
thus courted.

His griefe up-
on the Kings
displeasure,
And for Escov-
edo's death,

Breakes his
heart,
If it were not
broke by poyson
Mar. Delr. l. 5.
Turk. Belg.
August. 20.
Those that
sought to mur-
der him puni-
shed.
Decemb.
The Armes
Lamentation
for his death,

Money to pay the Army came very sparingly from *Spaine*. For this very reason the King's eares were open to the *Low-countreymens* Complaints, accusing Don Iohn as longing to be in Armes. Nay to confirme this Suspicion of the King's, I doubt not but the Prince of *Oranges* Designe was layed, when he wrote Letters to a Friend in *France*, which assured him, that Don Iohn was to marry the Queene of *England*, adding that for his particular Service therein, Don Iohn had given him hope of the free Exercise of Religion in the *Low-countreys*. Which newes Vargas, the *Spanish* Embassadour in *France*, that carefully pried into all Occurrences, privately sent post to King Philip. Whereupon followed the death of Iuan Escovedo, as the man that put him upon it. I cannot believe this of Don Iohn, though sometimes troubled, and crossed even to desperation. Many Arguments rather induce me to thinke it a Finesse of the Prince of *Orange*, to alienate the King from his Brother. But the Causes of Escovedo's Death, and the Tragedies insuing thereupon in *Spaine*, as fitter for the Stage, I leaue to Writers covetous of such Subiects. Nor to any other end, a newes which they heard in *Spaine*, was the Principallity of the *Low-countreys* lately offered to Don Iohn. For one of the *Low-countrey* Lords, as an expedient for quieting the Provinces, exhorted Don Iohn to take upon him Sovereigne Authority, offering to serve him in it with the Nobility, and ensuring the Event. Which though it so highly displeased him, that he drew his Stiletto, not as once *Germanicus Caesar* did, who turned the point upon himselfe, but to have stabbed that perfidious and fraudulent man, who with such impudent Counsell tempted his Loyalty. Yet because this passed without Witnesse, it was liable to the Censure of those that ever thinke the worst. And some kinde of Suspicions no Innocence can absolutely cleare. But I believethis bold and subrill Invitation was made, not to bring the *Lowcountreys* into Don Iohn's Power, but to fill the King's eares lifting after such Rumours, and to make him jealous, that his Brother would not allwayes retaine that Modesty, and that it therefore concerned the King in Wisdome to provide, that what his Brother once modestly refused, might never more be in the Power of his Acceptance. Nor was King Philip now to be taught the Art of Iealousy, being no lesse prudent in keeping, then fortunate in amplifying his Dominions. And Don Iohn daily found by new prooffe, how jealous the King was of him, not satisfied by the compliance of the private life which he had so long indured. Hearing likewise of Escovedo's death (whom he had sent into *Spaine* to procure Money and other warlike Necessaryes) for whose returne he had so often and so anxiously sollicitated, and every day finding himselfe in greater Straits deserted, as he openly complained, by the King; and exposed to the Scorne of his Enemyes: this Prince, of great Spirit and hope, too much remembring his blood by the Father's side, languished into a Consumption. But whether, besides his Griefe a poyson strong enough to kill him, there might be another Dose given (for they that saw his Corps, found shrewd Signes of poyson) I will make no Determination, as in a thing commonly obnoxious to Presumptions of that Nature. Though there wanted not some that watched to murder him, as I am well assured by Alexander Farneze's Letters to his Father Duke Ottavio. And it was sufficiently evident, two Englishmen being apprehended, that had undertaken to kill him, that very Month wherein he dyed: which, a while after, examined and convicted of the Crime, were by the Prince of *Parma* put to death. But by what meanes soever his fate was brought about, it

was

was deplored with extraordinary Commiseration. And seldome was it knowne, that any Army with higher praises of his vertue, mourned for their Generall. There were that compared Don *Iohn* and *Germanicus* together; For their Beauty, for their Yeares, being 33, for the many battells they had fought in Places neighbouring upon *Holland*. For the Court-jealousies upon them, and for the Rumour of their approaching Death. Others paralleld him nearer with his Father *Charles* the fifth. Both had the same Birth-day, almost the same Day of Death; and like Expeditions by Sea and Land, against the *Moors*, and *Turkes*. The Kingdome of *Tunis* was conquered by them both. King *Muleases*, was reestablished in his Throne, and *Barbarossa* outed by *Charles* the fifth. King *Amida* Son to *Muleases*, but the Depositor of his Father (deposed himselfe and *Mehemet* crowned) was by Don *Iohn* carryed away among his Spoiles and Prisoners. The Father had ended more Warres, for he had lived more Yeares. The Son in one Navall Victory equalled all his Father's Triumphs. And no doubt, but if he had injoyed his Fathers Power, and alone commanded Kingdomes and Armies, he would have made his Fame as glorious. They likewise added things for the most part triviall, and obvious to all Comparers: That both by like artificiall Courtesies quickned their Followers Hopes; but he by bestowing Titles of Honour much increased the Nobility: this remunerated the merits of his Souldiers, because he had no other Meanes of Satisfaction, with magnificent Words, somtimes with a suddaine Expression of Ioy, giving his Hatt or *Stillette* to a Souldier. Indeed calling every common Souldier by his name, his Memory served instead of a Reward. Both of them brought up fashions that added to the handsonesse of the Body, especially of the Head. *Charles* the fifth, when he came into *Italy* to be crowned Emperour, was the first that to ease himselfe of the head-ach, cut off his haire: the great Courtiers following his Fashion and Example: So as the wearing of long haire, esteemed so much for many Ages in one man's Imitation was by all left off. And also first Don *Iohn*, because the haire on the left side of his temples grew upright, used with his hand to put away all the haire from his fore-head; and because that baring of the Fore-head looked handsome in him, thence came the Fashion of combing and keeping the haire up, in so much as that kind of Foretop is in some places called an *Austrian*. Finally in the last Scene of his life, Don *Iohn* himselfe wished to be like his Father, and as He, resigning his Kindomes, hid himselfe in solitude among the *Hieronymites* at Saint *Iustus*: so Don *Iohn* a few months before his death would have done among the Hermits of Mount *Serrat* in *Spaine*, for ever after to serve God, who, as he said, would and could do more then his Brother *Philip*. Which Determination, whether it was the issue of Piety, or of the improsperous Successe of his Affaires, I cannot easily distinguish; Nor must omit that, wherein Don *Iohn* of *Austria* far exceeded his Father *Charles* the fifth; the Purity of Mind, which his Governesse the Lady *Vlloa* had so inamoured him of, from his Infancy, that all his Life long he persevered in it, and could not rest quiet, if never so little a Sinne lay upon his Conscience. Therefore twice every Month (which was his constant course) he came to Confession: his Soule being a true Prince, that could not brooke the basest Servitude. Nay he never undertooke any Expedition, or fought battaile, but first by an exact Confession of his Sinnes he implored God's Mercy. Which Care of himselfe, in a Prince tempted to greatest license by his age, handsonesse, and Place of Generall, I suppose

1578.

Whom they
parallel with
Germanicus
Cæsar,

And with his
Father *Charles*
the Fifth,
In the day of
their Nativities
& deaths,
In their Military
expeditions

In the intreating
of their
Souldiers,
Charles the 5.
Don *Iohn*.

In wearing of
their haire,
1529.

In their desire
to live a solitary
life.

Don *Iohn*'s constant
custome
to cleare his
Conscience.
Magdalen Lady
of *Villagarcia*.

Especially before
a day of
Battaile.

1578

His vertues as
a Generall.

Not inferiour
to any.
Severall Na-
tions contend
for precedency
in carrying off
his Corps.

Alex. Farneze
contents them
all.

The funerall
Pompe.
Ex litteris
Com. Massi ad
Picum from the
Campe
Octob. 6.

Why a Crowne
was set on his
head.
Mar. Del. l. 5.
Turb. Belg.
Colonels, and
Captaines are
the Bearers.
Foure great
commanders at
the foure cor-
ners of the
Herse.
Souldiers
march before

Alex. Farneze
followes.

A Sepulcher
only for the
present.
His three last
requests to the
King.

Don Iohn Fa-
ther of two
daughters.

1570.

pose will be so much the more esteemed, by how much this. Piety is rarer amongst Souldiers: and by how much a Circumspection of this nature uses not to be alone, nor unattended by a traine of many Vertues. Moreover, if one should adde this to his military Praises, and diversity of Warres, that before he had beene trained a Souldier, he commanded as a Generall; and to the Immenseness of his Courage, that he was never daunted by any Enemy, either greater in number, or reported by Force to be invincible; and to his Felicity in all battailes, that he came off perpetually a Conquerour, at least never conquered; truly wee may justly number Don Iohn among the most valiant and fortunate Generalls that ever were.

The day after his Death, the Colonells of severall Nations, contended, which of them in the funerall Pompe should have precedence, as Bearers of the Corps. The Spaniard pretended, because they were the Kings Countrey men. The Germans, because Don Iohn was their Countrey man. The Low-countrey men disputed the Prerogative of the Place; But the Prince of Parma instantly decided the Controversy, in this manner. That his maniall Servants should carry the Body out of the Court; where it should be received by the Colonells of that Nation whose Quarters in the Field used to be next the Generalls: they were to deliver it to others, and those againe to others that quarter'd farther off. In this Order (the Horse and Foote marching on either side) the Corps in compleat Armour was carryed from the Campe at *Euge* to *Namure* with a Crowne upon his Head according to the funerall Ceremonies of the ancient Princes of the House of *Burgundy*. Though others, because diverse *Irish* Lords, with the Popes Consent, had offered him the Kingdome of *Ireland*, which he would not accept till he knew whether it would be approved of by King *Philip*, imagined out of that respect this Marke of a King was given to his Modesty. His bed was still supported by Colonells and Captaines of that Nation, whose Horse followed the Corps, fresh men still easing the wearyed of their burthen, till it came to the Magistrate of *Namure*. Foure Mourners attended the body, *Peter Ernest* Count *Mansfeldt* Campe-Master, *Octavio Gonzaga* Generall of the Horse, *Pedro de Toledo* Marquesse of *Villa-Franca*, and *Iohn Croi* Count of *Reuse*, this a principall Commander among the Low-countrey men, he among the Spaniards, each of them holding in their hands a corner of the Herse-Cloth. A Regiment of Foote, as the custome is, went before, with their Pikes and Muskets reversed, colours furled, and all the other Complements of Sorrow. *Alexander Farneze*, Prince of *Parma*, followed in close Mourning, with a heart sadder then his Robes: excepting only so farre as the care of the distressed Army, delivered to him, diverted the current of his Griefe. The funerall State ending in the great Church at *Namure*, and Don Iohn's, bowells being there buried, Prince *Alexander* laid his Vncles body in a temporary Tombe, expecting what Commands the King would send from *Spaine*. For at his Death Don Iohn desired three things might in his name be moved to his Majesty, That he would command his body to be buried in in the Sepulchre of *Charles* the fifth, That his Mother and brother by her might be received into his Royall Protection, And that he would remunerate the Service of his Followers (whom he had long sustained with hope) with some reall Bounty, he himselfe having not had wherewith to pay them. He made no Mention at all (which is wonderfull) of his Daughters. For Don Iohn had two Daughters, *Anne* and *Ioane*, this at *Naples*, by *Diana Phalanga* a *Surrentine* Lady; that at *Madrid*, by *Maria, Mendoza* a Maide

Maide of an illustrious Family, and Beauty. *Anne* was privately bred by *Magdalena Ulloa*, Don *Iohn*'s owne Foster-Mother: and went from thence, after she was seven yeares old, to a Nunnery of holy Virgins at *Madrigall Ioane*, for almost as long a time, was educated by the Dutchesse of *Parma*, Sister to Don *Iohn*; after whose death, she sent her to be bred up in a Monastery of the Order of *Saint Clare*, at *Naples*; But she by Command from the King was translated from *Madrigall* to *Burgo's* a House of *Benedictin* Nunnes, whose perpetuall Abbess she was chosen. This, after she had lived twentie yeares in the Cloister at *Naples*, was at last married into *Sicilie* to Prince *Butero*. Both these Ladyes in one yeare, in one Month, only not upon one day, deceased: But I believe Don *Iohn* among those Particulars which at his death he commended to the King, said nothing of his Daughters, because he thought the King knew not of them: for they were so privately and cautiously brought up, that *Alexander Farneze* (to whom he imparted all his other Secrets) knew not of one of these. The other had long since beene discovered to him, not by Don *Iohn*, but by his owne Mother *Margaret* of *Austria*: which was the Cause that, when Don *Iohn* lay upon death-bed, Prince *Alexander* durst not desire him to commend that Daughter to the King, lest he might put him to the Blush, or seeme willing by such Commendations to free his Mother of a Trouble. But now *Alexander Farneze* acquainted his Majesty with those three last Requests made by Don *Iohn*, and earnestly solicited the King's Grant. Of himselfe and of the Governement intrusted to him he wrote little, rather like one declining, then ambitious of the Honour. Only he exaggerated the danger of the Catholique Army, the *French* being entred into *Haynolt*, and the States Army ready to besiege their Campe: so that in this desperate Condition of Affaires, only his Fidelity to the King compelled him rather undauntedly, then ambitiously to receive that burthen. Although, as I conjecture, not so much the present Danger, which was indeed very great, as his doubtfullnesse of the King's mind held *Alexander Farneze* in suspence. For he feared lest his Majesty, laying aside the care of Armes, should call back his Mother into the *Low-Countryes*, where she was popular, and therefore fit to conclude a Peace, or that, upon certaine Conditions which were now in Agitation, he should confirme even the Arch duke *Matthias* in the Governement. To which He might be easily perswaded, by some that were no friends to the glory of *Alexander Farneze*. And truly (as *David* Secretary to the Duke of *Parma*, wrote from *Spaine* in Cypher to Prince *Alexander*) there wanted not some at Court, that objected many Considerations to the King, for breaking off that Designation. I believe, because they thought it Imprudency to trust *Alexander Farneze* with an Army, at that time, when his Son (a boy of a great witt, and it seemed capable of the greatest fortune) pretended to the Crowne of *Portugall*: especially, when not without an Affront to *Spaine*, that proud Nation desired to be governed by an *Italian*. But the King, looking upon the Vertue of *Alexander Farneze*, and considering him as his Sisters Son, cut off the Subject of this discourse, praising the choice & Counsell of Don *Iohn*. And presently by Letters to Prince *Alexander*, his Majesty first gave him, without any Exception, the Governement of the *Low-countryes*, and *Burgundy*, with the Militia of those Provinces: all which he prolixly commended to his Nephew's Faith, and Worth. To Don *Iohn*'s last Requests he briefly answered, That he would not be unmindefull of his household Servants, when *Alexander Farneze* should certify him too (as afterwards he did)

1578

Anne.

at new od W
som on book
ought aid and
looke
Feb. 1630.

Why he named
them not upon
his death bed.

IV gald
ould ha
aid and
Alex. Farneze
to his Mother
Marg. of Parma.
Octob. 6.

Alex. Farneze
writes to the
King about
Don Iohns
Petitions.

Octob. 6.
and somewhat
concerning him-
selfe.
But very much
touching the
danger of the
present State
of Affaires.

He is not sure
the King will
conferme to
him the Go-
vernement.
C. Masius ad
Equ. Blondum.
Octob. 6.

Which some in
Spaine dis-
swade.

Novem. 5.

Ranucio.

Yet the King
sends him
Commission.
Novem. 29.

And answers to
the particulars
requested by
Don Iohn.

of)

1578.

For his Mother.

Who was indeed no more but his supposed Mother.

Cardia Cueva.

Clara Eugenia Isabella

In Mag. Villosa and Blomberg. For his brother.

July 1579.

March 18.

1579.

Don Iohn's body privately conveyed through France in Vargas Mexia.

Being first taken to pieces.

Afterwards set together in Spaine and shewed to the King. As last interred.

Alex. Farnese takes upon him the Government of the Lowcountries.

of every particular man's Deserts, That he had long respected his Mother, which should be done more publicly hereafter; As indeed it was; For his Majesty that yeare, sending for her into *Spaine*, very graciously received her, and within a few Months honourably disposed of her, in the Royall Cloister of Saint *Cyprian*. Where after she had lived foure yeares among the Nunnes, nobly attended by Maides of her owne, going for her health to take the ayre at *Laredo*, she there religiously dyed. Although I must not conceale from the Reader, What a man of Eminence discovered to me, touching the Mother of Don *Iohn*, not *Barbara Blomberg*, as to that day the World believed, but a farre more noble Lady, to say the truth, a Princess, for saving of whose Reputation, *Charles* the fifth would have another named, and getting *Barbara Blomberg* to act the Mother's part, and take upon her the glorious Title of the fault, it was afterwards followed by King *Philip* to maintaine the Scene. So King *Philip* himselfe told his Daughter *Isabella* (to whom he imparted 'all his Secrets') which she at diverse familiar Conferences communicated to that Person of whom I had it. If this be true, I must confesse there is no trusting humane Knowledge: When so great a Prince, that used to discover the very thoughts of his Enenies, should live and dye so blinded in his owne Parentage, and in himselfe, and being twice deceived in his Mother, should still aske Blessing of a wrong Woman, never of her that bore him. Concerning Don *Iohn* of *Austria's* supposed Brother (his name was *Pyramo Conrado*) the King wrote back, that *Alexander Farnese* should observe the inclination of his mind, and how he demeaned himselfe. He did so, and replied, That the youth had bene sent into *Burgundy* to follow his Booke: but that within a few dayes, leaving his study and falling into some Debothes, he was by Don *Iohn's* Command committed to the Tower; from whence (after his Brothers Death) the Youth wrote him a Letter, that since he was not made for a Scholler, neither his Fancy nor Abilities agreeing with that course of Life, he would please to set him at Liberty, and make a Souldier of him, and then he hoped to give a fruitfuller account of himselfe: and Prince *Alexander* certified the King, that he thought no lesse, therefore beseeched his pleasure might be signified, where the Youth should be employed in his Majesties Service. It pleased the King, that he should learne his first Elements of Warr under *Alexander Farnese*, assigning to the young Souldier 50 Ducats a Month. Lastly, the King consented to the translating of Don *Iohn's* Body into *Spaine*, by what Way, and in what Manner Prince *Alexander* should appoint. The Prince of *Parma* committed that Charge to *Gabriel Nignio Zuniga*, Master of the Horse to Don *Iohn*, commanding him to convey the Corps through *France*, and by meanes of the *Spanish* Embassadour at *Paris*, to get a Passe from King *Henry* for some of Don *Iohn's* Servants that were to returne into *Spaine*, without any mention of the Body; which he would have secretly carryed, to avoide those vast Expences, and ceremonious Contentions of Magistrates and Priests at City-Gates; that usually way-lay the Progresses of Princes, whether alive or dead. And therefore made it be given out, that the Body went with the rest of Don *Iohn's* Household through *Italy*. Nay to avert the least Suspicion, he caused him to be tooke in pieces; and the bones of his Armes, Thighes, Leggs, Breast and Head (the Braines being taken out) with other the severed parts, filling three Mailes, were by *Nignio* and the principall of the Convoy (being about 80) brought safely into *Spaine*. Where the bones being set againe, with small wiers, they easily rejoynted all the Body, which being filled with Cotton, armed, and richly habited, they presented to the King Don *Iohn* intire, as if he stood, only resting himselfe upon his Commanders Staffe, looking as if he lived and breathed. This Sight having for a while renewed Court-Sorrow, the Corps was carryed thence into the Church of Saint *Laurence* at the *Escoriall*, and buryed according to his last Desire by his Father the Emperour *Charles* the fifth. *Alexander Farnese* likewise in the Church at *Namure*, where his Vncles body had bene deposited, leaving a Monument thereof to Posterity; applied his whole minde and indeavours to keepe the remaining Provinces in the King's obedience. Then, he sent Agents & Letters to the Catholique Princes of *Europe*, holding it requisite to let them every one know, that Government was assigned to him by his Majesty; minding them of the danger of the Royall Party: not too solicitously, lest he should raise the hopes of such as were disaffected to the *Spaniard*; nor too sparingly, lest it might take off the Honour of his Laurell, as the easy purchase of a Generall, that must hereafter triumph over the Enemy.

F I N I S.



An Alphabetical Table of the most remarkable Passages and Sentences.

Note that the figures without *I.* relate to *I.* next before.

A Bbat of Gemblac lib. 9. pag. 52. and of Trull l. 2. p. 41. Abbacies in the *Low-countrys* assigned new Bishops l. 1. p. 29. Abbats complain, *ibid.* their complaints answered l. 1. p. 31. They exasperate the *Brabanters* l. 3. p. 65. Some of them turn Covenanters l. 5. p. 101.
Abdication of the Empire and his Kingdoms by Charles the fifth l. 1. p. 3. the causes p. 8. Abdication of the Government of the *Low-countrys* l. 1. p. 4.
Acugnia, vide *John* or *Juan*.
Adolph of Nassau Emperour l. 2. p. 43
Adolph of Nassau brother to the Prince of Orange enters *Frisland* l. 7. p. 46. Fights the *Arembergians* p. 47. kills Count *Aremberg*, *ibid.* and is slain by him, *ibid.*
Adrianus Comes Taveello. l. 9. p. 45
Agidius Lord of *Hierg*, sonneto Count *Barlamont*; at the siege of *Valenciens* l. 6. p. 10. at the batrel of *Mooch* l. 8. p. 3. Master of the Ordnance, and Colonel of *Walloons* l. 10. p. 5. at *Namure*, Treasurer after his fathers death, *ibid.* Governour of *Gelderland*, on the borders whereof he takes many Towns l. 8. p. 8. invites Don *John* to see *Namure* l. 9. p. 35. defends *Ruremond* against the Confederates lib. 9. p. 49. storms *Bovines* l. 9. p. 53, 54. his death l. 10. p. 5. Vide *Giles*.
Aelfa Town of *Flandrs* taken by the mutinous *Spaniards* l. 8. p. 18, 19
Alberic Count *Lodronio* Colonel of a Regiment of *Germanians* l. 6. p. 31, 33
Albert Duke of *Bavaria* approves of the designe of arms against the Rebels l. 5. p. 134. He moves the Duke of *Alva* in behalf of the impeached Lords l. 7. p. 42
Alcmar l. 7. p. 72, 81
Aldegund vide *Philip Manixius* of *St. Aldegund*,
Alençon vide *Francis Hercules*.
Alexander Farnese Prince of *Païma*, born at *Rome* l. 9. p. 42. his Father, *ibid.* the prediſtion of *Paul* the third, *ibid.* his Christening p. 43. propension to arms, *ibid.* sent very young by his Mother into the *Low-countrys* to King *Philip* p. 44. his suit at eleven years old to the King, *ibid.* who carries him into *Spain*, *ibid.* his Majesties love to him, *ibid.* He, *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, and Don *John* of *Austria* compared together, l. 10. p. 18. He is sent to the University of *Alcala*, l. 7. p. 43. the King entrusts him to Count *Egmont* to conduct him to the *Low-countrys*, l. 4. p. 90. his marriage, l. 4. p. 91. Solemnized at *Bruxels*, l. 4. p. 94. and at *Parma*, l. 4. p. 95. his sonnes, *ibid.* his veneration towards his wife, p. 95. and l. 9. p. 46. his love to arms, l. 9. p. 44. his disgladiations in the night with great hazzard to himself p. 45. he goes in the *Christian Fleet* against the *Turk*, *ibid.* composes the difference between Don *John* of *Austria*, and *Venerio*, *ibid.* for which *Pius* the fifth commends him, l. 9. p. 46. he boards *Mustapha's* Galley, *ibid.* takes him and *Scander-Basba*, *ibid.* The prize took by his men, *ibid.* his answer to Don *Johns* admonition,

ibid. he is sent to besiege *Navarine*, *ibid.* attempts it in vain l. 9. p. 47. he, joyned with his Mother, is designed by the King for the Government of the *Low-countrys*, *ibid.* animated by *Gregory* the xiii. l. 9. p. 48. he goes for the *Netherlands*, *ibid.* A pension assigned him by the King, *ibid.* He views the Armie with Don *John*, l. 9. p. 49. his attempt at the batrel at *Gemblac*, l. 9. p. 51. his courage is praised and reproved by Don *John* l. 9. p. 52. His letter to the King in honour of Don *John*, p. 53. nor mentioning himself to his friends, *ibid.* He besiegeth *Sichem*, l. 9. p. 54. and the Fort, 55. executes the prisoners taken, *ibid.* *Diestem* yields, *ibid.* he reduceth *Levia*, *ibid.* his expedition and victory at *Limburge*, l. 10. p. 1, 2. he storms *Dalbem*, p. 3. recovers the whole Province of *Limburge* within twenty dayes, p. 4. Thanks sent him by the Neighbour-Princes, *ibid.* A rumour of his death forged by the Prince of *Orange*, l. 10. p. 4. The King means to make him Governour of the *Low-countrys*, p. 6. he likes not the truce proposed, *ibid.* his Letter to his Father *Osavio* Duke of *Parma*, *ibid.* The King sends him money, l. 10. p. 7. his speech at a Council of Warre, wherein he dissuades the coming to a batrel, *ibid.* He desires of Don *John* the honour to lead up the Foot, and hath it, l. 10. p. 9. He demonstrates to Don *John* the enemies designe, p. 10. He brings off the men circumvented by the Enemy, p. 11. and lying open to their Cannon, p. 12. of which he gives an account to his Mother, *Margaret* of *Parma*, p. 13. he sends a complementall Embassage into *Portugal*, *ibid.* his advice to Don *John* touching the conditions of peace proposed by the Estates, p. 14. He is by Don *John* upon his death-bed, nominated Governour of the *Low-countrys*, p. 15. he cannot well resolve whether he should undertake the burden, yet accepts of his Commission, *ibid.* he writes to his Mother, and to his Father, *ibid.* The causes why he accepted of the Government, l. 10. p. 16. he attends Don *John* in his sickness, and supplies him with money, *ibid.* his care for his sick Uncle, and for ordering the armie, *ibid.* he puts to death those that sought the life of Don *John*, l. 10. p. 20. He satisfies the severall Nations contending who should carry Don *John* of *Austria's* body, p. 21. he attends his funerall to *Namure*, *ibid.* builds him a temporary tombe, *ibid.* writes to the King of Don *Johns* death, and his last requests to his Majestie, l. 10. p. 23. and how his Uncle dying commended the Government to him, *ibid.* he is not assured the King will confirm it, *ibid.* the King sends him a Commission to be Governour of the *Low-countrys*, and General of his armie there, *ibid.* the King answers him to Don *Johns* requests, *ibid.* He gives the Corps of Don *John* in charge to Colonel *Nignio* to carry it into *Spain*, l. 10. p. 24. he orders it to be privately conveyed through *France*, *ibid.* He takes upon him the Government of the *Netherlands*, *ibid.* whereof he certifies the Catholick Princes of *Europe* *ibid.*

Alexan-

A Table of the most remarkable

Alexander Medices advanced to the Principality of *Florence*, l. 1. p. 21. his marriage with *Margaret* daughter to the Emperour, p. 22. he is slain within the year, *ibid.*

Alienation of the Nobilitie, l. 2. p. 37, 38. and why, l. 3. p. 67, 68, 71

Albanian souldiers, *vide* *Muteneers*.

Aleffio Delrio, l. 8. p. 30

Aleffio Quiscinda Lord Steward to the Emperour, l. 10. p. 17. carries *Don John* an infant into Spain, *ibid.* breeds him up, *ibid.* brings him to King *Philip* on the field a hunting who there owned him, l. 10. p. 18

Alice Mother to *Francis* the first of France, l. 1. p. 12

Alphonso Este Duke of Ferrara, l. 1. p. 21

Alphonso Count de *Somma* designed Colonell of the *Italians* at *Milain*, l. 10. p. 7

Alphonso Leva, sonne to *Sancho* Vice-roy of *Navarre*, l. 10. p. 6. by orders from *Don John* fights the enemy, p. 9. worships him, p. 10. brings off the Foot, p. 12

Alphonse Lapes, l. 5. p. 142

Alphonso Villa Colonell of the *Spanish* Foot in the *Neapolitan* Regiment, l. 6. p. 30

Alphonso Vargas commanding the *Spanish* Horse, l. 8. p. 18. Routs the *Glimans*, p. 21. Recovers *Mastfricht*, *ibid.* marches to *Antwerp*, takes and plunders it, p. 23, 23. he and the *Spaniards* leave the *Low-countrys*, l. 9. p. 32

Alcapen vide *Charles*.

Alcemyse vide *Hannibal*.

Alvarez *Paccho* a Colonell, l. 7. p. 72

Alva vide *Francisco*

Alva vide *Ferdinand* *Taleado* Duke of *Alva* and *Garcias*.

Ambition Of the *Belgick* Lords in arms and at Court, l. 2. p. 37, 38, 41, 42. Of *Granvell*, *ibid.* Of *Egmont*, l. 2. p. 38. Of the Prince of *Orange*, naturall to him, *ibid.* and l. 2. p. 45. l. 5. p. 131. l. 7. p. 40. reprehended in Senate, l. 3. p. 67. Of *Robert* *Braderod*, to be *Arch-bishop* of *Cambray*, l. 2. p. 41. *Vide* *Emulation*.

Ambois, vide *Conspiracy*.

Amity of neighbour Princes to be wished for, l. 4. p. 91

Amida King of *Tunis*, l. 10. p. 19. & 21

Amersfort, l. 7. p. 75

Amsterdam in *Holland* threatens to revolt from the King, l. 6. p. 1. The wickedness of the *Hereticks* there, l. 5. p. 31. A Convention of the *Covenanters*, p. 137. Pious courage of the women, p. 131. The *Covenanters* would have surprized the Town, l. 6. p. 19. are beat back, *ibid.* the Citie receives a Garrison, p. 20. is faithfull to the *Spaniard*, l. 7. p. 72. begins to waver, l. 9. p. 41. is assaulted by the Prince of *Orange*, l. 10. p. 5. resists, wherein the women do speciall service, *ibid.* It is rendred, and deceived, *ibid.* the destruction of all things sacred in the Town, *ibid.*

Anabaptists, l. 2. p. 36

Andelott, a *Low-countrie* man, one of the *Covenanters*, l. 6. p. 19

Andelott *Colimy* Generall of the *French* Foot, l. 3. p. 56

Andelysch, Steward to Count *Megan*, l. 5. p. 101

Andrew *Salazar*, a Captain, l. 6. p. 33

Andreas *Vesalius* Physician to *Charles* the fifth, l. 1. p. 10

Anguifola, vide *Juan*.

Anio, a River, l. 7. p. 56

Anne of *Austria* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, is designed for wife to *Charles* Prince of Spain, l. 7. p. 68. after whose death, his Father King *Philip* marries her, *ibid.* She comes into the *Low-countrys*, *ibid.* is conducted into Spain, *ibid.* dies, l. 7. p. 82

Anne *Egmont*, first wife to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 3. p. 53

Anne daughter to *Don John* of *Austria*, l. 10. p. 23

Anne daughter of *Maurice* Duke of *Saxony*, wife to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 3. p. 53. her marriage, *ibid.* She is divorced, and sent back into Germany, p. 54

Anna *Momovancy* Constable of France, l. 3. p. 61. his

death, l. 6. p. 35. he and the Duke of *Alva* compared, l. 7. p. 83. The *Ancibarian* Generall his Vow against the *Romans*, l. 3. p. 51

Antonio *Almeyda*, l. 3. p. 58

Anthony *Bombard* of *Antwerp*, l. 6. p. 1. & 2

Anthony *Bombard* King of *Navarre*, brother to the Prince of *Conde*, l. 3. p. 56. his various fortune, *ibid.* he creates with King *Philip* about the restitution or commutation of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, p. 58. he withdraws his protection from the *Hereticks*, p. 59. whereupon he hopes to marry *Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scots*, *ibid.* he takes *Rosn*, p. 61. enters it triumphantly, *ibid.* dies of a shoe received at the Siege, *ibid.*

Anthony *Gaigny* Lord of *Vendege*, trailed a pike under *Charles* the fifth, l. 9. p. 50. was a Commander of horse at the battell of *St. Quintin*, *ibid.* Lieutenant Generall to Count *Arenberg* in France, *ibid.* The discord of the *Spaniards* and *Low-countrie* men, makes him leave the Kings Service, *ibid.* he is Generall of the *Confederates* army, p. 50. sent to *Antwerp* by the Deputies of the *Estates*, l. 8. p. 22. taken prisoner, p. 23. exchanged, l. 9. p. 31. took again at the battell of *Gembles*, l. 9. p. 52. Committed to the Fort at *Namure*, *ibid.*

Antonio *Gusman* Marquesse of *Ayamont*, Governour of *Milain*, l. 9. p. 32. & 47

Anthony *Latin* Count *Hochstrat*, Captain of a troop of *Low-countrie* Horse, l. 1. p. 17. made Knight of the Golden-Fleece by the endeavours of the Prince of *Orange*, l. 2. p. 46. Governour of *Mechlin*, l. 5. p. 131. one of the *Gentlemen* *Covenanters*, p. 101. he ads for the *Hereticks*, l. 6. p. 1. meets the *Covenanters* at *Cuilemburg*-house, l. 5. p. 109. assigns the *Hereticks* Churches in *Mechlin*, l. 5. p. 131. gives reasons for it to the Governesse, *ibid.* comes with the rest of the Lords to the Convention at *Dendermond*, l. 5. p. 134. He is Lieutenant Governour of *Antwerp* for the Prince of *Orange*, l. 5. p. 139. sends the Petition of the *Hereticks* at *Antwerp* to the Gouvernells, *ibid.* endeavours to draw Count *Egmont* to the new League, p. 142. He and the Prince of *Orange* oppose the furious *Calvinists* at *Antwerp*, l. 6. p. 4. refuseth to take the Oath of fidelitie to the King, l. 6. p. 12. looeth his Government of *Mechlin*, *ibid.* answers Count *Mansfeldt* jeeringly, *ibid.* he and Count *Egmont* fall out, l. 6. p. 14. & 15. he promisseth before the Governells to take the Oath, l. 6. p. 15. is sent for to *Brussels* with the rest of the Lords by the Duke of *Alva*, to set the State in Order, l. 6. p. 32. hearing of their imprisonment, he flies, p. 33. he is impeached before the Councell of twelve, l. 7. p. 41. pronounced guilty of High Treason by the Duke of *Alva*, p. 42. his forces beyond the *Muse* routed by *Avila*, p. 46. he is carried off the field sick, l. 7. p. 56. his baggage taken by the *Spaniard*, *ibid.* he is Generall at the battell by the Bank of *Geir*, l. 7. p. 62. dies of a musket shot, *ibid.*

Antonio *Mendoza*, l. 6. p. 26

Antonio *Olivera*, first Commissary of Horse that ever was in the *Low-countrys*, l. 6. p. 30. at the battell of *Moeb*, l. 8. p. 4. at the sack of *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 22. at the battell of *Gembles*, l. 9. p. 50. brings his Prisoners to *Don John*, p. 51. hath a Pension assigned him by the King, l. 10. p. 7

Anthony *Perrot* *Granvell* his birth, l. 2. p. 39. Wit, Languages, and Elocution, *ibid.* his emulation with *Regnard*, l. 3. p. 67. from the Bishoprick of *Aras* first translated to the Archbishoprick of *Mechlin*, l. 1. p. 18. commended by the Emperour to his sonne *Philip* the second, l. 2. p. 40. His arts to ingratiate himself with the King, *ibid.* he answers *Charles* the fifth for King *Philip*, l. 1. p. 4. speaks for the King to the *Estates*, l. 1. p. 25. his power with the King, l. 3. p. 67, 68. he stands for *Margaret* of *Parma* to be Governesse of the *Low-countrys*,

countreys, l. 1. p. 20. is commended to her by his Majesty, l. 2. p. 40. his favour and power with the Govern-
 nents, *ibid.* and p. 41. l. 3. p. 68. his dexterity in gi-
 ving counsel, l. 2. p. 40. he Acts for the new Bishops,
 l. 3. p. 65. is hated by the Lords, l. 3. p. 66. and
 Commons, p. 71. The Lords envie, emulation, and
 malice towards him, l. 2. p. 39. l. 3. p. 67. & 68,
 72, & 74. The greatness of his spirit in despising his
 Rivals, l. 2. p. 42. he approves not the sending away
 of the *Spanish* souldiers out of the *Low countreys*, l. 3.
 p. 51. at last consents to it, *ibid.* is created Cardinal by
 Pius the fourth, l. 3. p. 54. why for a while he deferred
 the acceptance of his scarlet, *ibid.* he receives his
 Robes, and Har sent from Rome as an extraordinary
 favour, *ibid.* what benefit he aimed at in being made
 Cardinall, p. 54. 59. he consults with his brother the
Spanish Ambassadour touching the French affairs, p. 55,
 58. What his opinion was concerning the exchange
 of *Sardinia* for *Nevvare*, l. 3. p. 58, 59. he is defended
 by the Governes, l. 3. p. 68. and 72. by the King, p. 71.
 Three Lords write a letter against him to his Majesty
 l. 3. p. 72. the Kings answer, l. 3. p. 74. he speaks in
 Senate against the ambition of the Prince of *Orange*,
 l. 3. p. 67. his power with the Governes decreaseth,
 l. 3. p. 74. the danger of his life, p. 75. Scandalous
 Libels against him, l. 4. p. 77. the giving of Hoods for
 Cognizances, was thought to be a combination a-
 gainst him, l. 4. p. 77, 78. l. 5. p. 115. l. 7. p. 49. he is
 called out of the *Low countreys*, l. 4. p. 79. the Kings
 letters that discharged him, dejected him not, *ibid.*
 his words as if he desired a manumission from publick
 employment, *ibid.* he would gladly have been com-
 manded into Spain, *ibid.* the King sends him to *Bur-
 gundy*, l. 4. p. 80. He goes, giving out that he is short-
 ly to return, *ibid.* a plot to keep him from coming
 back, *ibid.* he goes to Rome to the Conclave, l. 4. p. 81
 is employed by King Philip in his affairs at Rome, *ibid.*
 especially in the transaction of the holy League a-
 gainst the Turk, *ibid.* He is created Vice-roy of Na-
 ples, *ibid.* and delivers the Christian Colours to Don
 John of Austria, *ibid.* returning to Rome, he labours
 in the Conclave for the election of Gregory the xiii,
 l. 4. p. 81. going back to Naples, he offends the Pope
 in a controversie with the Archbishop of Naples, p. 82
 which is at last composed, *ibid.* the report of his re-
 turn to the *Low countreys* is there believed, l. 7. p. 68.
 he treats in the Kings name, with Margaret of Pa-
 ma and Alexander Farnese, to accept of a joynt-com-
 mission for the government of the *Low countreys*,
 l. 9. p. 47. he is sent for into Spain by the King, and
 there made President of his Italian Council, l. 4. p. 82.
 his liberty in speaking to the Grandees, and to the
 King himself, *ibid.* he governs Spain in the Kings ab-
 sence, p. 82. is honoured by him at his return, *ibid.*
 at *Ausburg* he marries Katharine daughter of King
 Philip, to Charles Emmanuel Duke of Savoy, *ibid.* what
 he said when he heard the Duke of Alva had not ta-
 ken the Prince of *Orange*, l. 6. p. 33. he dieth at Ma-
 drid, l. 4. p. 83. his bodie is transported to Besancon,
ibid. his principall commendations p. 83
 Antonio Perez Privie-Seal to Philip the second, l. 6. p. 23.
 l. 9. p. 53.
 Anthony, sonne to Philip Duke of Burgundy, Ruart of
 Brabant, l. 9. p. 36
 Anthony Painter l. 7. p. 78
 Antonio Saulio the Popes Nuncio to the Vice-roy of Na-
 ples l. 4. p. 82
 Anthony Strall Consul of Antwerp l. 6. p. 33. intimate
 with the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* beheaded l. 7. p. 49
 Antonio de Toldeo Prior of Leon a Knight of S. Johns of
 Jerusalem l. 6. p. 23
 Antwerp one of the chief cities of Brabant l. 5. p. 98.
 Sands much affected to Braderad, l. 5. p. 112. a Mutiny

in the Town occasioned by the punishment of an A-
 postate l. 4. p. 34. the number and habit of the Ghe-
 uses there, l. 5. p. 115. the Calvinists frequent sermons,
 l. 5. p. 116. their Tumult, l. 5. p. 117, 118. upon the
 News of Tholose's overthrow at Oosterwet l. 6. p. 4.
 for the quieting of which stirres, they desire to have the
 Prince of *Orange* for their Governour l. 5. p. 118. what
 a multitude of people meet him with acclamations
 and applauses *ibid.* their Iconomachy and violation
 of sacred things, l. 5. p. 123. & 124. the great Church
 restored to its use and beauty, l. 5. p. 130. l. 6. p. 18. He-
 zereicks hold their Consistories in the Town l. 5. p. 138.
 Solemn Procession l. 6. p. 28. the sack of it by the Spa-
 niards, l. 8. p. 22, 23
 Antwerp-ers animated against the Catholics as far as
 from Constantinople, l. 5. p. 138. & 139. They cunning-
 ly offer money to the King l. 5. p. 139. they threaten
 to Revolt, l. 6. p. 2. they sue for pardon to the Go-
 vernes, l. 6. p. 17. they offer her to render the town,
ibid.
 Antwerp-Fort designed by Margaret of Parma, l. 6. p. 30.
 Built by the Duke of Alva l. 7. p. 40. entered and kept
 by the mutinous Spaniards l. 8. p. 5. attempted by Don
 John l. 9. p. 35. possessed by the Estates, *ibid.* dimo-
 lished l. 9. p. 38
 Apologie published by the Prince of *Orange* l. 1. p. 4. l. 2.
 p. 38. p. 43. 45. p. 47.
 Aquila a town l. 9. p. 47
 Aranda vide Juan
 Archdukes of Austria vide Maximilian and Matthias
 An Archbishopric in the *Low countreys* l. 1. p. 18
 Ardinghel l. 4. p. 91
 Arnhem vide John Ligneus
 Arschor rendereth it self to Don John l. 9. p. 53. is be-
 trayed l. 10. p. 13
 Avescho the Duke, vide Philip Croi
 Arias Montanus vide Benedictus
 Armes figures of little men and horses brought to march
 upon a table l. 1. p. 7
 Armenterians conspire with the Tournay-Gheuses l. 6. p. 7.
 their plot is discovered *ibid.* they are defeated by Na-
 carnius l. 6. p. 7
 Armenterius vide Thomas
 Arminius his overthrow compared with that of Lewis of
 Nassau l. 7. p. 56. & 97
 Arms of Castile, l. 4. p. 78. assumed by the associated Pro-
 vinces, *ibid.* The Gheuses Arms l. 5. p. 109. the Arms of
 the Empire vide Empire, the Kings Arms l. 7. p. 65. the
 Arms of death l. 9. p. 41.
 Army prepared for the Duke of Alva from France l. 7. p.
 46. from Spain, l. 7. p. 58. from Italy l. 6. p. 25. By Alva
 in the *Low countreys* to be sent into France, l. 7. p. 64.
 Alva musters his Army l. 6. p. 29. it marches in three
 divisions, p. 30. against Don John raised in Germany,
 l. 10. p. 7. sent to him from Italy, l. 9. p. 41. Ranged for
 battel, l. 9. p. 50. brought off from the Cannons
 mouth, l. 10. p. 12. for the Governes from Germany,
 l. 5. p. 132. & 133. for the Prince of *Orange* from the
Low countreys and France, l. 7. p. 58, 61, 63, 73, 75. l. 9.
 p. 57. and out of Germany, l. 5. p. 138. l. 7. p. 58. An
 Army for the States from France and Germany l. 10.
 p. 7. 13. from England and Scotland l. 10. p. 10. The
 Duke of Alva's Army besieged by the Prince of O-
 range, l. 7. p. 77. the Gheuses Army l. 7. p. 75. the
 Hugonots Army l. 7. p. 79. four Armies at one time vex
 the *Low countreys* p. 75
 Artois a Province of the *Low countreys* l. 1. p. 15. inva-
 ded by Cocquevill, l. 7. p. 46. defended by Cossé, *ibid.*
 associated with the rest of the Provinces against the
 Spaniards, l. 8. p. 20. its Governour, l. 1. p. 16
 Arthur Cossé Commander in chief upon the Marches of
 France, forbids the Prince of *Orange* to enter the
 Kingdome l. 7. p. 63. sent by the French King to assist
 the

A Table of the most remarkable

the Duke of *Alva*, l. 7. p. 46. 47. beats *Cocquevils* Army into the town of *S. Valery* and storms it *ibid.* takes the Commanders *ibid.*

Assenwill vide *Christopher*.

Asper

Ausburg vide Confession of *Ausburg*

Augustino Barbarico

Augustus Duke of *Saxonia* succeeds the Prince Elector

Maurice, l. 3. p. 53. Christens the Prince of *Oranges*

Sonne, l. 4. p. 87. joyns with the *Low country* Rebels,

l. 5. p. 138. threatens the Governesse, l. 5. p. 140. makes warre with *John Frederick Sonne* to the late Elector p. 141. sends to *Margaret of Parma* an Embassage in Favour of the *Low-country* Hereticks l. 6. p. 18, 19.

Avila vide *Sancho*.

Austrian, what

l. 10. p. 21

Auruzius

l. 3. p. 62

Ayala vide *Martin*

Ayamont vide *Antonio Marquesse* of *Ayamont*.

Sentences in *A*.

WE may safely suspect those for *Antibours*, that are **ADVANTAGED** by the Design
l. 5. p. 102

They are most sensible of **ADVERSE** fortune, that have been in most felicitie l. 9. p. 48

The first **AGE** after the mixture of pleasure, seldom or never takes another die l. 10. p. 17^o

Baden the Marquesse sends an Embassage to the Governesse l. 6. p. 18

Baion l. 4. p. 87, 88

Baldwin ab *Angelo* a Jesuit refuseth the Oath pressed upon him l. 9. p. 40. is turned out of *Antwerp* with the rest of the Societie *ibid.*

Barbara Blomberg of *Ratisbone*, l. 10. p. 17. commended to the King by Don *John* dying p. 22. the decesseth p. 24.

Barbarino vide *Francisco* and *Raphael*

Barlamont surrendered to Don *John* l. 9. p. 57

Barlamont vide *Agidius*, *Florus*, *Lancelot*, and *Philip*

Baronius one of the Covenanters l. 5. p. 101

Bartolomeo Campio l. 7. p. 80. the famous Engeneer, in the siege of *Harlem* *ibid.*

Bartholmew Entefe, one of the first water-Gheuses l. 7. p. 71. turns Pirat *ibid.* is committed to prison l. 7. p. 80

Bartolomeo Miranda Archbishop of *Toledo* l. 1. p. 8

Bartolomeo Portia the Popes Legate to the Emperour l. 9. p. 39

Bartholmew-Eene in *France* l. 7. p. 76

Basta vide *Nicholao*

Batemburgers the Brothers, vide *Gibert* and *Theodorick*

Bavaria the Duke, vide *Albert*

Bavie vide *Christopher* and *Henry*

Beaver vide *Philip Lanoi*

Belgium, why called *Flanders*, l. 1. p. 14. the lower *Germany*, and the seventeen Provinces *ibid.* its situation, opulency, cities, towns, Villages, Militia, Navy, and Manufactures, *ibid.* their Government was ever like a free-state l. 2. p. 28

Belgick Provinces how they were all joyned under the Government of one Prince l. 1. p. 15. out of them *Charles* the fifth thought to erect a Kingdome l. 1. p. 15 he transferres them to his sonne *Philip* l. 1. p. 4. their division l. 1. p. 15. to what Persons the King intrusted them, l. 1. p. 16. they petition the King to take off the tenth part, l. 7. p. 67. they waver upon the news of the surprize of *Brill* by the Covenanters, l. 7. p. 72. they conspire against the Spaniards l. 8. p. 19, 20. they adhere to the States, onely two continuing faithfull to Don *John*, *ibid.* l. 9. p. 37, 48, 50

Beaumont, rendered to Don *John* l. 9. p. 57

Beavne, the refuge of Delinquents l. 3. p. 63

Benedictus Arias Montanus, l. 7. p. 64

Bergen vide *William* and *John Glimè*

Bergen op *Zoom* l. 8. p. 10. comes into the hand of the Estates l. 9. p. 48. the Garrison souldiers betray their Colonel p. 49.

Beringuero Requesenes Admirall for the King of *Spain* in *Sicily* l. 8. p. 15

Bernardo Fresneda, a *Franciscan*, Confessor to King *Philip* l. 6. p. 23. votes against a warre with the *Low-country* *ibid.*

Bernardino Mendoza sent Embassadour from the Duke of *Alva* to *Pius* the fifth l. 6. p. 26. Captain of foot in the *Low-country* service p. 30. at the battle of *Maseb* l. 8. p. 4. and of *Gemblic* l. 9. p. 49

Bernois l. 6. p. 26

Bersen sent by the Deputies of the Estates with part of their forces to *Antwerp* l. 8. p. 22

Biza vide *Theodoros*

Biz vide *Gaspard*

Binc sometimes the delight of *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, yields to Don *John* l. 9. p. 57. a stone upon the place engraved by King *Henry* the second of *France* when he demolished *Binc* *ibid.*

Birth of *Alexander Farnese* l. 9. p. 42. of *Granvell* l. 2. p. 39. of *William* Prince of *Orange* l. 2. p. 43. of *Margaret of Parma* l. 1. p. 20. of Prince *Maurice* of *Nassau* l. 4. p. 87. of *Odoardo* Cardinall *Farnese* l. 4. p. 95. of *Philip* the second of *Spain* l. 1. p. 9. of *Ranucio Farnese* Duke of *Parma* l. 4. p. 95.

Biscain man of warre l. 7. p. 65

Biserta stormed l. 10. p. 19

Blanch Queen of *France* l. 5. p.

Blanca Sforza daughter to *Maximilian* Duke of *Milain*, and wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, killed by a fall from her horse, as she was hunting l. 1. p. 21

Blazer vide *John*

Blosius vide *John* and *Lodwick*.

Bobadilla, a Captain l. 7. p. 75

Bohemian King, vide *Maximilian*

Boisot vide *Charles* and *Lodwick*

Bombey vide *Anthony*

Bommen in the Isle of *Sceldt* taken by the Royallists l. 8. p. 13

Bona Sforza, Mother to *Sigismund* King of *Poland*, dies l. 1. p. 13

Boniface Bishop of *Menix* l. 2. p. 30

A Book published in *Germany*, called the *Interim* l. 1. p. 9

A Book set forth by the Prince of *Orange* against the Duke of *Alva* l. 7. p. 58

Calvinisticall Books sent into *France* l. 3. p. 56. Designed for *Spain* l. 5. p. 137

Bourbon vide *Anthony*, *John* and *Lewis*

Borgia, a Captain l. 8. p. 8

Borluis of *Gant*, Speaker for the Estates l. 1. p. 25

Bolduc vide *Maximilian* and *John*

Bovines renders it self to Don *John* l. 9. p. 53, 54

A Boy with two heads four feet and four hands l. 7. p. 40

A Boy, with a Car in a Cradle l. 7. p. 69. Putting out the eyes of Quails l. 7. p. 43. killing Leverets *ibid.* of eleven years old begging arms and leave to go to the storming of a town l. 9. p. 44

Brabant the principall Province of the *Low-countryes* l. 1. p. 15. l. 7. p. 46. extorts liberty of conscience, l. 9. p. 47. its immunities, and privileges, l. 2. p. 2, 29, 30.

Passages and Sentences.

30, 31, 32. l. 5. p. 98. the head of that Province, *ibid.*
the towns there taken by the Prince of Orange reduced by the Duke of Alva l. 7. p. 77. their Deputies bought by the Prince of Orange l. 8. p. 17. are sent for to *Bruxels* by *Requesens* l. 8. p. 18. its Governour l. 1. p. 17. *Brabanters* refuse the Inquisition l. 2. p. 32. and new Bishops l. 3. p. 65. send Agents privately to Rome and Spain p. 66. deny to obey the Governesse's Edict propoled unto them, l. 5. p. 98. Create the Prince of Orange, *Quart* of their Province, l. 9. p. 36
Bracamonte vide *Consalvo*
Brandenburg, the Electour, sends an Embassadour to the Governesse l. 6. p. 18
Breda l. 5. p. 142. besieged by the States forces, l. 9. p. 48 sends a Messenger to Don *Iohn* who was discovered by the enemy, *ibid.* it is rendered p. 49. the mutiny and perfidiousnesse of the souldiers *ibid.* Don *Iohn* sends forces to relieve it but in vain, *ibid.* a Garrison of Spaniards put upon the town l. 7. p. 42
Bredford vide *Henry*, *Lancelot*, and *Robert*
Bride l. 7. p. 54
Brigance vide *Isabella* and *Mary*
Brill, a Port town of Holland l. 7. p. 72. taken by the *Ghesler*, *ibid.* upon the news whereof, many Cities revole *ibid.* the jesting clinch upon the name of *Brill* *ibid.*
Brims vide *Charles*

Bruges affronts the Inquisitors l. 4. p. 84
Bruswick vide *Erick*, *Philip*, and *Ernest*
Bruxels a capitall City of *Brabant* l. 5. p. 98. faithfully to the King l. 6. p. 31. their privileges l. 5. p. 98. their contumacie against the Duke of Alva's imposing taxes l. 7. p. 70. they keep off the Prince of Orange l. 7. p. 75. they mutiny l. 8. p. 18, 30. their fear after the battell at *Gembles* l. 9. p. 53
Buser l. 3. p. 55
Bura taken by assault, l. 8. p. 8
Buran the Count l. 8. p. 19
Burgundie by *Charles* the fifth assigned to King *Philip* l. 1. p. 4. the Dukes of *Burgundie*, p. 15. the Governour p. 17
Burgundians scale the fort at *Dalbem* and take it l. 10. p. 3
Burgundian Princes used in their funerall pomp to have a Crown set upon their heads, l. 10. p. 22. vide *Philip* and *Mary*
Baldus or *Buz*, one of the chief Cities of *Brabant* l. 5. p. 98. refuseth Count *Megan*, l. 6. p. 2. a tumult in the town *ibid.* they force their Bishop to flee l. 5. p. 31. they detain the Governesse's Embassadours l. 6. p. 2. they release and send them to her, p. 16. they threaten to revolt from the King p. 2. they are declared enemies p. 16. they crave pardon and render themselves, p. 17. they receive a Garrison, *ibid.*
Busa vide *Pedro*
Buero, a Prince l. 10. p. 23

Sentences in B.

BENEFITS please like flowers, while they are fresh l. 1. p. 14
Some mens natures are more obliged by receiving one then many BENEFITS l. 1. p. 24
When men fall from their hope, whatsoever comes short of their wishes looseth the title of a BENEFIT l. 2. p. 38
A BENEFIT more easily obligeth particulars, then a multitude l. 1. p. 22
A present BOUNTIE is the step to a future Rise l. 1. p. 34

Carcass of a girl eaten by her Parents l. 7. p. 30
Cabors the Bishop l. 2. p. 30
Cajsa *Bazael* brother to the Marquess of *Pescara* pursues the *Nassarians* l. 7. p. 55
Cajus, vide *Nicolaus*.
Caius Fabius his gallant attempt to passe through the enemies Camp, l. 9. p. 40
Callice taken by the French, l. 1. p. 11
Cooks and *Scullions* fire *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 22
Calvis tries how his books will take in France, l. 3. p. 56. brings in heresie there, *ibid.* is authour of the rumour at *Ambois* l. 3. p. 57
Calvinists imprisoned, l. 3. p. 62. condemned, *ibid.* rescued from the Executioner, *ibid.* carried back to prison, l. 3. p. 63. taken out by force, p. 64. executed, p. 65. they plunder the Low-countrie Churches, l. 5. p. 121. vide Image-breakers. They and their books are designed to trouble Religion in Spain, l. 5. p. 137. l. 7. p. 45. They have their Calvinistical Suppers, l. 5. p. 142. p. 143. they try to get out of *Antwerp* to *Osteruyl*, l. 6. p. 4. finding themselves shut up in the Town, they rage, *ibid.* they are enemies to the *Lutherans*, *ibid.* they make a mutiny in the Town, *ibid.* they petition for liberty of Religion to the Arch-duke and the Estates, l. 9. p. 41. which they extort, and seiz upon the Catholick Churches, *ibid.* One of them that jeered the Jesuits, finds his own house infected with the plague l. 9. p. 41
Cambray, the Bishop, restores things consecrated at *Antwerp* l. 6. p. 18
Cambray, l. 1. p. 25
Cambray the peace-making Citie, l. 1. p. 12. honoured with the Prerogative of an Archbishopsrick p. 18
Camilo Gonzaga Count de *Norulkia* l. 7. p. 60
Camilla a *Mont* comes with the Duke of *Alva* into the

Low-countrys, l. 6. p. 30. his moderation at the sack of *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 24. he fights and defeats the French l. 9. p. 57. in the expedition of *Limburg*, l. 10. p. 1. he is beaten off at *Dalbem*, l. 10. p. 3. commands Horse in the battell of *Rimenans*, l. 10. p. 10. pursues, and is drawn by the enemy to their camp, *ibid.* the gallantry of his Troop in sustaining the charge of the enemy, l. 10. p. 12.
Campillo Chieffinat l. 10. p. 13
Campin, vide *Frederick* Lord *Perenat*
Cannon l. 7. p. 76. six taken by the enemy that had their names from the first six elements of musick, recovered l. 7. p. 56. nayled, l. 8. p. 8. attempted and taken, l. 7. p. 55. Master of the train of Artillery, vide *Gabriel* *Serbellano*, *Crispian*, the *Barlamons*, *Philip* *Stavelley*, and *Valentine* *Paydieu*.
Captain Campin, an Engineer, l. 6. p. 21
Canstonet, vide *Thamou*.
Capital besieged by the *Gauls* l. 9. p. 40.
Carpinus sent by the Deputies of the Estates with part of their forces to *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 22. taken by the Spaniard, l. 8. p. 23. exchanged, l. 9. p. 31
Carafa, vide *Marius*.
Cardinal, *Alexandrino*, l. 7. p. 43. *Bonymeo* vide *St. Charles*, *Emmerge* vide *Odoardo*, *Granuel* vide *Antonie* *Perceus*, *Lorain* vide *Carlo*, *Pascha* vide *Francisco*, *Spinosa* vide *Didaco*.
Cardinalists in the Low-countrys, l. 4. p. 81. l. 5. p. 103
Carlo brother to *Refforus* *Robot* l. 7. p. 46
Centron vide *St. Tryden*
Charlotta *Bourban* wife to the Prince of Orange, l. 3. p. 54
Charles Altapes sonne to Count *Barlamont*, Captain of a Troop of Horse l. 10. p. 5
Charles the fifth goes from Spain to Germany to be crowned Emperour, and so into Italy, l. 2. p. 27, 33. l. 10. p. 21.

B

A Table of the most remarkable

- p.21. his Military Expeditions, l.1.p.48, 9, 15. l.2.p.34. l.6.p.30. l.10.p.14, 21. he quiets the mutinie at *Gant*, l.5.p.132. l.6.p.24. asketh the Duke of *Alva* what punishment he thinks due to the *Gantois*, l.7.p.39. his words concerning the magnitude of *Gant*, *ibid.* and the nature of the *Low-country* men, l.6.p.23. he thinks of reducing the *Low-country* into the form of a Kingdome, l.1.p.15. why he forbore to do it, p.16. how he amplified the Principalitie of the *Netherlands*, *ibid.* he meant to have encreased the Bishopricks of the *Low-country*, l.1.p.17. why he went not on with his designe *ibid.*
- Charles* the fifth, Prince of *Burgundy*, abrogates the innovation of taxing the *Low-country* at the hundredth part, l.7.p.69, 70. he prepares Edicts and Arms against the *Lutherans*, l.2.p.34. l.9.p.42. his Decrees and Edicts published, l.4.p.96. they are thought to be severe, and breach of privilege to the *Brabanters* l.5.p.98. they are defended, l.5.p.104, 105. qualified, l.5.p.106. sent into *Spain*, l.5.p.114. He begets his daughter *Margaret* at *Oudenard* in the *Low-country*, l.1.p.20. and *Don Iohn* of *Austria* at *Ratisbone* in *Germany*, l.1.p.16. with whom he is compared, p.19. he espouseth *Margaret* to *Alexander Medices*, l.1.p.21. and after his death to *Octavio Farnese*, p.22. his wife *Isabella* of *Portugal*, l.10.p.17. by whom he had *Philip* the second, l.9.p.43. his parity and disparity with King *Philip*, l.2.p.38. his daughter *Mary*, l.7.p.43. he makes his Will at *Ausburg*, l.1.p.10. prepares to resigne his Kingdome, p.3. Creates his sonne *Philip* master of the Order of the Golden Fleece, *ibid.* gives him the *Low-country* and *Burgundy*, l.1.p.4. then all his Kingdomes, p.5. repeats his own actions, l.1.p.4. His speech at the resignation of his Kingdome to his sonne, *ibid.* he gives away the Empire, p.5. he sends the Imperiall Crown and Scepter by the Prince of *Orange* to his brother *Ferdinand*, *ibid.* l.2.p.44. his desire to transfer the Kingdome of the *Romanes* to his son *Philip*, l.1.p.5. from *Zeland* he weighs anchours for *Spain*, *ibid.* The ship he sailed in, after he was landed, sunk immediately, *ibid.* his words when he came on shore, *ibid.* a suspicion that his mind was changed, l.1.p.5. he visits *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, p.6. builds himself a house adjoining to the Monastery of *St. Justus*, *ibid.* his family and furniture, l.2.p.6. his daily exercises in that solitude, *ibid.* his Whip, or discipline, died in his blood, much revered, p.7. he keeps the anniversary of his mothers death, *ibid.* he celebrates his own Funerall, *ibid.* falls sick, l.1.p.7. discovers his son *Iohn* to King *Philip*, l.10.p.17. dies religiously, l.1.p.8. The prodigies at his death, l.1.p.8. the years of his Government, *ibid.* the severall conjectured Causes of his Resignation, l.1.p.8.
- Charles* of *Austria*, Prince of *Spain*, l.7.p.43. his nature *ibid.* not approved of by his Grandfather *Charles* the fifth, l.1.p.6. his education, l.7.p.43. l.10.p.18. sent to *Alcala*, l.7.p.43. falls from a ladder, *ibid.* is recovered by the help of *St. Didacus*, l.7.p.43. *Isabella* daughter to *Henry* the second of *France* is designed for his wife, l.7.p.45, 68. so is the daughter of the Emperour *Maximilian*, p.68. how unlike he was to his father, l.7.p.43. his hatred to his fathers favourites, *ibid.* his patronage of the *Low-country* men, l.6.p.22. l.7.p.43. his purpose to steal away for the *Low-country*, l.7.p.44. which he imparted to some friends, *ibid.* discovered to his father by *Don Iohn*, l.7.p.44. he endeavours to fright the Duke of *Alva* from his *Low-country* expedition, *ibid.* being to take horse in the morning, he is in the night seized on by his father, l.7.p.44. committed to his chamber, p.45. his infelicity, *ibid.* and Death, p.45. the causes of his imprisonment and death, *ibid.* He, *Don Iohn*, and *Alexander Farnese*, compared together l.10.p.18
- Charles* Count *Barlamont* Governour of *Namur*, l.1.p.16. the terror of Religion, l.10.p.5. his sonnes, *ibid.* his known fidelity to the King, l.1.p.25. l.3.p.69. l.10.p.5. one of *Granvels* party, l.4.p.81. manifests his readines to take arms for the King, l.5.p.129. informs the Governes what the Knights of the Order had designed, l.3.p.69. when Duke *Archebott* and Count *Egmont* fell out, he mediated between them, l.3.p.72. his vote against the Covenanters, l.5.p.103. he gives the name of *Gheses*, by way of contempt, to the petitioning Covenanters, l.5.p.109. takes the Oath of allegiāce, l.6.p.11. is by force taken out of the Senate, and imprisoned in *Bruxels*, l.8.p.20. dies at *Namur*, l.10.p.5. his Obsequies, *ibid.* his Encomion *ibid.*
- Charles* *Boisot*, Governour of *Zeland*, sent by the Prince of *Orange* into *Duveland*, l.8.p.10. slain by the Royalists p.13
- St. Charles*, Cardinall *Borromeo* l.8.p.15
- Charles* *Brinē* Count *Megan* Governour of *Gelderland* and *Zutphen*, l.1.p.17. l.2.p.41. gives the Governes intelligence of the Lords conspiracy, l.5.p.99. and of souldiers levied in *Saxony*, l.7.p.47. discovers to her the Covenanters, l.5.p.101. his vote in Council, l.5.p.103. sent before by the Governes to quiet the sedition at *Antwerp*, l.5.p.118. and to the *Buzs*, and *Macfrieht*, l.6.p.2. *Megan* (printed *Mela*) takes the Oath of Allegiāce, l.9.p.11. beats the Covenanting Rebels out of *Amsterdam*, l.6.p.19. drives them into *Waterland*, *ibid.* is highly favoured by the Governesse, p.48. governs *Frisland* in the place of Count *Aremberg* deceased, *ibid.* l.7.p.58. his Votive monument at *Swoll* in *Leeward*, l.7.p.48. he dies, *ibid.*
- Charles* *Groi* Marquess of *Havre*, returns from *Spain* to the *Low-country*, l.8.p.19. sent by the Deputies of the Estates with an Army to *Antwerp*, l.8.p.22. commands a Wing of Horse, at the battel of *Gemblic*, l.9.p.50.
- Charles* *Davallo*, son to *Vasilius*, Captain of a troop of Horse in the *Low-country*, l.6.p.30
- Charles* *Egmont* Duke of *Gelder*, l.1.p.19
- Charles* *Farnese* twin-brother to *Alexander Farnese*, l.9.p.43
- Charles* *Fugger*, a Colonell, betrayed by his souldiers, l.9.p.48, 49
- Charles* the seventh of *France*, his difference with his son *Lewis*, l.7.p.44
- Charles* the eighth of *France*, what an Oath he forced upon the *Pisans* and *Florentines*, l.9.p.34
- Charles* the ninth of *France*, l.3.p.58. at *Baion*, l.4.p.87. his marriage with *Elizabeth* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, l.4.p.88. he desires assistance against the Hereticks, l.3.p.55, 56. his victory, l.3.p.61. he joyns with the King of *Spain* against his *Low-country* Rebels, l.5.p.134. He denies the *Spanish* armie passage through the Territory of *Lions*, l.6.p.26. is not perswaded by the *Hugonots* to fight with the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* sends for auxiliaries into the *Low-country*, l.6.p.34. which are granted, *ibid.* fights at *St. Denis*, l.6.p.35. sends *Cassé*, Colonel of Horse, to assist the Duke of *Alva*, l.7.p.46. A rumour that he hath concluded a peace with the Hereticks, and would send men into the *Low-country*, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*, l.7.p.73. he commands the *Hugonots* to be massacred, l.7.p.76
- Charles* Duke of *Gelderland*, l.7.p.47
- Charles* Count *Lalin*, l.2.p.41. l.3.p.75
- Carolo* *Largilla*, l.8.p.2
- Charles* Duke of *Lorain*, l.1.p.20
- Charles* Cardinal of *Lorain*, l.3.p.56. l.3.p.61, 75. l.7.p.76
- Charles* *Alamfelt* son to *Peter Ernest*, l.4.p.92. chidden by his father for joyning with the Covenanters, l.5.p.103. he forsakes them, l.5.p.119. besiegeth *Valenciens*, l.6.p.10. is at the battel of *Gemblic*, l.9.p.50. his Regi-

Passages and Sentences.

Regiment at *Bovines*, l. 9. p. 53. attempts *Nivel* and is beat off, l. 9. p. 56. the King gives him money, l. 10. p. 7
Charles, the souldier or fighter, l. 1. p. 15
Carolo Scotti, a Count, l. 9. p. 45
Charles Tjssac, the Kings Procurator in *Spain* for business of the *Low-countrys*, l. 3. p. 73, 74
Casembrot, vide *John*.
Casimir, brother to the *Palsgrave*, vide *John*.
Castano, vide *Giovanni Baptista*.
Castile, its Arms, l. 4. p. 78. President of the Council of *Castile*, l. 4. p. 82. l. 6. p. 23
Castle in the water, l. 8. p. 20
Catharine of *Medices* Queen-Mother of *France*, desires assistance against the Hereticks from *Philip* the second of *Spain*, l. 3. p. 57. the like from *Margaret* of *Parma*, Governesse of the *Low-countrys*, l. 3. p. 60. she comes to the Conference at *Baion*, l. 4. p. 87. the death of her sonne *Henry* foretold her, l. 1. p. 13
Catharine daughter to King *Philip* the second, l. 4. p. 82
Catholics and *Lutherans* joyne against the *Calvinists*, l. 6. p. 4. the *Catholics* defeat the *Hugonots* at *Moncoure*, l. 7. p. 64. what they think of the Duke of *Alva's* departure from the *Low-countrys*, l. 7. p. 81. they consent to the Pacification of *Gent*, l. 8. p. 21. they adhere to the Estates, l. 9. p. 37. they, together with the Hereticks, take the Oath of fidelity to the Arch-duke *Matthias*, l. 9. p. 39. they are expelled the *Low-countrys* by the Hereticks, l. 9. p. 41. their Churches possessed by the *Calvinists*, *ibid.*
Cathey Governour of *Ulusung*, l. 6. p. 2
Causes of the *Low-countrys* tumults, vide *Tumult*
Cessation of Arms, l. 9. p. 49
Cetona a Town, l. 8. p. 14
Chiapino Vitelli Marquess of *Cetona*, marcheth with the Duke of *Alva*, as his Camp-master into the *Low-countrys*, l. 6. p. 30. defends *Gravinghen*, l. 7. p. 54. desirous to fight th' *Enemie*, l. 7. p. 61, 62. falls upon an Ambuscado, l. 7. p. 60. encounters the *enemie*, and worsts him, *ibid.* prohibited by the Duke of *Alva* to move against the Prince of *Orange*, l. 7. p. 61. falls upon a Battalion of the Prince of *Orange's* severed from the rest, p. 61. fights upon the banks of *Geta*, *ibid.* hurts *Coll. Lourevill*, p. 62. wrests the *enemies* Colours out of the *Ensignes* hand, p. 62. his courage commended by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* sent by the Duke of *Alva* to the Queen of *England*, l. 7. p. 66. solicited to revolt by *Coligny*, l. 7. p. 73. in a rage throws *Coligny's* letters into the fire, p. 74. goes to besiege *Mons*, l. 7. p. 79. is wounded, *ibid.* his bold gallantry, p. 79. he takes many towns in *Holland*, l. 8. p. 8. is made Generall of the *Zeland* expedition by Requester, p. 9. besiegeth *Zuricee*, l. 8. p. 13. dieth, *ibid.* his Funeralls, l. 8. p. 14. his Corps carried into his Countrey, *ibid.* his Encomion, *ibid.*
Christian King of *Denmark*, l. 1. p. 13
Christiane daughter to the King of *Denmark*, Dutchesse of *Lorain*, makes a Peace between *Spain* and *France*, l. 1. p. 12. Hath the generall wishes to be Governesse of the *Low-Countrys*, l. 1. p. 19. what hinders her, p. 20.
Christiern King of *Denmark*, l. 1. p. 13
Christopher Assonvill a Senatur, l. 9. p. 99. l. 5. p. 137. l. 7. p. 52, 57. employed by the Duke of *Alva* to the Queen of *England*, p. 66. His relation, l. 8. p. 19, 22. he is forcibly taken out of the Senate, and committed Prisoner, l. 8. p. 20
Christopher Bavier sonne to the Elector *Palatine*, General at the battell of *Mooch*, l. 8. p. 23
Christopher Fabricius the Apostata, executed, l. 4. p. 84
Christopher Mondragonio Captain of a troop of Horse, l. 6. p. 30. his gallant and bold attempt, *ibid.* he attends the Queen with his Regiment into *Spain*, l. 7. p. 69. General at the wading over the sea to *Goes*,

where he raised the siege, l. 7. p. 77. he takes the Isle of *Zuit-Beverland*, *ibid.* defends *Middelburg* against the *Zelanders*, l. 8. p. 2. forced to render it by famine, *ibid.* how much the *enemie* honoured him, *ibid.* exchanged for *Aldegund*, p. 2. Commands in chief at Sea, in the *Zeland* Expedition, l. 8. p. 9. sayls to the Isle of *Philip-land*, l. 8. p. 9, 10. thence to *Duveland*, *ibid.* boards the sea on foot to *Sceldt*, l. 8. p. 13. the citie of *Zuricee*, the Head of the Island rendered to him, *ibid.* the mutinous souldiers choose another Generall in his place, l. 8. p. 17. the courage of his wife in holding the Fort at *Gant*, l. 9. p. 31. victorious at the battell of *Gemblic*, l. 9. p. 51. storms *Siehem*, l. 9. p. 54. is preserved from fire miraculously, l. 10. p. 5. the King payes his pension, l. 10. p. 7
Chius Theodorus, l. 9. p. 27
Churches, how they came to be plundered in the *Low-countrys*, l. 5. p. 121. when the sacrilege began, *ibid.* how it continued, p. 123. how great a losse in the principall Church of *Antwerp*, l. 5. p. 126. restored to its use, p. 130. l. 6. p. 28. destruction of Churches in *Flanders*, l. 5. p. 126. Churches granted to Hereticks, l. 5. p. 130. restored to Catholics, l. 6. p. 10. seized by *Calvinists*, l. 9. p. 41. vide *Iconomachy*, l. 5. p. 125
Ciacconio vide *Pedro*.
Cimace, the Prince, l. 8. p. 19
Cimace, the Town taken by assault, l. 9. p. 57. the Fort rendered, *ibid.*
Cittadella, a Captain, and an Engineer, released by the *Spaniards*, l. 8. p. 2. vide *Francesco*.
Cities in the *Low-countrys* numbered, l. 1. p. 14. Cities the principall of *Brabant*, [not the *Nether-lands*] l. 5. p. 98. their immunities and privileges, l. 2. p. 28, 29, 30, 31. They mutiny against the *Spanish* Garrisons, l. 2. p. 28, 29, 30. they revolt from the King, l. 7. p. 72. submit to the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* are reduced, l. 7. p. 77
Clara de Medicts, sister to *Pius* the fourth, l. 8. p. 9
Clara Isabella Eugenia, her birth, l. 5. p. 132. she is married to *Albert Rodolphus* the Emperours brother, *ibid.*
Claudia Chalon wife to *Henry* of *Nassau*, l. 2. p. 42
Claudius Civilis, l. 1. p. 2. l. 7. p. 58
Claudius Hauften, l. 9. p. 35
Claudius Vergius Lord of *Camplis*, Governour of *Burgundie*, l. 2. p. 17
Clement the seventh, P. M. l. 1. p. 9, 21
Clement Marot turned *David's* Psalms into French metre, l. 3. p. 63. his manners, *ibid.* he flies to *Bearna*, *ibid.* returns to *Paris*, *ibid.* goes to *Geneva*, *ibid.* dies, l. 3. p. 63
Cleveland, the Duke, vide *William*.
Cobell, l. 7. p. 57
Coligny, vide *Gasper* and *Andelat*.
Colen the Elector dies, l. 1. p. 14
Columna, vide *Marc. Antonio Columna*.
Columnne of Marble engraved at *Cuilemburg* house, l. 7. p. 42. In the Prince of *Oranges* colours, with a Motto, l. 7. p. 62.
Comet before the death of *Charles* the fifth, l. 1. p. 8. another, forerunner to a Warre, l. 9. p. 49. Vide *Prodigies*.
Commissary of Horse, the first in the *Low-countrys*, l. 6. p. 30
Comparison of *Anna's* Memory with the Duke of *Alva*, l. 7. p. 83. with Count *Arrenberg*, l. 7. p. 48. of the defeat of *Alminius* with that of *Lewis* de *Nassau*, l. 7. p. 56, & 57. of *Charles* the fifth with his sonne *Philip* the second, l. 2. p. 38. of *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, with Don *John* of *Austria*, and *Alexander Farnese*, l. 10. p. 10. of *Catharine* de *Medices* with *Margaret* of *Parma*, l. 3. p. 61. of the Cardinal of *Lorain* with Cardinal *Granvel*, *ibid.* of Count *Egmont* with the Prince of *Orange*, l. 3. p. 70. of Don *John* of *Austria*, with *Charles*

A Table of the most remarkable

Charles the fifth, and Germanicus Cefar. 1.10. p.21. of Captain *Peterus* with *Petrus* the Centurion, 1.8.p.12. of the old *Belgick* Warre with the new, 1.7. p.56. of the French with the Low-countrie tumults, 1.3.p.61. Commander in Chief, or Governour of the Low-countrie, 1.10.p.11, 13. of the Camp or camp-master, 1.6.p.30. of th' *Ottoman* Fleet, 1.8.p.14. of the Kings navy, 1.8.p.15. vide Fleet. Of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, vide Order and Knights. Of the Lancers, 1.8.p.4. of the sea, 1.1.p.17. 1.7.p.69. 1.8.p.13. 1.9.p.44. of the life-Guard, 1.6.p.33. of the Kings Exchequer, vide Treasurer. of the Musketeeres, 1.9.p.51. Combination against *Alva*, 1.7.p.46. against *Granvel*, 1.1. p.67, 68, 71, 72. of the people, and of the Merchants. Vide Conspiracy. Commission for the Government of the Low-countrie not signed before his death by *Requesenes*, 1.8.p.18. Complaints of the Low-countrie men against the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.70. against *Don John* of *Austria*, 1.10.p.20. against the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7.p.75. against the Spanish forces, 1.2. p.28. and 1.3.p.50. of the Covenanters against the Governesse, 1.5. p.108. of Count *Egmont* against the King, 1.4. p.96. of the old Bishops against the new, 1.2. p.20. of the Governes against Count *Egmont*, 1.5. p.123. of her to the King, 1.4.p.136. of the Spaniards against the Estates, 1.9.p.30. of *Don John* against the King, 1.10.p.20. of the Lords against the Spaniards, 1.2. p.38. of them and others against the new Bishops, 1.2. p.29. of the Prince of *Orange* against the Emperour, 1.5. p.133. of him and Count *Egmont* against the King, 1.3. p.68. & 1.4.p.104. both chains against *Granvel*, 1.3. p.75. of the Governours of Provinces against the Governesses Edicts, 1.5. p.98. of *Philip* the second against his father *Charles*, 1.1.p.9. of the people against the Inquisition, 1.5. p.105. and against the imprisonment of the Lords, 1.6. p.33. of the Senators against the Inquisition and the Emperours Edicts, 1.5. p.103, 104. of the *Sorbon* Doctors against *Mavots* Poetrie, 1.3.p.63. vide *Hetred*. Council of twelve constituted to examine Delinquents in the Low-countrie, 1.7. p.41. they impeach the Lords, *ibid.* condemn them, 1.7.p.43. and many Church-robbers and disturbers of the Peace, *ibid.* Council of State governs the seventeen Provinces, 1.8.p.26. and ruines them, p.17. Council of *France* begun by *Paul* the third, 1.9.p.42. promulgated by *Pius* the fourth, 1.4. p.85. received by *Philip* the second of *Spain*, not refused for his private difference with the Pope, *ibid.* the difficulty in settling it, 1.4.p.86. an Edict for its observation published by the Governesse *Margaret* of *Parma*, 1.4. p.96. which occasions a revivall of the Lords conspiracy, 1.4.p.98. Condemnation of the Covenanters, 1.7. p.42. of *Heretics*, 1.3. p.62. vide Punishments. Conde, vide *Levin*. Condon, a town, 1.2.p.31. Conference of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, and the *Queens* at *Sejon*, 1.4. p.87. its causes, *ibid.* what was acted there, p.88. how it frightened the heretics, *ibid.* Confessor to *Charles* the fifth, 1.1.p.7. to *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, 1.7. p.47. to *Margaret* of *Parma*, 1.1.p.23. of *Philip* the second, 1.6.p.23. Confessions of *Arthur* prescribed to all the Covenanters at *Amstardam*, 1.5.p.138. a new one conceived, and offered to the Emperour, *ibid.* the *German* heretics requiring that it should be embraced in the Low-countrie, 1.5.p.138. *ibid.* 1.5.p.130, 131. Confessors *Brunsmont*, Colonel of the *Sardinians*, 1.6.p.30. of *John* of *Nassau*, 1.7. p.47. his Regimente re- venged the defeat of Count *Arenberg*, with the firing

of many villages, 1.7. p.57. he and his Regimente punished, *ibid.* & p.58. by the Duke of *Alva* he is restored to his command, 1.7.p.58. Conscience carefully purified, 1.1.p.87. Counsels of State, Justice, and the Finances 1.1.p.25. Council of Warre, vide Warre. Counsels fraudulent, 1.9.p.34. & 1.10.p.20. impious, 1.9.p.26, 27. of the Kings of *France* and *Spain* against the heretics, 1.2. p.46. of expelling the *Romans*, 1.8.p.21. of prudent persons about *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, 1.7.p.44. vide Consultation. Conistories of heretics, 1.5. p.13. disturbed, 1.6. p.7, 8. & 1.7.p.42. Conspiracy of the *Armenians* with the *Towney* *Gheuses*, 1.6.p.6. of the severen Provinces against the Spaniards, 1.8.p.21. of the *German* Princes with the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7. p.58. against *Don John* life, 1.10.p.2. vide Combination. Conspiracy of the Low-countrie men, from what Originall. vide Lords, Gentlemen, & *Gheuses*. Consultation of admitting the Covenanters, 1.5. p.103, 104. of the Kings Expedition into the Low-countrie, 1.6.p.22. of expelling the Spaniards in the *Netherlands*, 1.3.p.51. & 1.9.p.27. against sacrilegious plunderers, 1.5.p.127. Contention of the Low-countrie Lords, 1.2. p.38. of severall Nations in the Camp, 1.10.p.22. Controversie touching the Conjunction of goods, and Institution of Bishops in the Low-countrie, 1.2.p.29, 30, &c. defined by the Universitie of *Louain*, 1.2. p.31, 32. between the Duke of *Alva* and the Queen of *England*, 1.7.p.65, 66. between the Embassadors of *France* and *Spain*, 1.4.p.85. Convention of the Knights of the Golden Fleece at *Gant*, 1.2.p.46. of the Princes of the Empire at *Frankford*, 1.3.p.71. of the Cardinals at *Rome*, 1.4. p.81. of the Estates in the Low-countrie, 1.1.p.18. of the Covenanters at *Amsterdam*, 1.5. p.137. at *Breda*, p.142. of the heretics at *Geneva*, 1.3. p.56. of the Low-countrie Lords at *Dendermond*, 1.5. p.134. of the *Gheuses* at *Centron* or *St-Truden*, 1.5. p.119. of the Electors at *Worms*, 1.3.p.34. Conventicles of heretics in the night, 1.5.p.116. Convening of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, 1.3.p.69. the Estates General not permitted to convene, 1.3.p.68, 69. 1.8.p.20. Covenant of the Gentlemen engagers against Religion, 1.5. p.101. published in severall languages, *ibid.* Country-men rout the Image-breakers, 1.5.p.122. and their souldiers, 1.7. p.95. as *Lewis* of *Nassau* washed his wounds in the *Mose*, they killed him, 1.8.p.3. their forces, 1.6.p.7. *Cornelius* from a black-smith come to be a Calvinistical Preacher, 1.6. p.7. Commander in chief of the *Armenians* in *Flanders*, *ibid.* *Cornelius Vandem*, 1.8.p.24. *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*, 1.1.p.205. & 1.9.p.14. *Coff*, vide *Arthur*. *Covarruvius*, vide *Didero*. Courtiers subtil to ingratiate themselves, 1.2.p.40. slippery-footed, 1.3. p.74. a Court-prodigie, 1.1. p.3, 8. their phantastical manners, 1.1. p.8. their derision of the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7. p.61. the change of their faces, 1.4. p.99. they follow the Princes example, 1.10.p.21. vide *Antony* *Pernot* *Granvel*, and the Sentences in C. *Cressomerius* a famous Engineer, 1.6. p.6. & 1.7.p.54. runs a Trench to the walls of *Valencius*, 1.6. p.10. is Governour of *Graveling*, 1.7.p.80. dyes, *ibid.* *Crimpen*, 1.8.p.13. *Croi*, a house great in piety towards the blessed Virgin of *Wald*, 1.5.p.111. *Croi*, vide *Charles*, *John*, and *Philip*. Cuilem-

Passages and Sentences.

Guillemburg vide *Florence Palantius*.

Court of Justice burnt down at *Antwerp*, l.8.p.23.

Curtius Comes Martinengo, Captain of a foot company,

l.6.p.30. not present at Count *Aremberg's* defeat, l.7.

p.47. he pursues the flying *Nassavians*, l.7.p.55.

Cyprian Warr, l.5.p.139.

Sentences in C.

Princes names, are always registred in the *Kalander* of publick **CALAMITIES** l.5.p.128
CALUMNIES and defamations without any distinction of truth or falshood, are ever greedily entertained, and as greedily communicated, l.5.p.117
 In **CONSULTATIONS**, reason is not at all times permitted to make a free Election, l.9.p.28
 Some evils cured by **CONTEMPT** l.4.p.79
 Though Women conceal their other Virtues, yet they may glory in their **CHASTITY** l.4.p.93
 The fire of **CIVIL Warr**, can never be extinguished without the Conquerours losse, l.6.p.23
COMPLAINTS though just, loose part of that Justice if they be importune, l.5.p.104
 Power seldom grows old at **COURT** l.3.p.55
 Favour at **COURT** hath a better face then inside l.4.p.79
 No virtue is lesse raised at **COURT**, then that which is most feared l.4.p.79
 It is hard to deceive the **COURT** l.2.p.40
 Long prosperity makes not **COURTIERS** more secure of favour, then impatient of affronts. l.4.p.80

D.

Devils accompany Church-Robbers l.5.p.125
 obesse their bodies l.6.p.17
Dalhem summoned, l.10.p.3. the Fort besieged and taken, *ibid*, the unhappy fortune of a maid *ibid*
Danianus Morales a Captain l.8.p.23
Damme a town in *Frisland* surprized by the *Nassavians* l.7.p.47. recovered by the *Spaniards* *ibid*.
 Death suffered gallantly,
Denmark the King l.1.p.13. & l.3.p.53
Drusio vide *Cesar*, *Charles*.
Duvenry receives a garrison of *Spaniards* l.6.p.20. & l.7.p.34.
David secretary to the Duke of *Parma* l.10.p.23
David the Prophets psalmes sung by the Heriticks, l.3.p.61, 63, & l.5.p.124. prohibited by Catholics l.3.p.63
Delph in *Holland*, l.7.p.77. receives a garrison of *Spaniards* l.6.p.20
Delphina vide *Flaminio*
 Deputies of the Estates govern the *Low-countrys* vide *Estates*
Dordendius Gallus l.7.p.80
Diana Phalangia a *Surrentine* l.10.p.22
 Destruction of *Nardhem* l.7.p.73
 Diary of *Bartels*
 B. *Didacus* restores *Charles* Prince of *Spain* to his health l.7.p.43
Didaco of *Austria* Prince of *Spain* l.7.p.83
Didaco Cardinall *Spinosa* the Grand-Inquisitor for causes of Faith, l.6.p.22. President of the Councill of *Castile*, p.23. & l.7.p.46. called the *Spanish* Monarch, *ibid*. votes for a warr with the *Low-countrys* l.6.p.22. presses the King to punish C. *Egmont* and C. *Horne*, l.7.p.51. looses the Kings favour l.3.p.74
Didaco de *Chiaves*, Confessor to *Charles* Prince of *Spain* l.7.p.45
Didaco *Covarruvia* Bishop of *Segovia* and President of

Castile l.4.p.82
Didaco Gusman a Silva Embassador from *Philip* the second to the Queen of *England* l.4.p.94
Didaco Hurtado Mendoza l.10.p.6
 Difference between the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Ebolo*, l.6.p.23. between Count *Attempse*, and the Governour of *Antwerp*, l.8.p.17. between Don *Iohn* of *Austria*, and *Venerio*, l.9.p.49. between the *Burbons*, *Colignies*, *Momorancies*, and *Guises*, l.3.p.56. between Saint *Charles Borromeo* and *Requesenes*, l.8.p.15. between *Charles* the seventh of *France*, and his Son *Lewis*, l.7.p.44. between the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans*, l.6.p.4. between Count *Egmont* and Duke *Areschor*, l.3.p.72. and Count *Aremberg*, p.73. and Count *Hochstrat*, l.6.p.14, 15. between Cardinall *Granvell*, and the Arch-Bishop of *Naples*, l.4.p.81, 82. Count *Laline*, l.3.p.75. between Pope *Pius* the fourth, and *Philip* the second of *Spain*, l.4.p.85, &c. between *Philip* the second, and his Son *Charles*, l.7.p.43.
Diesthem taken by the Prince of *Orange* l.7.p.75
 Don *Iohn* of *Austria* commands *Alexander Farnese* to besiege it, l.9.p.54. 'tis rendred, p.55. mercy shewed to the town, *ibid*. the garrison take pay of the King *ibid*.
Dilemburg the ancient seate of the *Nassaus*, l.7.p.77
Dioctesian the Emperour, l.1.p.6
 Discipline of War observed by the Army l.6.p.31
 Disputation between a *Jesuite* and Heriticks, l.6.p.15
Doway, l.6.p.37
Dort or *Dordrecht* revolts from the *Spaniard*, l.7.p.72
Dreux a Town of *Normandy*
 Duell between two *French* Gentlemen, l.1.p.13
 Dui passes the *Mose*, l.7.p.46. is defeated and taken, *ibid*. condemned to loose his head l.7.p.49
Dullart a Bay l.7.p.56, & 47
Duacher a Pilot, l.6.p.19. his ship taken, *ibid*.
Duveland, an Island drown'd by the sea, l.8.p.10. inhabited, *ibid*. the sea about it waded over, *ibid*. the Island taken by the *Spaniards*, l.8.p.13

Sentences in D.

DANGER it self, the best remedy for danger l.5.p.113
 Men in like **DANGER** easily associate l.5.p.137
 Between the businesse of life, and day of **DEATH**, a space ought to be interposed l.1.p.10
 Resolutions are given with greater authority at a **DISTANCE** l.4.p.88

C

Ic

A Table of the most remarkable

It is more **DISREPUTATION** to fall from a place of eminence, then never to have been advanced

l. 10. p. 15

E.

E Arthquake in *Asia*, [insert in the reading, 12 Cities of *Asia*] l. 5. p. 127. in *Brabant* l. 7. p. 40. swallows 33. Villages l. 7. p. 47.
Ebolo the Prince vide *Roderick* or *Ruigomez*
Eclipse of the Sun l. 1. p. 22
Ednam a town l. 7. p. 72
Edith of the Duke of *Alva* for exacting of tribute, l. 7. p. 65. & 67. mitigated, l. 7. p. 70. of *Charles* the fifth at *Wormes* against *Luther* and the Hereticks, l. 2. p. 34. seven times renewed, *ibid.* revived and published, l. 4. p. 96. reprehended, l. 5. p. 1. l. 5. p. 105. & 106. defended, l. 5. p. 105. mitigated, l. 7. p. 106.
Of *Charles* the ninth of *France* against the Hereticks, l. 5. p. 138. against the *Germans*, that should oppose the *Spaniards* in the *Low-countrys*, l. 5. p. 134.
Of *Francis* the first of *France*, against *Marot's* Poetry, l. 3. p. 63. of *Margaret* of *Parma* for religion, l. 4. p. 96. against the Hereticks that dwell at *Antwerp*, l. 5. p. 117. against their sermons, *ibid.* against their exercises, *ibid.* against Fugitives from the *Low-countrys*, l. 6. p. 34. against the *Low-country* men that should bear armes against *France*, *ibid.* against the *French* that should fight in the *Low-countrys*, l. 5. p. 134. of the *Royall* Senate, against the souldiers at *Aelft*, or *Aloof*, l. 8. p. 18. of the *States* against the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* l. 9. p. 39. of the pacification at *Gant*, l. 9. p. 30.
Edward Horsey Governour of the *Ile* of *Wight*, l. 9. p. 33
Edward Prince of *Portugall* l. 4. p. 92
Edmond a town in *Holland* l. 7. p. 53
Egmont vide *Charles*, *Lamoraal*, and *Philip*.
Elections of new Bishops in the *Low-countrys*, l. 1. p. 18. made Reversioners to Abbats by *Pius* the fourth, vide Bishops and Abbats.
Electors of the Empire, of *Brandenburg*, l. 6. p. 18. of *Cole*, l. 1. p. 14. of *Mentz*, l. 5. p. 134. the *Palsgrave*, l. 1. p. 14. l. 5. p. 134. the King of *Bohemia*, l. 7. p. 43. the Duke of *Saxony*, l. 6. p. 18. *Trier*, l. 5. p. 134.
Electo chosen by the *Mutineeres*, l. 8. p. 5. & p. 8. & p. 22.
Elogy of *Alva*, l. 7. p. 82. & 83. of *Avemberg*, l. 7. p. 47. of *Don Iohn*, l. 10. p. 21. 22. of Count *Egmont*, l. 7. p. 53. of *Cardinall Granvell*, l. 4. p. 83. of *Lewis* of *Nassau*, l. 8. p. 3. of *Princess Mary* of *Portugall*, l. 4. p. 92. of *Requesnes*, l. 8. p. 15. of *Vitelli*, l. 8. p. 14. vide *Encomion*.
Elizabeth Queen of *England* takes part with the *Low-country* Conspiratours, l. 5. p. 101. seizeth the King of *Spain's* money, sent to the Duke of *Alva*, l. 5. p. 104. l. 7. p. 65. & 66. which occasioneth a contest between her Majesty, and the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* she prohibits the *Holland* Pirates to come within her Ports, l. 7. p. 71. her Embassy to the Governesse, when she was to leave the *Low-countrys*, l. 6. p. 37. to *Don Iohn* when he came to the Government, l. 8. p. 33. she is by the Lords, propoed for Governesse for the *Low-countrys*, l. 9. p. 38. she sends to *Don Iohn* for a cessation of armes, l. 9. p. 49. and threatnes, *ibid.* is not heard *ibid.* a rumour that she was to be married to *Don Iohn*, l. 10. p. 20.
Elizabeth Guilemburg, l. 1. p. 20
Embassador from the King of *Spain*, to the Pope, l. 1. p. 18. l. 3. p. 66. to the Queen of *England*, l. 4. p. 94. to the King of *France*, l. 5. p. 134. l. 5. p. 140. l. 7. p. 79. l. 10. p. 20. l. 10. p. 24. from *France* to the Pope, l. 4. p. 85. the contest between the *French* and *Spanish* Embassadors in the councill of *Trent*, *ibid.* revived at *Rome* *ibid.* what was done thereupon in the Emperours Court, *ibid.* what at *Rome*, *ibid.*
Emilen a town, l. 7. p. 55

Emmannuell King of *Portugall*, l. 4. p. 92. & 94
Emmannuell Montiny, Commander of a Regiment, l. 9. p. 50.
Emmannuell Philibert Duke of *Savoy*, Governour of the *Low-countrys*, l. 1. p. 11. victorious at *Saint Quintin*, *ibid.* his marriage with *Margaret*, sister to *Henry* of *France*, l. 1. p. 13. he and his wife go for *Italy*, l. 1. p. 26. how highly the King of *Spain* valued him, l. 6. p. 21. & 26.
Emperour sued unto by the *Low-country* Nobility, to accept of the *Low-countrys*, l. 5. p. 135. punishments by Emperours, decreed against Hereticks, l. 2. p. 33, 34.
Ems a River, l. 7. p. 55, 56, 71
Encomion of Count *Barlaumont*, l. 10. p. 5. of *Isidor Pacecho*, l. 8. p. 12. of *Mondragonio*, l. 8. p. 2. of *Penamio*, l. 10. p. 15. of *Vitelli*, l. 7. p. 62. vide *Elogie*.
Engelbert Count of *Nassau*, Governour of the *Low-countrys*, l. 1. p. 19
Engelbert of *Nassau* the first, l. 2. p. 43. & 2. *ibid.* their power in the *Low-countrys*, how increased, *ibid.*
Englands King vide *Philip* the Second.
Englands Queen, vide *Elizabeth* and *Mary*.
The *English* loose *Calice*, l. 1. p. 11. do execution upon the *French* Army from *Sea*, l. 1. p. 12. their ships and goods embargued in the Ports of the *Low-countrys*, and *Spain*, l. 7. p. 66. they take the *Portugall* ships richly laden, *ibid.* some conspiring against *Don Iohn* of *Austria*, are put to death, l. 10. p. 20.
Engines l. 8. p. 9, 10
Engmeeres, l. 6. p. 21
Enterprize of *Alex Farnese*, l. 9. p. 45, 51. of *Cains Fabius*, l. 9. p. 40. of *Ciacconio*, l. 8. p. 8. of *Iohn Boccac* a *Resuite*, l. 9. p. 40. of *Mondragonio*, l. 6. p. 30. l. 7. p. 77. of him, and others, l. 8. p. 9. — of *Perotto*, l. 8. p. 4.
Envy at Court, l. 2. p. 37, 41. l. 3. p. 56. between the *Low-country* Lords, and *Granvell*, l. 2. p. 41, 42. & l. 3. p. 72. between the *Spanish*, and *Low-country* Nobility, l. 2. p. 42. between *Granvell* and *Regnard*, l. 3. p. 67. between the Duke of *Alva*, and the Prince of *Ebolo*, l. 6. p. 22. & l. 7. p. 65. between *Alva*, and *Egmond*, l. 7. p. 51. vide *Ambition*.
Epirots, l. 6. p. 30
Erasmo, a Courtier very intimate with the King of *Spain*, l. 3. p. 66.
Erick Duke of *Brunswick* raiseth men, l. 5. p. 100. the King of *Spain* appoints him to command the horse, l. 5. p. 132. he is dissuaded from the service, l. 5. p. 134.
Ernest Mulart pursues the Fugitives with a Galley, l. 6. p. 19.
Estovado vide *Iuan*
Eutharist preserved from the contumelies of Hereticks l. 9. p. 40. taken after meat by speciall indulgence, l. 2. p. 7.
Saint *Eugenius* Bishop of *Toledo*, and *Martyr*, l. 5. p. 132
Euscaubechius, Commander of the Confederates horse, l. 6. p. 1.
Eustachius Fienner, Lord of *Esquerd*, one of the Covenanters, l. 5. p. 109
Excommunication, l. 1. p. 9. l. 3. p. 56, 57. l. 4. p. 81, 82.
Example of unfortunate beauty, l. 10. p. 3, 4. of a Prince beloved of his servants, l. 10. p. 21, 22
Exile of the Duke of *Alva*, and the cause, l. 7. p. 81, 82. his banishment repeal'd, l. 7. p. 82. the exile of Count *Lumè*, l. 7. p. 80.
Expedition of the Duke of *Alva*, against *Lewis* of *Nassau*, l. 7. p. 54. by sea, l. 7. p. 74, 81. to *Portugall*, l. 7. p. 82. of *Don Iohn* designed for *England*, l. 9. p. 29, 36. Of *Gembac*, l. 9. p. 49. Of *Granada*, l. 10. p. 19. Of *Limb wige* l. 10. p. 1. His navall expeditions, l. 9. p. 49. l. 10. p. 19.
Of

Passages and Sentences.

Of Charles the fifth, v. Charles, Of Charles the ninth of France, against the Hugonots, l.6. p. 34, 35. Of the Governes against Bolduc, l.6.p.2. against Macbricht, *ibid.*—Against Tolous, *ibid.* Against Tornay, and Armenter, l.6.p.7. Against Valenciens, l.5.p.143. Of the Hugonots,

l.6.p.26. The Prince of Orange his first expedition out of Germany, into the Low-countreys, l.7.p.46. Another to relieve his brother Lewis, l.7.p.75. By Sea, l.8.p.10. Of the States of the Low-countreys, l.8.p.23. Of Requesters to Middelburge by sea, l.8.p.1. For Leiden, l.8.p.6. For Zeland, l.8.p.9.

Sentences in E.

EASILY may be avoid the spoile's hands, that never hath allur'd an envious eye l.8.p.24
ELOQUENCE without discretion, is but the unseasonable overflowing of wit l.2.p.40
 The Great body of an EMPIRE, must be spirited with a great soul, and maintain'd by many hands, l.1.p.1
 Expedition must be used, whilst the Multitude have only a taste of ERROR, and have not swallowed down the full blood, l.5.p.113

F.

FABIO Farnex goes for the Low-countreys, l.9.p.41. he is sent into Portugal, l.10.p.13
 Fabio Lembo, a Neapolitan, l.5.p.114
 Falsest the Marquees, l.8.11
 Farnix, l.7.p.79, 56
 Farnex v. Alexander, Charles, Fabio, Margaret Princells of Mantua, & Garzio Odoardo Rannecio, l.8.p.15.
 Farness of body taken down, l.3.p.53
 Fredericke King of Denmark, l.3.p.53
 Fredericke Perrot, Lord of Campin, governour of Antwerp, brother to Cardinall Granvell, l.8.p.17, 22. the falling out of him and Count Altemps, l.8.p.17. he receives into Antwerp souldiers sent from the States, l.8.p.23. He fortifies the Town against the fort, *ibid.* He is Generall of the States Army at the siege of Breda, l.9.p.48. Commander for them in chief, at the battell of Gemblac, l.9.p.49. by command from the Prince of Orange he is imprisoned at Gamt. l.10.p.9.
 Federico de Toledo grandfather to the Duke of Alva, l.7.p.82.
 Federico Son to the Duke of Alva, brings him men and money from Spain, l.7.p.58. sent by his father against the Prince of Orange, l.7.p.61. goes to besiege Mons, l.7.p.74. fights with the French, that would hinder him from sitting down before it, *ibid.* punishes the women spies, *ibid.* Takes the Abbie de Spine, *ibid.* fights with the French Generall and defeats him, *ibid.* stormes Zutphen and plunders it, l.7.p.77. takes all the Towns in Gelderland, *ibid.* burns Nardhem in Holland, l.7.p.78. Besieges and takes Harlem, *ibid.* is carried out of the field wounded, l.7.p.80. Attempts Almer in vain, l.7.p.81. returns into Spain with his father, *ibid.*
 Ferdinand King of Castile, l.8.p.15
 Ferdinand the Catholick King, l.7.p.82
 Ferdinando Gonzaga Governour of Millan, and Generall for Charles the fifth, l.6.p.30
 Ferdinand the Emperour, holds a Diet at Francfort, l.3.p.71. dies, l.4.p.87. His daughter designed by the King of Spain, for wife to Alex Farnex, l.4.p.91
 Ferdinand Martin, an incendiary, l.7.p.50
 Ferdinando de Toledo Duke of Alva, l.1.p.11. l.2.p.38, 46, 49. Favours Cardinall Granvell, l.4.p.80. waits upon Isabella Queen of Spain, to the conference at Bayon, l.4.p.88. carries the order of the Fleece from King Philip, to Charles the ninth of France, *ibid.* His speech for war with the Low-countreys, l.6.p.23, 24. The government of the Low-countreys committed to him, l.6.p.25. falls sick at Millain, l.6.p.27. musters his army at Aft in Piemont, l.6.p.29. His march into the Low-countreys, l.8.p.9. His invention of the use of Musketoones, l.6.p.31. l.7.p.55. He enters Bruxells, l.6.p.31. visits the Governes, l.6.p.32. how he receives him, *ibid.* He summons the Lords, *ibid.* Arrests the Counts Egmont, and Horne, l.6.p.33. Ex-

cuses it to the Governes, l.6.p.34. sends the prisoners to Gant, l.7.p.49. sends forces into France against the Hugonots, l.6.p.35. offers himself to be their Generall, *ibid.* why the causes of the Low-countrey tumults are charged upon him, l.7.p.39. upon what score the Low-countrey-men hated him, *ibid.* & 51, 58.—He builds the Fort at Antwerp, l.7.p.40, 41. Institutes a new Court of Justice, *ibid.* impeaches the Prince of Orange, and the rest of the Lords that fled the Low-countreys, *ibid.* condemns them, l.7.p.42. sends the Prince of Oranges sonne into Spain, *ibid.* pulls down Culemburge house, *ibid.* Ambush laid against him, l.7.p.46. Auxiliaries sent him from the King of France, l.7.p.47. He take off the heads of the gentlemen Covenanters, l.7.p.48. the extent of his fault, in prosecuting Egmont and Horne, l.7.p.51. He pronounces sentence of death against them, *ibid.* beheads them, l.7.p.52. His expedition against Lewis of Nassau, l.7.p.54. He goes to Groningben, *ibid.* fights and routs him, *ibid.* over-takes the enemy at Geming, l.7.p.55. defeats him with a great slaughter, l.7.p.56. sends the news of his victory to Pius the fifth at Roma, l.7.p.57. punishes the Sardinian Regiment, for burning the Countrey, *ibid.* contemns the reports of the Prince of Oranges Army, l.7.p.58, 59. his saying, touching the Princes confederate against the King of Spain, *ibid.* He could not fright the Prince of Orange from passing the River, *ibid.* would not accept the Prince of Oranges invitation to a battell, l.7.p.60. fight onely with light skirmishes, *ibid.* The Prince uses many provocations to bring him to a battell, *ibid.* He fights with the Orangians upon the River bank, *ibid.* defeats them, l.7.p.62. burns those that took a house, *ibid.* How oft the Prince of Orange changing his ground, was terrified by the Duke from attempting to take any town, l.7.p.63. He had a little blow given him by the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* He sends Count Mansfeld into France against the Hugonots, l.7.p.64. Having beaten the Prince of Orange out of the Low countreys, he enters Bruxells in triumph, *ibid.* Pius the fifth sends him a helmet and sword, *ibid.* He builds himself a statue in the Fort of Antwerp, *ibid.* The interpretation of that Trophee, *ibid.* The Court of Spain hates and jeeres him for it, l.7.p.65. Nor is the King well pleased, *ibid.* but commands the statue to be removed, *ibid.* he imposes upon the Low-countrey-men a tribute of the twentieth and hundred part, *ibid.* A contestation between him and the Queen of England, occasioned by money intercepted, *ibid.* he returns to exacting of the tribute, l.7.p.67. publishes a generall pardon at Antwerp, *ibid.* Is violent to have the tenth part paid, *ibid.* Is somewhat quieter after that great inundation, l.7.p.69. publishes for the tribute, his Edict qualified, l.7.p.70. prepares force and halts for the Towns-men of Bruxells,

A Table of the most remarkable

- Bruxels**, *ibid.* He is forc'd to let alone the Tribute, by the sudden news of Brill taken by the *Gheuses*, *ibid.* the people grow bold when they understood he was to leave the Government, l. 7. p. 71. how they mock'd him, l. 7. p. 72. his fear when he heard *Mons* was taken by the *French*, l. 7. p. 73. he sends his son *Federico* and *Pitelli* to besiege *Mons*, l. 7. p. 74. he himself follows, and draws a line about the Town, l. 7. p. 76. beats off the Prince of *Orange* coming to relieve them, *ibid.* recovers *Mons*, and all the Prince of *Orange* had taken, l. 7. p. 77. besieges and takes *Harlem*, l. 7. p. 78. resigns the Government of the Low-countries to *Requesemes*, l. 7. p. 81. returns into *Spain*, *ibid.* — Upon his departure the several senses of the *Catholicks*, *Heretics*, and the Prince of *Orange*, l. 7. p. 82. he is confin'd to *Wreda* by the Kings command, *ibid.* the temper of his mind in that misfortune, *ibid.* he is repeal'd from banishment, to be General against *Portugall*, *ibid.* His saying, *ibid.* he dies victorious, *ibid.* his *Elegie*, *ibid.* his brazen statue broken, l. 9. p. 38. and melted again into Canon, *ibid.*
- Ferdinando**, bastard to the Duke of *Alva*, General of the horse, l. 1. p. 16. arrests *Count Horn* in the Kings name, l. 6. p. 33. waits in his fathers place upon the Queen into *Spain*, l. 7. p. 69.
- Ferdinando de Toledo**, Commander of Foot; recovers *Maestricht*, l. 8. p. 21. commands the horse at the battle of *Gemlac*, l. 9. p. 51. fights at the Village of *Rimebant*, l. 10. p. 10. fights the enemy, *ibid.* Is by stratagem drawn to the enemies Camp, *ibid.* — Lines the hedges with musketeers, l. 10. p. 12.
- Feria** the Duke, *vid.* *Gomez Figueroa*.
- Ferdinanda** a *Costa*, l. 9. p. 50.
- Figueroa** *vide* *Gomez & Lopez*.
- Flaminio Delphino**, l. 10. p. 12.
- Flanders** one of the seventeen Provinces, l. 1. p. 14. its Nobility and power, l. 1. p. 16. Governour, l. 7. p. 50. Cities, l. 7. p. 77. l. 8. p. 18, 22. l. 9. p. 41. The plunder of Churches, and things consecrated, begun in that Province, l. 5. p. 125, 126.
- French Flanders**, its Governour, l. 1. p. 16.
- Fleet** sent from the Low-countries, to transport *Princefs Mary* of *Portugal*, l. 4. p. 92. arrives at *Wlusing*, *ibid.* The Spanish Fleet overthrown at *Middelburg*, l. 8. p. 2. The Prince of *Orange's* Fleet sailing over the fields to *Leiden*, l. 8. p. 7. into *Sceldt*, l. 8. p. 13. to *Middelburg*, l. 8 p. 2.
- Florent Count Culemburg**, one of the four first Covenanters, l. 5. p. 102, 107, 109. The Covenanters solemnly feasted in his house, *ibid.* — He comes to the Governels with the rest of his Faction, l. 5. p. 111. Retires into *Gelderland*, l. 5. p. 112. Plus the 5 sends him an admonition, l. 5. p. 114. He flies the Low-countries, *ibid.* — He is impeach't by the Duke of *Alva*, l. 7. p. 41. condemned in his absence, l. 7. p. 42. His house pul'd down, *ibid.* And a monumental pillar erected in that place, *ibid.*
- Florence Lord of Montiny**, Governour of *Tornay* and *Tornacese*, l. 1. p. 16. chosen one of the Knights of the Golden Fleecce, l. 2. p. 46. visits and presents the Princefs of *Orange* from the Governels, l. 3. p. 53. quiets the stirs at *Tornay*, l. 3. p. 62. is commended, *ibid.* sent Embassadour into *Spain*, l. 3. p. 69. his conference with the King, l. 3. p. 71. he returns to *Bruxels*, *ibid.* — He is sent again into *Spain* with the Marquess of *Bergen*, l. 5. p. 113. he departs without his Colleague, *ib.* — hath audience of the King, l. 5. p. 114. writes from *Spain*, of the Kings coming into the Low-countries, l. 5. p. 124. makes a jest of the Kings preparation for his journey, l. 6. p. 22. is by the Kings command sent prisoner to *Segovia*, l. 7. p. 42. he is condemn'd to lose his head, *ibid.* and l. 7. p. 53.
- Florindus** Governour of *Philippvil*, l. 9. p. 58.
- Flores Florio**, Son to *Charles Barlamont*, l. 10. p. 5.
- Flushing**, or *Wlusing*, a part of *Zeland*, l. 7. p. 72.
- Forading** of the river by art, l. 7. p. 59. l. 8. p. 10. Of the Sea at *Zeland*, l. 8. p. 11. Parallel'd with *Cesars* forading of the *Thames*, *ibid.*
- Form** of the Oath proposed by the Covenanters, l. 5. p. 107. by the Senate and States of the Low-countries, l. 9. p. 39.
- Fortune** various, l. 1. p. 6, 8. & l. 3. p. 58.
- Frances** wife to *Henry King of France*, l. 9. p. 53.
- Franciscans** turn'd out by *Heretics*, l. 5. p. 131. l. 9. p. 41. the bounty of the Spanish souldiers to them, l. 8. p. 5.
- Francisco Alava** the King of *Spain's* Embassadour in *France*, l. 5. p. 135. & 140.
- Francisco Barberino**, l. 7. p. 60. B. **Francisco Borgia**, Duke of *Gandia*, a Jesuit, l. 1. p. 10.
- Francisco Cardinale Passchò**, l. 3. p. 65. l. 4. p. 86.
- Francisco Cittadella** of *Lucca*, l. 8. p. 2.
- Francis Cocquevill** comes with the Prince of *Orange* in his first Expedition into the Low-countries, l. 7. p. 46. his army routed, *ibid.* the Commanders carry'd to *Paris* and beheaded, *ibid.*
- Francis** the first of *France*, l. 1. p. 13, 22. he erects an University at *Paris*, l. 3. p. 55. prohibits *Dauids* Psalms, published by *Marot*, l. 3. p. 63. severe to the *Heretics*, l. 3. p. 55. why he cool'd sometimes, *ibid.*
- Francis** the second of *France*, l. 3. p. 56, 58.
- Francis Duke of Guise**, l. 1. p. 11. l. 3. p. 56.
- Francis Hangeft**, Lord of *Jenlis*, brings supplies out of *France* to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 7. p. 60. perswades him to joyn with the Prince of *Condè*, l. 7. p. 63.
- Francis Hercules Duke of Alençon**, l. 2. p. 46. propos'd for Governour of the Low-countries, l. 9. p. 38. sides with the States against *Don John of Austria*, l. 9. p. 57. comes with the French Army to *Mons* in *Hainoult*, l. 9. p. 37. he is comprehended in the Conditions of Peace, l. 10. p. 14.
- Francis Helleyne Lord of Zeeveghem** — l. 4. p. 86.
- Francis Hult** the first Inquisitor of Faith in *Brabant*, l. 5. p. 98.
- Francesco Itarra**, l. 6. p. 26.
- Francesco Maria Feltrio**, Prefect of *Rome*, l. 1. p. 22.
- Francesco Montefdocha**, a Spanish Collonel, l. 8. p. 18. circumvented a *Maestricht*, l. 8. p. 20.
- Francesco Paciotto** an Engineer, l. 6. p. 30, 33. l. 7. p. 41.
- Francesco Petrarch**, l. 4. p. 92.
- Francis Somnius**, l. 1. p. 18. l. 3. p. 71.
- Francesco Valdez**, a Spanish Collonel, besiegeth *Leyden*, l. 8. p. 6. why he puts off the general assault resolv'd on, l. 8. p. 7. besieg'd by water, he is forc't to leave the siege, l. 8. p. 8. he invades *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 22. departs from the Low-countries, l. 9. p. 32.
- Francesco Vargas** the King of *Spain's* Embassadour to the Pope, l. 1. p. 18. his actings at the Conclave, l. 3. p. 65.
- Francis Vassew**, l. 8. p. 19.
- Francis Vatable**, l. 3. p. 63.
- Francesco Verdago**, servant to Count *Mansfield*, l. 5. p. 107. a Spanish Collonel, l. 6. p. 30. a pension assign'd him by the King, l. 7. p. 107.
- Francis Vivon**, a French man, fights a duel in the Kings presence, l. 1. p. 13.
- French** victorious over the Spanish, and by them conquer'd, l. 1. p. 11. how they came to be infected with Heresie, l. 3. p. 55. They desire and obtain assistance against the *Heretics*, l. 3. p. 57, 60. l. 6. p. 34. l. 7. p. 64. they fight with the Rebels at *Saint Denis*, l. 6. p. 35. defeat them at *Drot*, l. 3. p. 61. and at *Monconteur*, l. 7. p. 64. they rout the *Orangians*, l. 7. p. 46, 47. take *Mons*, l. 7. p. 73. are overthrown, l. 7. p. 74. they scale *Nivel*, l. 9. p. 56. the *Jewellers* arms bestow'd upon them, *ibid.* a guift which was their destruction, *ibid.* — They sue to *Don*

Passages and Sentences.

Don John to be dismiss'd, l. 9. p. 57. Many of them slain, *ibid.* The French tumults, l. 3. p. 55. l. 6. p. 26, 34. l. 7. p. 72. compar'd with those of the Low-Countries, l. 3. p. 61. vide *Coligny Conde. Armie. Hugonot Tumult.*
Fresnoi Commander of horse, l. 9. p. 50.
Frederico Borromeo, l. 4. p. 91.
Fredericke the third Count Palatine, solicites the Governesse in behalf of the hereticks, l. 5. p. 134. sends over to draw *Brunswick* to his party, *ibid.* Confederates with the Low-Country Rebels, *ibid.* promises pay to the *Germane* Souldiers, l. 7. p. 58.

Frisland a Province of the Low-Countries, l. 1. p. 15. — East, l. 7. p. 55. West, l. 1. p. 15. Invaded by *Lewis* of *Nassau*, l. 7. p. 46. infested by Pirates, l. 7. p. 71. burnt, l. 7. p. 57. over-flow'd, l. 7. p. 69. The Cities of *Frisland* receive Spanish Garrisons, l. 6. p. 26. revolt from the King, l. 7. p. 73. The Governour of the Province, l. 1. p. 16. & l. 7. p. 48, 58. l. 6. p. 20.
Fronsborg vide *George*.
 Full moon, l. 8. p. 8.
 Funeral pomp, l. 10. p. 22.
 Fury of the burning brigade, l. 7. p. 57.

Sentences in F.

They that FALL from the highest point, are easily toss'd from one breach to another, till they come to the bottome, l. 3. p. 56.
 What FATE hath ordain'd for every man, is not so easily prevented as foreseen, l. 5. p. 113.
 FAVOUR will as surely perish as life, l. 3. p. 55.
 A Prince FAVOURS his Ministers of State so long as they carry themselves as servants, not as authors of his Counsels, l. 3. p. 74.
 FEAR the Beadle of the Law, l. 2. p. 33.
 FEAR can never be sufficiently entrench't, l. 7. p. 55.
 FEAR ever fancies danger near at hand, l. 9. p. 53.
 Majestie without strength is not safe amongst the FURIOUS multitude, l. 6. p. 4.

G.

Gabriel Cueva Governour of Millain, l. 6. p. 21.
Gabriel Nigro a Spanish Colonel, takes the Suburbs of Limburg, l. 10. p. 1. Carries the body of *Don John* into Spain, l. 10. p. 24.
Gabriel Peralta brings up the rear when the Sea was storm'd, l. 8. p. 12. is forc'd to return, *ibid.* — Wades over to *Seldt*, l. 8. p. 13. is slain, *ibid.*
Gabriel Serbellonio, Master of the Train of Artillery, marches with the Duke of *Alva* into the Low-Countries, l. 6. p. 30. Designs the Fort at *Antwerp*, l. 7. p. 40. How much he was esteem'd by *Don John*, l. 10. p. 6, 8. who makes him Governour of *Tunis*, l. 10. p. 19. Exchang'd by *Pope Gregorie* the 13. l. 10. p. 6. He commands an Italian Regiment, and returns with it to the Low-Countries, *ibid.* His vote in a Council of War, l. 10. p. 8. He fortifies the hill at *Buge*, l. 10. p. 14. Falls sick, *ibid.* The Physicians prediction of him, l. 10. p. 15.
Galerano Requesenes Governour of *Catalonia*, l. 8. p. 15.
Galerano his son Count of *Trivento* and *Avellino*, *ibid.*
Gant what it signifies, l. 7. p. 39. *Charles* the fifth's answer touching *Gant*, *ibid.* The Town Punisht for revolting from the Emperour, l. 5. p. 132. The Destruction of holy things by the Image-breakers, l. 5. p. 127. The *Gantois* pull down a Lutheran Temple, l. 6. p. 20. and demolish the Castle, l. 9. p. 38. The association at *Gant* of all the Provinces that rebelled against the Spaniards, l. 8. p. 20. 'Tis enlarged, l. 8. p. 21. Intermitt'd, *ibid.* — Reviv'd, l. 8. p. 23. Perfected, *ibid.* — Subscrib'd, l. 9. p. 30. Consider'd, approv'd of by the King, *ibid.* publish'd, *ibid.* vide *Pacification*.
Garcius de Toledo slain by the *Moores*, l. 7. p. 82.
Gaspar Coligny, l. 1. p. 11. Commander in chief of the *Hugonots*, l. 5. p. 121. offended at the too great power of the *Guises*, l. 3. p. 56. Favours the Cause of the Hereticks, l. 3. p. 57. The *Brabanters* conspire with him, l. 5. p. 99. He is numbred among the Covenanters, l. 5. p. 101. He encourages the hereticks in the Low-Countries, l. 5. p. 121. treats with the *Hugonots*, to assist the Low-country men, l. 5. p. 138. Levies men to succour *Geneva*, l. 6. p. 26. Perswades his King to

fight with the Spaniard, *ibid.* Takes many Townes, l. 6. p. 35. Lays a plot to destroy the King, *ibid.* Fights at *St. Dennis*, *ibid.* is defeated, *ibid.* Again perswades the King to fight the Spaniard, l. 7. p. 73. The King makes him his General, *ibid.* He trusts himself to the King with too much Confidence, *ibid.* Makes great levies in France, *ibid.* and solicites the Low-country men to revolt, *ibid.* Prepares men to raise the siege of *Mons*, l. 6. p. 74. he is slain in the Massacre at *Paris*, l. 7. p. 76.
Gaspar Robley, Lord of *Bill*, Commander in chief at the siege of *Valenciens*, l. 6. p. 10. sent by the Governesse into Spain to the King, l. 6. p. 27, 29. He assailes the Prince of Orange in his Camp, l. 7. p. 54. Is put out of his Government of *Frisland* by a Tumult, l. 9. p. 31. Imprison'd, *ibid.* Releas'd, *ibid.* sent into Spain by *Don John*, l. 10. p. 7. brings him new supplies from the King, *ibid.*
Gaspar Schetz, Lord of *Gröbenomich*, the Kings treasurer, l. 4. p. 78. l. 9. p. 37.
Gattinar vide *Mercurino*.
Gelders or *Gelderland*, a Province of the Low-countries, l. 1. p. 15. The Governour of *Gelderland*, l. 1. p. 16. l. 2. p. 41. The Duke, l. 1. p. 13. l. 7. p. 47. Its principality anciently belonging to the Dukes of *Egmont*, l. 7. p. 53. The Townes of *Gelderland* revolt from the King, l. 7. p. 73. They are recovered, l. 7. p. 77.
Gemblac famous for slaughter, l. 9. p. 52. besieg'd by the Catholics, *ibid.* render'd, *ibid.* The battel of *Gemblac*, l. 9. p. 49.
Geming a village, l. 7. p. 55. The Battel of *Geming*, *ibid.* — The victory, *ibid.*
Genethliack presages, l. 1. p. 113. l. 2. p. 43, 44.
Geneva, l. 3. p. 57, 63. l. 5. p. 121. l. 6. p. 26. Terrify'd by the fame of the King of Spain's army, *ibid.* Desires assistance of the French Calvinists, *ibid.*
Gentilina a Staffa of *Perugia*, l. 8. p. 14.
Gentlemen Covenanters for abolishing the Inquisition, l. 5. p. 100, 101. The sum of their Covenant or Engagement, *ibid.* Many joyn with them, *ibid.* They have four Generals, *ibid.* They prepare a Petition to be offered to the Governesse, l. 5. p. 102. Put to the Question in Senate, whether they should be admitted into the Town, l. 5. p. 103. They enter *Brussels* led by *Bredero*, l. 5. p. 107. In *Culemburg* house, *ibid.*

A Table of the most remarkable

ibid. They take a new oath, *ibid.* They march orderly to the Court, *ibid.* *Breda* is their name speaks to the Governesse, 1.9.p.108. they present their Petition, *ibid.* Are dismiss'd by the Governesse, *ibid.* when they were gone their Petition was return'd them with an answer in the Margent, 1.9.p.109. They are seafied by *Breda*, *ibid.* The name of the Noble concord impos'd upon their Conspiracy, *ibid.* They name themselves *Gueux*, or *Gheuses*, when they were high flown with mirth and drink, *ibid.* They give a Coat of Armes suitable to their fashion, *ibid.* They walk the streets accouter'd like beggars, 1.5.p.110. whence these factions took their pattern, 1.5.p.115. Their boldness increases, *ibid.* The Covenanters make the *Gheuses* give over plundering of Churches, &c. 1.5.p.130. They design to send into Spain Calvinistical books and Ministers, 1.5.p.137. They and the Merchants promise mutual assistance, *ibid.* They prescribe to all the Confession of *Ausburg*, 1.5.p.138. They institute Consistories and heretical Common-wealths, *ibid.* They confederate with the Heretical Princes of *Germanie*, *ibid.* Assistance offer'd them by their Neighbours, *ibid.* and by strangers even as far as from *Constantinople*, *ibid.* The Reports of the Kings coming for the *Low-countries* startles them, 1.5.p.140. The Governesse Courts them with letters and promises, *ibid.* They hasten the Design of Armes, 1.5.p.141. Meet at *Breda*, 1.5.p.142. Treat of opposing the King with an Army, *ibid.* 1.6.p.22. Endeavour to draw Count *Leopold* to a new Confederation, 1.5.p.142. would have presented a new Petition to the Governesse, but are not admitted, *ibid.* They send their Petition, *ibid.* but have nothing Granted them, 1.5.p.143. They prepare men and armes, threaten to revolt from the King, 1.6.p.41. terrified by the Governesse, they sue for pardon, 1.6.p.55. many renounce the Covenant, *ibid.* The Contumacious leave the *Low-countries*, 1.6.p.16. Their ill fortune in *Holland*, 1.6.p.19. They are driven into *Waterland*, *ibid.* taken in *Gelderland*, *ibid.* Executed, 1.6.p.20. Some are taken into Grace, *ibid.* They are much troubled at the Duke of *Alva's* coming, 1.6.p.29. Their Expressions of respect to the Governesse at her Departure from the *Low-countries*, 1.6.p.37. They flye upon a fright, 1.7.p.46. They lay a plot in a Monastery to kill the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* many of them beheaded by *Alva*, 1.7.p.48. They are taken prisoners in the field, 1.7.p.62. Their houses and estates in *Haynault* plundered and wasted by the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7.p.63. They desire their Neighbours helps against the *Spaniards*, 1.8.p.20. They make an agreement with the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* They enter a league to expel the *Spaniards* out of the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* At *Gant* they Consult about depriving the King of his *Milizia* and Government, 1.8.p.21. They Confirm and publish the Association of *Gant*, 1.9.p.39. Their forces besiege *Breda*, 1.9.p.48. They attempt *Ruremond* and are beat off, 1.9.p.49. They are alienated from the Prince of *Orange*, 1.9.p.50. Their Army muster'd, 1.9.p.49. Their slaughter at the battle of *Gemblac*, 1.9.p.50. Their grief for the taking of *Limburg*, 1.10.p.4. Their Joy upon the news that *Alexander Farnese* and other great Commanders were slain, *ibid.* Their Army, 1.10.p.7. vide Covenant, *Gheuses*, Lords and Nobility.

George of *Austria* Bishop of *liege*, 1.1.p.18.
 George *Fransuize* Colonel of a *German* Regiment impos'd upon *Breda*, 1.9.p.48. is besieg'd, *ibid.* betray'd, *ibid.* Delivered into the Enemies hands, 1.9.p.49. In the Expedition of *Limburg*, 1.10.p.1.
 George *Holly* a *German* Colonel, 1.7.p.51.
 George *Lolin* Lord of *Kill*, 1.9.p.31.
 Gerard *Grafhech* Bishop of *liege* denies the *Gheuses* to hold their Convention at *Centron* or *St. Truden*, 1.5.

p.119. Intercedes to the Governesse for the *Meer-Brichers*, 1.6.p.15. Frightens the Prince of *Orange* from the Suburbs of *liege*, 1.7.p.63.
Germanus Conspire with the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7.p.58. They run away, 1.7.p.55. Stir up sedition, *ibid.* are slain, 1.7.p.56. Demand their pay, 1.7.p.55. 1.8.p.17. Render themselves to the *Spaniards*, 1.8.p.21. *German* Forces vide Army. The Customs of the *German* Nobility in clothing of their Servants, 1.4.p.78. Their Emballages, 1.6.p.17. Their Patronage implor'd by the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7.p.41.
Germanicus *Cesar* son to *Drusus*, 1.7.p.56. & 1.10.p.20.
 Gets a River.
Gheuses, who, and why so call'd, 1.5.p.109. Compar'd with the *Huganots*, 1.3.p.61. Their habit, 1.5.p.110. Their Commanders present a petition to the Governesse, 1.5.p.111. They Counterfeit a Declaration in the name of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, 1.5.p.112. their Lies Credited, *ibid.* & 113. Their number increases out of an opinion of impunity, 1.5.p.115. Their habit and Cognizance worn by the Common people, *ibid.* They Convent at *Centron*, 1.5.p.119. What was acted in that meeting, *ibid.* They frame a new Petition to the Governesse, 1.5.p.120. They plunder Churches, 1.5.p.121. The *Germanes* *Gheuses* consent to the Destruction of Churches, 1.5.p.127. Their Threats against the Governesse, 1.7.p.129. From whom they Extort some grants, 1.5.p.130. They are slain at the battle near *Austeruvel*, 1.6.p.4. The *Tornay* *Gheuses* take up arms, 1.6.p.6. are defeated at *Lanoy*, 1.6.p.7. Are made true *Gheuses*, beggars, 1.6.p.21. They leave their Country, *ibid.* are receiv'd into grace, *ibid.* Sentenc'd by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.42. The *Wood* *Gheuses* rob by the high way, 1.7.p.59. The *Water* *Gheuses*, 1.7.p.71. Their General and chief Officers, *ibid.* turn Pirates, *ibid.* are forbid the *English* Ports, *ibid.* Take *Brill*, 1.7.p.12. Destroy all things sacred, *ibid.* Beat off the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* Plunder *Amersfort*, 1.7.p.75. Are beat from *Amsterdam*, 1.10.p.5. vide Gentlemen Covenanters.

Ghibertius, one of the Covenanters, 1.5.p.101.
Ghibellina a Covenanter, *ibid.*
Giles or *Agidius Clarke*, a Lawyer of *Torray*, 1.5.p.100 127, 141.
Giles *Smillart*, a Lapidary, 1.8.p.24.
Giovanni Baptista Castaneo, Archbishop of *Rossana* the Popes Legate, 1.5.p.132. His Relation to Cardinal *Alexandrus* of the Commitment & death of *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, 1.7.p.43.
Giovanni Baptista, Marquesse a *Monte*, Commander of horse at the Battle of *Mauch*, 1.8.p.43.
 a Girl of three years old buried dig'd up again, and eaten by her parents, 1.7.p.80.
Gisbert together with his brother *Batenburg* runs away, is taken and executed.
Glimé Vice-Admiral of the *Belgick* sea, 1.6.p.19. defeated and slain, *ibid.*
Glimé, Governour of *Wallon-Brabant*, takes the Senators out of the house, and imprisons them, 1.8.p.20. is routed by the *Spaniard*, 1.8.p.21. His Enmity with the Prince of *Orange*, 1.10.p.9.
Glimé, the Marquesse, vide *John Glimé* Marquesse of *Bergen*.
Guissius, Bishop of *Groningen*, or the *Groine*, 1.7.p.58.
Godfrey Sterck, Pretor of *Antwerp*, 1.3.p.66.
 Goes in *Zeland* is reliev'd, 1.7.p.77, 78. The Sea waded over to *Goes*, *ibid.*
Gagni vide *Anthony*.
Gomez Figueroa Duke of *Feria*, 1.2.p.38. his disposition, 1.6.p.23. His vote in Council for sending an army into the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* & 35. He waits upon the King when his Majesty apprehended Prince *Charles*, 1.7.p.44. Gomez

Passages and Sentences.

Gomez a Silas Prince of *Ethiopia* vide *Roderick*.
Gozege vide *Hannibal Camillo Ferdinando & Qstia*.
Gorcom revolts from the *Spaniards*, 1.7.p.72. is taken by assault, 1.8.p.9.
Gorcom Martyr, 1.7.p.75.
Galba a Town, 1.5.p.42.
Goude revolts from the *Spaniards*, 1.7.p.72.
Gouverneur vide *Præfect*.
Gouverneſſe vide *Margaret of Parma*.
Grange of Narbon a Calvinist, 1.5.p.6. Ringleader of the Seditions, *Ibid.* diswades the *Valencians* from the rendring of their Town, 1.6.p.9.
Gravel vide *Anthony & Nicolas*.
Graveling a Port of *Flanders*, 1.1.p.12. & 1.7.p.53. its Governour, 1.7.p.80.
Gregory the Third multiplies the Bishops in *Germany*, 1.2.p.30.
Gregory the thirteenth offended with the Vice Roy *Granvelle*, 1.4.p.82. His Joy for the newes of the Massacre at *Paris*, 1.7.p.76. He and the King of Spain resolve to assist the Queen of *Scots*, 1.8.p.16. He proposes to the King *Don John* for Governour of the *Low-countrys* and General in the invasion of Great Britain, *ibid.* He sends *Philip Segs* his Nuncio to *Don John* in the *Low-countrys*, 1.9.p.36. with supplies of money, *ibid.* He encourages *Alexander Farnese* to go for the *Low-countrys*, 1.9.p.48. His letters to the

Catholick Army, wherein he pardons their sins, 1.9.p.49. His Exchange of Prisoners, 1.10.p.6. He treats with the King of Spain to make *Don John* King of *Tunis*, 1.10.p.19.
Græphenberg Colonel of foot, 1.4.p.131.
Grasse the Queen of *Englands* Agent, 1.5.p.133.
Gravines or the *Groize* threatens to revolt from the King, 1.6.p.1. receives a Garrison of the Kings men, 1.6.p.10. Besieg'd by *Louis of Nassau*, 1.7.p.54. strongly defended by *Vitelli*, *ibid.* Dispos'd of by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.58. Its Bishop and Governour, *ibid.* A Fort there design'd by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* The 6 Cannon of the *Groize* call'd by names of the 6 first Elements in Musicke, 1.7.p.47. 56.
Guerras de Spæ, the King of *Spains* Embassadour to the Queen of *England*, 1.7.p.66.
Guinegas, 1.1.p.15.
Guinech vide *Paula* Prince of *Lucca*.
Guise vide *Charles of Lorraine* and *Francis of Guise*.
Guinalto wades over Sea to *Direland*, 1.8.p.10.
Guns, Count *Swartzenburg*, 1.7.p.51. 1.8.p.9. a Covenant-maker, 1.5.p.101. Commander of horse in the Prince of *Oranges* Army, 1.7.p.58. treats in the Emperours name to make peace between the Royallists and the *Orangians*, 1.8.p.9.
Gusman vide *Antonio Ayamont & Didaco*.
Guy Brai of *Mons*, 1.6.p.6.

Sentences in G.

A Good GENERAL can never be long liv'd.
AGOD is not pleas'd With those that give out of other mens fortunes,

1.7.p.83.
 1.8.p.6.

H.

H a River, 1.1.p.12.
Hadrigan Jansen, 1.7.p.80.
Hereſie how it was brought into the *Low-countrys*, 1.2.p.36. The mother of sedition, *ibid.* What occasions it makes use of to raise Tumults, *ibid.* 1.2.p.42. 48. Prone to Atheisme, 1.2.p.36. Teaches Conumacæ, *ibid.* slights Allegiance, *ibid.*
Hereſie in France, 1.3.p.55, 61, 72. 1.6.p.35. Protected, 1.3.p.57. The Heretical custome of singing *Dauids* Psalmes in *French* meeter, 1.3.p.61, 62. The *French* Hereticks assist the *Low-countrie* Hereticks, 1.5.p.138. A Catalogue of Hereticks includ'd in the Kings packer, 1.4.p.83. brought to execution with various success, *ibid.* 1.6.p.19, 20. The attempt of an Heretical Minister, 1.4.p.83. Their Joy for the difference between the King of Spain and the Pope, 1.4.p.86. Their Jealousies upon the Conference at *Baton*, 1.4.p.88. The Kings Letters and the Governesſes Edict against them, 1.4.p.96, 97. At the promulgation of the Edict they mutiny, 1.5.p.100. They stir up the Covenanters, *ibid.* They break from all parts into the *Low-countrie* Pulpits, 1.6.p.116. Three Classes or kindes of them, *ibid.* They are permitted to preach, 1.5.p.132. They turn the *Franciscans* out of Doores, 1.5.p.131. Their design to send Calvinistical books into *Spain*, 1.5.p.137. 1.7.p.45. Their Conſistories, 1.5.p.138. They desire liberty to exercise their Sects, 1.5.p.139. They rejoyce at the defection of the Lords from the King, 1.6.p.1. Their Discouragement at the losse of *Valencians*, 1.6.p.11. Their Complaints, 1.6.p.15. Their Preaching Ministers run away, *ibid.* They are challeng'd to dispute, *ibid.* They are Expell'd the *Low-countrys*, 1.6.p.17, 20. They crave assistance of the *Germans*, 1.6.p.18. Their Temples are destroy'd, 1.6.p.20. Their sense uppn *Alva's* departure from the *Low-countrys*, 1.7.p.81. They criminate *Don John*, 1.9.p.34. They and the Catholicks

ſwear allegiance to the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, 1.9.p.39. They turn the Jesuits out of *Antwerp*, *ibid.* and other Catholicks, 1.9.p.41. Posses their Churches, *ibid.* are brought into *Amsterdam*, 1.10.p.5. vide *Calvinists*, *Preachers*, and *Lutherans*, 1.8.p.7.
Hague, 1.10.p.12.
Hames vide *Nicolas*.
Hangeſt vide *Francis & John*.
Hannibal Gonzaga, 1.10.p.12.
Hannibal Count *Atterups* brings forces out of *Germanie* into the *Low-countrys*, 1.8.p.9. Upon the borders circumvented by the Enemy and wounded, *ibid.* He is left by *Requesnes* to secure *Brabant*, *ibid.* The difference between him and the Governour of *Antwerp*, 1.8.p.17. He leaves men in *Germany*, 1.10.p.7.
Hannibal of *Carthage*, 1.2.p.28.
Hariaden Barbarossa, 1.8.p.14. Expell'd from his Kingdom by *Charles* the fifth, 1.10.p.23.
Harlem receives a Garrison from the *Hollanders*, 1.7.p.78. renounces Religion, and violates all things sacred, *ibid.* Besieg'd by the Royallists, *ibid.* provokes the *Spaniards* with unheard of Conumacies, *ibid.* Jeeres at holy things, *ibid.* Compell'd by famine to yield to mercy, 1.6.p.79. Very many of the Town put to death, *ibid.* A Regiment of of *Harlem*-women, *ibid.* The obstinacy and barbarity of the Townsmen, *ibid.* The siege of *Harlem* compar'd with that of *Sancerre*, *ibid.* The number of the slain and wounded Royallists, 1.7.p.80. and Confederates, *ibid.*
Hassen vide *Philip Landgrave of Hessen*.
Haynault, a Province of the *Low-countrys*, 1.1.p.15. Its Governour, 1.1.p.16. The Townes and villages of the *Haynaulters* plunder'd, 1.7.p.63. Their Delegates call'd to *Bruxells*, 1.8.p.17. against the *Spaniards*, 1.8.p.20. vide *Mons*. A Proverb in *Haynault*, 1.6.p.5.
Haultepen vide *Claudius*.
Have vide *Charles Croy*.
Heden a Town, 1.1.p.10.
Heleanor sister to *Charles* the fifth, 1.1.p.3, 15.
 D 2
Heleanor

A Table of the most remarkable

- Helconor* *Memoir* any wife to Count *Hochstrat*, l. 6. p. 12.
Haloven vide *Francis*.
Hemius vide *John & Maximilian*.
Henry King of *England*, l. 1. p. 9.
Henry *Bauer* Bishop of *Utrecht*, l. 1. p. 15.
Henry *Breder* Commander of a troop of the *Low-country* horse, l. 1. p. 17. l. 6. p. 11, 12. Chief of the Conspirators, l. 5. p. 102, 104. Enters *Brussels* with the *Covenanters*, l. 5. p. 107. binds them with a new Oath, *ibid.* Leads them to Court, *ibid.* In their name presents a Petition to the Governesse, l. 5. p. 108. Feasts them at *Culemberge-houfe*, l. 5. p. 109. delivers a new Petition, l. 5. p. 111. Goes to *Antwerp*, *ibid.* Is met by a multitude of people, l. 5. p. 112. offers himself to be their General, and is accepted, *ibid.* Meets the Prince of *Orange* coming to the Town, l. 5. p. 118: Convenes the *Gheves* at *Centron*, l. 9. p. 119. Is call'd to a Conference by the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Egmont* sent by the Governesse, l. 5. p. 119, 120. He carries the 9. heads of the Conference to his Party, *ibid.* He is Chosen General for raising men and money, l. 5. p. 141. Endeavours to draw Count *Egmont* to a new Confederation, l. 5. p. 142. Desires the Governesses leave to come to *Brussels*, *ibid.* Is deny'd, *ibid.* sends a petition to the Governesse, *ibid.* Prepares men and armes, l. 6. p. 1. Fortifies *Viana*, *ibid.* Enters *Amsterdam*, l. 6. p. 2. Refuses to take the Oath of Allegiance, l. 6. p. 11, 12. His Troop of horse taken from him, *ibid.* He is commanded to depart from *Amsterdam*, l. 6. p. 19. Tryes to reconcile himself, but in vain, *ibid.* Despairs of Recovering of *Holland*, l. 6. p. 20. Leaves the *Low-Countryes*, *ibid.* Dies, *ibid.*
Henry *Dionisius* a Jesuite is invited from *Coleu* to *Mae-stricht*, l. 6. p. 15. Disputes with the Hereticks, *ibid.* Restores *Mae-stricht* to its old Religion and Obedience, *ibid.*
Henry the second of *France* desirous of a War with *Spain*, l. 1. p. 11. Takes *Calice*, *ibid.* Concludes a Peace with King *Philip*, l. 1. p. 12. His hatred to *Mary* Queen of *Hungary*, l. 9. p. 57. A Tournament at the Marriage of his Daughter and Sister, l. 1. p. 13. His Death, *ibid.* Predicted and the Judgments of Prudent men upon the Accident, *ibid.*
Henry King of *Portugal*, l. 10. p. 13. —
Henry *Nassau* Uncle to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 2. p. 43.
Henry *Nassau* brother to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 8. p. 2.
Henry King of *Navarre*, afterwards King of *France*, l. 7. p. 76.
Henry *Ostlie*, the French Embassadour, l. 4. p. 85.
Henry *Vicinius* Lord of *Cewavinum*, Commander of horse in the Battel of *Gemlar*, l. 9. p. 51. in the siege of *Dalbem*, l. 10. p. 3. —
Hercules Duke of *Feyara*, l. 1. p. 21. His daughter design'd for wife to *Alexander* *Fernere*, *ibid.* & l. 4. p. 91.
Hercules his haven or Port *Ercole*, l. 8. p. 14.
Hese vide *William*.
Hiez vide *Egidius* *Barlaimont*.
Hieronymo *Roda*, l. 8. p. 18. — His servant slain, *ibid.* He himself endanger'd, *ibid.*
Hieronymo *Siroqueques*, one of the waders over the Sea to *Ziricee*, l. 8. p. 10.
Hieronymites, l. 1. p. 6. The site of their Monastery, *ibid.* —
Hippolyto *Pennaoto* a Physician, l. 10. p. 15.
Historians how they should dispute of peace and war, l. 2. p. 27. Their Errors refuted, l. 3. p. 59. l. 7. p. 41, 47. the causes why they differ about the beginnings of the *Low-country* Tumults, l. 2. p. 27.
Hochstrat vide *Anthony* *Lalin*.
Holach vide *Philip*.
Holland a Province of the *Low-Countryes*, l. 1. p. 15. — a new State, l. 1. p. 1. l. 7. p. 72. Its Governour, l. 1. p. 16. l. 7. p. 72. The slaughters in that Province, l. 5. p. 127. The first Tumults, l. 6. p. 19. l. 7. p. 72. It yeilds to the Governess, l. 6. p. 20. The Maritime part of it drown'd by a Sea-breach, l. 7. p. 69.
Hollanders anciently free from Tribute, l. 7. p. 70. For which they rebel'd then against the *Romans*, *ibid.* and now against the King of *Spain*, l. 7. p. 71. l. 8. p. 20. They expel the *Spaniards*, l. 7. p. 72. Jeer the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* submit to the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* Pirates from all parts joyning with them, make up a Fleet, l. 7. p. 73. For almost 10 years they have been Constantly victorious at Sea, *ibid.* Some of their Cities recovered by the *Spaniard*, *ibid.* & 81. & l. 8. p. 8. Their hatred to that Nation, l. 7. p. 72, 78. Their Fleet sails over land to *Leiden*, l. 8. p. 7. and into *Sceldt*, l. 8. p. 13.
Hoodes parti-coloured the Cognizances of and marks of a Combination, l. 4. p. 78. l. 5. p. 115. left off, l. 7. p. 84. Reprehended, l. 4. p. 89.
Horne a Town, l. 7. p. 53. revolts from the *Spaniard*, l. 7. p. 72.
Horne vide *William* & *Philip*.
Horse dispos'd into a Militia, l. 1. p. 17.
Horse Troops famous throughout *Europe*, *ibid.* To what Officers they were committed, *ibid.*
Horse levied in *Italy* for the *German* war, l. 6. p. 25, 30. l. 10. p. 6, 10.
Hostage given by the King of *Spain* to the French King, l. 2. p. 46.
Huberta *Valle*, l. 7. p. 56.
Huchell a Town, l. 8. p. 9.
Hugonot the original of the name, l. 3. p. 57, 61. The Patrons of the *Hugonots*, l. 6. p. 32. Their Generals, l. 5. p. 111. Their battels, l. 3. p. 61. l. 6. p. 35. l. 7. p. 61. Their fraud, l. 6. p. 26. From *France* they offer *Auxiliaries* to the *Low-Country* Hereticks, l. 5. p. 138. Perswade the King of *France* to fight the *Spaniard*, *ibid.* A rumour of a peace concluded between them and *Charles* the ninth of *France*, l. 7. p. 73. Their Massacre upon *Bartolmew-Eve*, l. 7. p. 76.
Hungarian Queen vide *Marie*.
Hunting belov'd, l. 1. p. 21. l. 2. p. 46. l. 3. p. 72. l. 6. p. 28. l. 10. p. 17. *Veneur* or *Justice* in *Eyre* nominated by the King, l. 6. p. 28.

Sentences in H.

Princes like it well to have a servant on whom men may discharge the HATRED due unto their Masters,
 Publick Businesse will never have an happy End so long as 'tis ordered by a man generally HATED,
 HERESIE is the School of Pride,
 For the same man to be a HERETICK, and a good subject is impossible,
 HERESIE is a refractory and sullen disease, that may with lesse difficulty be kept out, then shoo'd off.

Many

Passages and Sentences.

Many times men fight more Eagerly for their HOUSES then for their Altars, l.5.p.126.
In HUMANE things however times and persons die, still the same Causes and Events re-
vive, l.1.p.2.
All HUMANE things are found to be far lesse in the possession, then they are fancied in our
hopes, l.4.p.79.

J.

James Fungeling, l.7.p.64.
James Maximus, Lord of Tholouse, ambitious to be
Lord of Zeland, l.6.p.2. beaten by Catcy, *ibid.* intren-
ches at Ostersvell near Antwerp, l.6.p.3. fights with
Beaver, *ibid.* Is defeated, l.6.p.4. Burn'd, *ibid.* His
wife stirs up the Calvinists, *ibid.*—

James Masius, l.1.p.5.
James Simons, l.8.p.2.

Jaanelus Turrianus of Cremona, l.1.p.6.
Iconomachy, or Execution done upon Images in the Low-
Countries, l.5.p.125. How it came about, and from
whence, *ibid.*— who were the Assistants, *ibid.*

The first battel was in Flanders, l.5.p.121. The day
and place of battel decreed, *ibid.* The image-break-
ers armes and Condition, *ibid.*— They force
their Entrance *Ipsæ*, and destroy all things sacred,
l.5.p.122. They ran to other Towns, *ibid.* are rout-
ed by the Sectiners, *ibid.* plunder the Churches in
Antwerp, l.5.p.123. whether or no the Devill help't
them, l.5.p.125. They begin a second plunder,
ibid.— Continue it for three dayes, l.5.p.126.
They'r chas't away by the Townes-men, *ibid.* How
great that ruine was, *ibid.* Many of them condemn'd
to die, l.6.p.20. l.7.p.39.42.

Jenis vide Francis Hangeß & John.

Jesuites refuse money offered them by the mutinous
Souldiers, l.8.p.6. The speech they made to the mu-
tineers, and what success it had, *ibid.* They were prest
to take the Oath, l.9.p.40. Deny to do it, *ibid.* Are
besieg'd by armed hereticks, *ibid.*— Their house
at Antwerp plunder'd, *ibid.* They are expell'd the
Town, *ibid.* A gallant act of one of their society,
ibid. A wonderful accident at their house, l.9.p.41.
One of their Preachers despis'd by the seditious Soul-
diers, l.8.p.5. Another of them heard by some that
were to go among hereticks, l.4.p.93. Another shews
the Merchants of Antwerp a fair occasion for their cha-
rity, l.7.p.77. Another implores divine assistance from
heaven to the men that were to wade the Sea, l.8.
p.11. — By the endeavours of one of their order,
Maefricht is restor'd to the Catholick Religion, l.6.
p.15.

Jew vide John Michese.

Ignatius Loyola, Confessor to Margaret of Parma, l.1
p.23.

Images of little horses and men in armour, l.1.p.7.
Images of the Blessed Virgin at Antwerp, l.5.p.123. In
Haynault, l.5.p.111. At Parma, l.4.p.95. At Sichem,
l.9.p.54. — Of the holy Crucifix at Rome, l.9.
p.43.

Images hallowed violated in the Low-Countries, vide Ico-
nomachy.

Images of Saints impiously jeer'd and abus'd, l.5.p.123,
125. l.7.p.78. Thrown down to the ground, l.5.p.122,
124, 132.

Images of the King to be set over City gates, l.7.
p.65.

Imbertus Platerius Bordelon, l.3.p.60.
Indeveltins, in the tumult at Valenciens, l.3.p.64.

Infant with a Cat lying by him, carried away by an inun-
dation, l.7.p.69.

Innocent the third, l.2.p.33.

Inquisition when and by whom instituted, l.2.p.33.

Its severall Judicatories, *ibid.* when establish't at

Rome, *ibid.* How accurately exercis'd in Spain, *ibid.*
on what occasion it was encreas't throughout Christen-
dome, *ibid.* & 34. By whom and why it was brought
into the Low-Countries, l.2.p.48 l.3.p.70. l.5.p.105, 106.
It occasions the Belgick tumults, l.2.p.33. The Bra-
banters refuse it, l.2.p.34. l.5.p.98. The first Inquisi-
tor in Brabant, *ibid.* The sence that many had of the
Inquisition and the Emperours Edict, l.2.p.35. what
good it did, l.2.p.46. Injury offer'd to an Inquisitor,
l.4.p.84. The Kings Letters and the Governesses
Edict for the Inquisition, l.4.p.96. The Conspiracy
of the Lords against this Edict, l.5.p.99, 102, 107. The
publick hatred against the Inquisition, l.5.p.105, 106.
Two kinds of Inquisition, *ibid.*— abrogated in
the Low-Countries by Decree of Senate, *ibid.*— &
by the Kings permission, l.5.p.120. A Libel against
the Inquisition, published by the *Gheuefies*, in the
name of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, l.5.p.112.
the chief Inquisitor, l.2.p.33. Temporary Inquisitors,
ibid.— Perpetual, l.2.p.35. l.5.p.100, 114, 117,
120, & l.6.p.22, 23.

Inscription of the Covenant by the Gentry, l.5.p.101.
of the Kings Instructions, l.4.p.89, 90. Of the Kings
Standard, l.9.p.51. Of the Basis of Alva's Statue,
l.7.p.64. Of the Pillar set up where Culemburg-house
was pull'd down, l.7.p.42. Of the Prince of Oranges
Colours, l.7.p.62.

Interim, the name of a book publish't in Germany by
Charles the fifth, l.1.p.9. by whom it was writ, *ibid.* at
whose appointment and why, *ibid.* Authoriz'd to
binde both Religions till the Council of Trent should
end, *ibid.* but receiv'd by neither party, *ibid.*—

Invective of the Marquels of Bergen against Cardinal
Granvel, l.3.p.75. of the Prince of Orange against the
Emperours Edict, l.5.p.133.

Inundation a most horrid one in the Low-countries, l.7.
p.69.

Joachim Oppen, l.8.p.16.

Joan Alibret daughter to Margaret of Valois, and Henry
King of Navarre, wife to Anthony Bourbon, l.3.p.56.
had implacable hatred to the name of Rome and Spain,
l.3.p.57. Compared to Tullia Tarquins wife, *ibid.* Her
Curtain-lecture to her husband when the set him at
the Catholicks, *ibid.* Her indignation against him,
l.3.p.59.

Joan of Austria, l.10.p.22, 23.

Joan daughter to Ferdinand the Catholick King, wife to
Philip the first, l.1.p.17.

Joan daughter to Duke Wenceslaus, l.9.p.36.

Don John of Austria born at Rakibone, l.10.p.16.

Carried into Spain in Swaddling-clouts, l.10.p.17.
Educated at Villa-Garcia, *ibid.* sav'd from fire, *ibid.*
His disposition and behaviour, *ibid.* The Emperour
intends to make a Priest of him, *ibid.* He is commend-
ed to King Philip by their father Charles the fifth, *ibid.*
He is own'd by his brother as he was hunting, l.10.
p.18. taken to Court, *ibid.*— sent to the univer-
sity of Alcala, l.9.p.44. bred with Prince Charles and
Alexander Farnese, l.10.p.18. Compared with them,
ibid. He offends the King because he would not en-
ter into holy Orders, *ibid.* and by going to the War
of Malta without the Kings leave, *ibid.* He regains
the Kings favour, l.10.p.19. dissuades Prince Charles
from going into the Low-countries, l.7.p.44. Discov-
ers to the King the Prince's Design to steal away,
l.10.p.19. Is made General against the Moores, *ibid.*

E

—Admiral

A Table of the most remarkable

— Admiral of the whole Fleet in the holy War against the *Turks*, l. 9. p. 45. l. 4. p. 81. Receives the sacred Standard of Christendome from *Granvill* Vice-Roy of *Naples*, *ibid.* — The difference between him and *Venerio*, l. 9. p. 45. Wins the *Battel* of *Le-papot*, l. 10. p. 19. l. 9. p. 46. l. 10. p. 21. Again commands in chief at *Sea*, l. 9. p. 46. Besieges *Navarine* in vain, *ibid.* 47. Challenges the *Ottoman Fleet*, *ibid.* at the dissolving of the holy League goes for *Sicily*, *ibid.* Takes *Tunis* and *Biserta* by assault, l. 10. p. 19. Carries away King *Amida* with his two sons prisoners, *ibid.* gives his Kingdom to *Mehemet*, l. 10. p. 21. Returns victorious into *Italy*, *ibid.* Defers the Acceptance of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, l. 10. p. 22. Offends the King with putting a Garrison into *Biserta*, l. 10. p. 19. The *Popes* request for the Conferred upon him the title of King of *Tuniz*, *ibid.* His household servants changed by the King, *ibid.* Recal'd from *Italy* into *Spain*, *ibid.* Desires the Place & honour of a Prince of *Infantia*, *ibid.* is by the *Pope* propos'd to his Majesty for Governour of the *Low-countries*, l. 8. p. 16. — The Government promised to him by the King, *ibid.* & p. 19. He is design'd General for the Army that was to Land in Great Britain, l. 8. p. 16. 'Tis falsly rumor'd, That he should marry *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, l. 10. p. 20. l. 8. p. 16. He comes into the *Low-countries*, l. 9. p. 26. The *Senators* and *Delegates* of the Estates doubt whether or no they should admit him, *ibid.* He consults about sending away of the *Spaniards* from the *Low-countries*, l. 9. p. 27. Resolves to dismiss them, and why, l. 9. p. 29. Allows of the Pacification of *Gant*, l. 9. p. 30. Proclaims it, *ibid.* Is acknowledged Governour of the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* — Prefers the *Spaniards* to depart, *ibid.* Lends money to the Estates to pay the *Spaniards*, l. 9. p. 32. Enters *Brussels* with extraordinary pomp, *ibid.* His gracious carriage, *ibid.* — He requires that the Prince of *Orange*, with the *Hollanders* and *Zelanders*, shall subscribe the *Perpetual Edict*, l. 8. p. 33. His Letters to the King intercepted and published, *ibid.* Many suspected and fall off from him, l. 9. p. 34. His dissembled flight, *ibid.* He seizes the Castle of *Namure*, l. 9. p. 35. He terrifies the *Deputies* of the Estates of the cause of his departure, *ibid.* Complains of *Contumelies* offered to, and plots laid against him, *ibid.* Writes to the *Provinces*, *ibid.* Attempts the Fort at *Antwerp*, *ibid.* Is by the Estates accus'd of Counterfeiting his seals, *ibid.* — He shoves them to be real, l. 9. p. 36. Receives supplies of money from the *Pope*, *ibid.* Is encourag'd by the Kings Letters, *ibid.* sharply reproves the Estates for creating the Prince of *Orange* Ruart of the Province, l. 9. p. 37. — Prepares for War, *ibid.* what forces he had, *ibid.* It troubles him the Arch-Duke *Matthias* was to come into the *Low-countries*, l. 9. p. 39. The *Senate* declares him Enemy to the Country, *ibid.* He calls back the *Spaniards*, from *Italy*, l. 9. p. 41. Invites *Alexander Farnese* whom the King had design'd for the *Low-countries*, l. 9. p. 48. Joyfully receives him, *ibid.* Is animated by his coming with the *Spanish Army*, l. 9. p. 41. Sends relief to *Breda* besieged, l. 9. p. 49. Defends *Ruremund*, *ibid.* — Refuses Conditions of Peace offer'd by the Queen of *England*, *ibid.* His march to *Gembles*. His army, battel, and victory, *ibid.* & p. 50. — His words to *Goigny* General of the Prisoners, l. 9. p. 52. His commendations of his own men, *ibid.* Other Cities render themselves to him, l. 9. p. 53. 54. He commands *Alexander Farnese* to attack *Diesthem*, *ibid.* and *Levia*, l. 9. p. 55. And *Charles Mansfeld* to besiege *Nivel*, *ibid.* *Nivel* is rendered to himself, l. 9. p. 56. He quiets the *Murday* in his Camp, *ibid.* Dismisses the Garrison of *Nivel* without their arms, *ibid.* which arms he bestowes on his *French* souldiers, but the gift

was fatal to them, *ibid.* — Grants them leave to depart, l. 9. p. 57. Many Towns yields to him, *ibid.* He stormes *Cimace*, *ibid.* besieges *Philipvill* and takes it, *ibid.* & 58. Goes to *Namure* to recover his health, l. 10. p. 12. commits the Expedition of *Limburg* to *Alexander Farnese*, *ibid.* — Performs the Rites of funeral to Count *Barlamont*, and his son *Megan*, l. 10. p. 5. Receives money from the King, l. 10. p. 7. Calls a Council of War about invading of the Enemy, *ibid.* Moves to *Rimenant*, l. 10. p. 9. begins the fight, l. 10. p. 10. suspects the enemy to fly upon design, *ibid.* Is angry with his men, which the enemy had Circumvented, *ib.* & p. 11. Considers how to bring them off, *ibid.* — Leaves it to be manag'd by *Alexander Farnese*, *ibid.* — The fight is renew'd with equally losse to the Enemy, *ibid.* & p. 12. His care in his retreat, *ibid.* & p. 13. He loses the town of *Aresther*, *ibid.* — Sets a foot a treaty of Peace, l. 10. p. 14. Demolishes some Forts, and quits certain Towns, *ibid.* Is offended with the Conditions of peace offer'd, *ibid.* writes in fury to the King, *ibid.* Entrenches upon the hill of *Buge*, *ibid.* — The Complaints made against him to the King, l. 10. p. 20. The Kings continual suspicion of him, *ibid.* The Principality of the *Low-countries* offered him, and why, *ibid.* — He is inrag'd, and abhors the Perswader, *ibid.* — His grief for the Kings Jealousie and *Escovedo's* death, *ibid.* His complaints against the King, *ibid.* — He is sick in the Camp, l. 10. p. 14. the Physicians prediction of him, l. 10. p. 15. He transfers the Government of the *Low-countries* upon *Alexander Farnese*, *ibid.* receives the Sacraments, l. 10. p. 16. raves, *ibid.* — Dying makes three requests to the King, *ibid.* — Dies religiously, *ibid.* How his death came to be hastened, l. 10. p. 20. A conspiracy against his life, *ibid.* His death deplored by the Army, *ibid.* They compare him to *Germanicus Caesar*, l. 10. p. 21. and to his father *Charles* the fifth, *ibid.* — His military Expeditions, *ibid.* His desire of a solitary life, *ibid.* — His care of his Conscience, and to purifie it by Confession, especially before a Battel, *ibid.* His piety, *ibid.* & 22. His liberality to the Souldiers, l. 10. p. 21. His virtues as a General, l. 10. p. 22. His daughters, *ibid.* His custome to wear the hair of his foretop upright, l. 10. p. 21. The Contention of several Nations who should bear his body, l. 10. p. 22. A crown set upon his head, *ibid.* His obsequies in the Church of *Namure*, *ibid.* His temporary sepulcher there, *ibid.* his body dissected is privately conveyed into *Spain*, l. 10. p. 24. set together again and shew'd to the King, *ibid.* buried in the *Escurvall* with *Charles* the fifth, *ibid.* —

John Baptista Bertius, Secretary, l. 6. p. 12. 13.
John or *Giovanni Baptista Castaneo*, Archbishop of *Rossana*, the *Popes* Nuncio, l. 5. p. 132. his relation to Cardinal *Alexandrino* of the Commitment and death of Prince *Charles*, l. 7. p. 43.
John or *Giovanni Baptista*, Marquess of *Monte*, Commander of the horse at the battel of *Moosh*, l. 8. p. 3. in the battel of *Gembles*, l. 9. p. 51. a pension assign'd him by the King, l. 8. p. 3. In the battel of *Rimenant*, l. 10. p. 9. at a Councell of War with *Don John* and others, l. 10. p. 7.
John Barnise Commander of horse, l. 5. p. 132.
John Blazer, l. 3. p. 62.
John Bloisius Trelong, l. 7. p. 72.
John Boccas, a Jesuite, l. 9. p. 40.
John the fourth, Duke of *Brahant*, l. 9. p. 36.
John Calvin, l. 3. p. 56. vide Calvinists.
John Cassembror, Secretary to Count *Egmont*, l. 6. p. 33. & l. 7. p. 50. taken by the Duke of *Alva's* command, l. 6. p. 33. beheaded, l. 7. p. 49.
John Cassimir, brother to the Prince Elector *Palatine*, l. 10. p. 1, 14. — *John*

John Grey Count Reuse, l. 1. p. 17. Governour of Tormay, l. 6. p. 8. one of the four mourners: that held the corners of the heart-cloth when *Don John's* corps was carried to *Hamur*, l. 10. p. 22.

John Friderick, son to the late Elector of Saxony, l. 5. p. 140. maintains a War against the Duke of Saxony, l. 5. p. 141.

John Funch, l. 9. p. 27.

John Glimé, Marquess of Bergen, Governour of Haynault, l. 1. p. 16. Justice in Eyre of the Low-Countries, l. 6. p. 28. taken along by King *Philip* to his marriage with *Mary Queen of England*, l. 3. p. 71. Elected Knight of the Golden Fleece, l. 6. p. 28. flow to quiet the tumults rais'd by heretics, l. 3. p. 62, 64. At last he quiets them, *ibid.* — writes to the Pope in behalf of the Agent *Molin*, l. 3. p. 66. conspires against *Granvell*, l. 3. p. 69. Inveighes against him to the Governesse, l. 3. p. 75. sent into Spain by her Excellence of Parma, l. 5. p. 113. Is hurt by accident which puts off his journey, *ibid.* when he was perfectly recovered, the Governesse presses him to Depart, l. 5. p. 117. Relapsing he sends his *Major Domo* before, *ibid.* — what he wrote of the King from Spain, l. 5. p. 134. He cannot get leave to return to the Low-Countries, l. 6. p. 27. He falls sick, *ibid.* His complaints of the King, *ibid.* & 28. He dies, *ibid.* — His Elogie, *ibid.* After his decease, he was impeached and condemned by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* How the King disposed of his goods and heir, *ibid.*

John Gnisius, Bishop of Groninghen, l. 7. p. 58.

John Hangest, Lord of *Jenlis*, marches out of France to relieve *Mons*, l. 7. p. 74. fights with Duke *Federico* son to the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* is Defeated, *ibid.*

John Hennin Count Baldac, sent for to compose the stirr at *Valenciens*, l. 3. p. 64.

John James Medices, Marquess of *Marigan*, l. 8. p. 9.

John Immarsel, Pretor of *Antwerp*, l. 5. p. 124.

John Lanoi, Lord of *Molembase*, Governour of *Haynault*, l. 1. p. 16.

John Lignins Count Aremborg, Governour of *Frisland*, & *Over-ysell*, *ibid.* & l. 3. p. 65. chosen one of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, l. 7. p. 47. His difference with the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Agmont*, l. 3. p. 72, 73. He withdraws himself from the Combination against Cardinal *Granvell*, *ibid.* Likes not the Conspiracy of the Lords and Gentlemen, nor the Covenant, l. 5. p. 103. Ready to take armes for the King, l. 5. p. 129, 141. Pursues the fugitive Rebels, l. 6. p. 19. Is by the Duke of *Alva* sent into France General of the Spanish force and horse, l. 6. p. 35. l. 7. 47. Encounters *Lewis* and *Adulp* of *Nassau*, *ibid.* Recovers *Dam*, and beats the *Nassauvians*, *ibid.* — fights a battel, *ibid.* kills *Adulph*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, and is himself slain by *Adulp*, *ibid.* His army lost, *ibid.* His Elogy, *ibid.* His death otherways related, l. 7. p. 48. his death, and the death of *Momerancy* Constable of France, compar'd together, *ibid.* The Duke of *Alva* celebrates his funerals, l. 7. p. 54. his losse reveng'd by the *Sardinian Regiment*, l. 7. p. 57.

John the third, King of *Portugall*, l. 4. p. 92.

John Munie de Lara speaks at the Councell-board before the King, l. 6. p. 23.

John Murius, at the battel of *Rimenant*, l. 10. p. 12.

John Maraxius, one of the first Covenanters, l. 5. p. 101.

John Michese, a Jew, flies from Spain to *Antwerp*, l. 5. p. 138. from thence to *Venice*, *ibid.* from *Venice* to *Constantinople*, *ibid.* Ingratiates himself with *Selimus* afterwards Emperour of the *Turks*, *ibid.* 139. moves him to assist the *Moors* against the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* offers armes from *Constantinople* to the Low-Country Rebels, *ibid.* Puts *Selimus* upon the war with *Cyprus*, to spite the *Venetians*, *ibid.* and in hope of the King-

dome of *Cyprus*, *ibid.* He is author of the firing of *Venice*, *ibid.*

John Momerancy, Lord of *Cowrir*, Governour of *Brabant Flanders*, l. 1. p. 16. His death, l. 5. p. 123.

John de Nassau, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, l. 5. p. 132, 134.

John Noeys, Colonel of *English*, l. 10. p. 10.

John Count of East Frizland, l. 1. p. 16.

John Oforius Wloa, one of the Sea waders, l. 8. p. 10. Commander of the Van, l. 8. p. 11. Animates his men, *ibid.* arrives in *Duveland*, fights and Conquers, l. 8. p. 13.

John Pettin, l. 8. p. 2.

John the 22. Pope, l. 2. p. 30.

John Regula, Confessor to *Charles the fifth*, l. 1. p. 7.

John Selinus in the Kings name treats for peace with the Deputies of the Estates, l. 10. p. 56.

John Soreau, General of the *Gheses*, hath a plot upon *Lisle*, l. 6. p. 67. Attempts *Lanoi* in vain, *ibid.* fights with *Norcarinus*, *ibid.* is Routed, *ibid.*

John Spell, Provost Marshal, chief actor in the execution of the Lords and Gentlemen, l. 7. p. 49. hang'd, *ibid.*

John Valhart, Commander of horse, l. 5. p. 132.

John Vangest, maternal Grandfather to *Margaret of Austria*, l. 1. p. 20.

John Vargas Mexia, the King of Spain's Embassadour, l. 10. p. 20, 24.

Joy for the Peace between the French and Spaniards, l. 1. p. 12. For the departure of Cardinal *Granvell*, l. 4. p. 80, 81. At Rome for the twins, *Alexander* and *Charles Farneze*, l. 9. p. 42, 43. At the marriage of *Alexander Farneze* and Princess *Mary of Portugall*, l. 4. p. 94. — For the Emperour disclaiming the plunder of *Rome*, l. 1. p. 9.

Joyful entry, l. 2. p. 30. the Priviledges therein contain'd, *ibid.* & l. 9. p. 36.

Ipre, a town of the lower *Flanders*, l. 5. p. 122. Bishop of *Ipre*, *ibid.* & l. 7. p. 52. vide *Iconomachy*.

Ireland offer'd to *Don John*, l. 10. p. 22.

Isabella Briganze, wife to *Edward Prince of Portugall*, l. 4. p. 92.

Isabella, wife to *Charles the fifth*, l. 10. p. 17.

Isabella, sister to *Charles the fifth*, l. 1. p. 19.

Isabella, the Catholick Queen, l. 4. p. 78. Her ames, *ibid.*

Isabella elara Eugenia, daughter to *Philip the second*, is born, l. 5. p. 132. baptiz'd by the Popes Nuncio, *ibid.* married to *Albert Rodolp* the Emperours brother, and endow'd with the Low-Countries, *ibid.*

Isabella, daughter to *Henry the second of France*, l. 1. p. 12, 13. why she was call'd the Princess of Peace, *ibid.* promised to *Charles Prince of Spain*, *ibid.* & l. 7. p. 68. married to his father *Philip the second*, l. 1. p. 12. is brought into Spain, l. 3. p. 57. present at the Conference at *Baion*, l. 4. p. 87. Dies, l. 7. p. 45.

Isabella of Portugall, mother to *Philip the second*, l. 4. p. 92.

Isabella of Portugall, wife to *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, l. 4. p. 94.

Ischius sent by the Senate to *Don John*, l. 9. p. 26, 27. refuses the Counsel given him by the way, *ibid.* Incurs the hatred of many for his Commendations of *Don John of Austria*, *ibid.*

Isell, a River, l. 8. p. 7.

Isidor Pacecho, a Spanish Captain at the wading over Sea to *Duveland*, l. 8. p. 10. Dies shot, l. 8. p. 12. His courage and last words, *ibid.* He and *Cesar's Centurion* parallel'd, *ibid.*

Italians attribute the victory at *Moock* to the Marquess of *Monte*, l. 8. p. 3. depart the Low-countries, l. 9. p. 32. are brought back thither by *Alexander Farneze*, l. 9. p. 41. Their valour at the Battel of *Rimenant*, l. 10. p. 12. who was call'd the *Paladin of Italy*, l. 8. p. 4.

A Table of the most remarkable

Forces rais'd in Italy, 1.6.p.25,30. & 1.10.p.6.
Juan Acugna sent by the King to *Savoy*, 1.6.p.21.
Juan Anguisciola, a Colonel, 1.3.p.60.
Juan Aranda sounds the Foard in the Zeland Expedition, 1.8.p.9. His relation to *Requesenes*, *ibid.* He wades the Sea to *Duveland*, 1.8.p.10.
Juan a Cerda, Duke of *Medina Celi*, made Governour of the Low-countrys, 1.7.p.68. goes into the *Netherlands*, and presently returns for Spain, *ibid.*
Juan Estovedo perswades *Don John* to dismishe the Spaniards, 1.9.p.28. His speech to the Spaniards, 1.9.p.31. He is sent into Spain, 1.9.p.36. 1.10.p.20. His death, *ibid.*
Juan Zuniga, Father to *Requesenes*, great Commendador of the Knights of *St. Iago in Castile*, 1.8.p.15.
Juan Zuniga, brother to *Requesenes*, the Kings Embassadour at *Rome*, 1.4.p.81.
Judoigna rendered to *Don John*, 1.9.p.53.
Juliers, the territory, 1.7.p.46. The Duke, 1.9.p.36. & 1.10.p.4.

Juliano Romero, 1.6.p.30. a Spaniard, *ibid.* Colonel of the *Sicilian Regiment*, *ibid.* wounded, 1.7.p.80. Joy'd with *Glime* to relieve *Middelburg*, 1.8.p.2. His life endanger'd in a Tumult at *Brussels*, 1.8.p.18. Invades *Antwerp*, 1.8.p.22. takes *Philip Egmont*, *ibid.* Departs with the Spaniards from the Low-countrys, 1.9.p.32. Dies of a fall with his horse, 1.9.p.41.
Julio Pavese, the Popes Legate to the Emperour, 1.5.p.114.
Julius the second, Pope, 1.3.p.57. 1.8.p.15.
S. Justus, a Monastery, 1.1.p.6.
Justitium, or the Courts of Justice forbidden to sit in a time of publick mourning, 1.1.p.9.
Justus Scowemburg, solicited by *Brederod*, 1.6.p.20. Enters *Frisland*, 1.7.p.46. represses the seditions of the Germans, 1.7.p.55. At the battel of *Geming*, 1.7.p.56. His Carriages taken, *ibid.*
Justus Villers defends *Nizell* for the States, 1.9.p.56.

Sentences in I.

Occasion cannot be long Wanting to IMPROBITIE, 1.7.p.40.
 INFANTS manners are moulded by the example of their Parents, much sooner then by the Stars that reign at their Nativities, 1.9.p.43.
 It seems to be an argument of JUST anger, not to be friends upon the sudden, 1.5.p.104.

K.

KENNAVA, Colonel of a Regiment of women in the siege of *Harlem*, 1.7.p.79. admir'd even by the enemy, *ibid.*
 King of Cyprus, 1.5.p.139. King of the Romans, 1.1.p.5.
 King of Spain vide *Philip*. King of France, vide *Charles*, *Francis* & *Lewis*.
 Kingdome resign'd, 1.1.p.3,5. translated, 1.1.p.4. Erected, 1.1.p.15.
 Knights of the Golden Fleece, who and by whom created, 1.1.p.16, 44. 1.6.p.28. 1.7.p.47,53. 1.9.p.42. The Order it self when and by whom instituted, 1.1.p.17. 1.4.p.94. To what number the Knights was encreased, 1.1.p.25. yet farther augmented by *Charles* the

fifth, *ibid.* Under the Patronage of what Saint, 1.4.p.94. The Master of the Knights, 1.1.p.3. 1.5.p.107. their Herald commonly call'd *Tosondor*, 1.5.p.101. In whom the power is to create them, 1.2.p.46,47. Their legal Judge, 1.7.p.50. Their Convention at *Gant*, 1.2.p.46. Their Assembly, 1.1.p.3,25. Their Convocation, 1.3.p.69. The result thereof, *ibid.* Their Combination against the power of *Granvel*, *ibid.* some of them numbered among the Covenanters, 1.5.p.101. Their Joy at the marriage of *Alexander Farnese* and *Mary* Princeesse of *Portugal*, 1.4.p.94. A Libell published in their name by the *Gueuses*, 1.5.p.112. Knights of *Calatrava*, 1.7.p.58. Of *St. Johns* of *Jerusalem*, 1.6.p.23,30. Of *St. Jago*, 1.8.p.1. Of *St. Stephen*, 1.8.p.14.

Sentences in K.

KINGS that have large Dominions, never Want causes of War, nor rewards for Souldiers, 1.9.p.31.
 It concerns the Wisdome of a KING to provide that a Crown, once moderately refus'd by a subject, should never more be in the power of his acceptance, 1.1.p.20.

L.

LALIN vide *Anthony*, *Charles*, *George* & *Philip*.
Lambert, Count and Abbat of *Gembac*, 1.9.p.52.
Lambert Wirtzenberg, 1.7.p.80.
 Lamentation at the Obsequies of *Charles* the fifth, Celebrated by himself, 1.1.p.7,8. at the death of Count *Egmont*, 1.7.p.25. and of *Don John*, 1.10.p.21. vide *Obsequies*.
Lamoral, Count *Egmont*, created Knight of the Golden Fleece by *Charles* the fifth, 1.7.p.53. General of the Low-country horse, 1.1.p.11. victorious at *St. Quintine*, and at *Graveling*, *ibid.* & 1.7.p.53. Governour of *Flanders* and *Artois*, 1.1.p.16. & 1.7.p.53. Commander in Chief of the Spanish Forces in the Low-countrys, and Designed by the Peoples wishes for Governour of all the Low-countrys, 1.1.p.18,19. his

Alienation from the King, 1.2.p.38. 1.3.p.67. his freedom of speech, *ibid.* his Envy and Emulation against *Granvel*, 1.2.p.41. the Prince of *Orange* preferred before him by *Charles* the fifth, 1.2.p.44. he joyns with the Prince of *Orange* and the rest that dissent from *Granvel*, 1.3.p.67. his first Complaint to the King, 1.3.p.68. he combines against *Granvel*, *ibid.* & 72. and exasperates others, 1.3.p.73,74. his Letter to the King against *Granvel*, 1.3.p.72,73. his dissimilitude to the Prince of *Orange*, 1.3.p.70. the King invites him into Spain, 1.3.p.74. he will not go, *ibid.* he differs from Count *Arenberg*, 1.3.p.73. his Complaints against *Granvel*, 1.3.p.75. he discovers *Granvels* danger to the Governesse, *ibid.* & 1.4.p.80. when others leave the Court, he stays, 1.3.p.75. he is Author of the Liveries and Cognizances worn by the Lords servants, 1.4.p.78. Invents a New Cognizance instead of the Old, *ibid.* the Governesse sends him Ambassadour into Spain, 1.4.p.87. he is very graciously

Passages and Sentences.

ciously received by the King, 1.4. p.89. he excuseth himself to his Majesty, *ibid.* returns into the Low-countries with Alexander Farnese, 1.4. p.90. his Complaints occasioned by the Kings Letters, 1.4. p.96. he writes to the Governesse of a Confederation Decreed by the Nobility, 1.5. p.99. his Vote in Senate for the Covenanters, 1.5. p.103. he denies to fight for the Inquisition, or the Emperours Edicts, 1.5. p.106. he meets the Covenanters at their Feast in Culemburg house, 1.5. p.110. he is sent by the Governesse to *Centron* to disturb the Convention of the *Gheuses*, 1.5. p.119, 120. the Covenanters desire his mediation for them, *ibid.* he disputes with the Governesse touching the plunder of Churches, 1.5. p.123. resists not the Church-robberies of the *Gheuses*, 1.7. p.50. speaks in Senate against a War, 1.5. p.129. meets the rest of the Lords Conspirators at *Dendermond*, 1.5. p.136. & 1.7. p.50. his letter to Count *Mansfeldt*, 1.5. p.136. his Complaints against Count *Mansfeldt*, and the Governesse, *ibid.* he refuseth to enter into the new League, 1.5. p.142. is offended with the *Valencians* letter, 1.6. p.6. sent by the Governesse to *Valencians*, 1.6. p.9. what his opinion is of the strength of the town, *ibid.* & p.10. he promiseth to take the Oath of Allegiance, 1.6. p.11. and doth it, 1.6. p.14. his Conference with the Prince of *Orange* at *Willebroec*, *ibid.* he adheres to the Kings party, *ibid.* opposeth the Covenanters, *ibid.* breaks friendship with them, *ibid.* is call'd to sit in Council with the Duke of *Alva*, 1.6. p.32, 33. invites Count *Horn* to come likewise to the Council-table, *ibid.* is Arrested in the Kings name by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* imprisoned in the Castle at *Gant*, 1.7. p.49. Many are Suitors to the King for his life, *ibid.* his Ladies humble Petition, *ibid.* the Crime charged against him by the Kings Advocate, *ibid.* & p.50. his Answer to the Charge, *ibid.* divers of those particulars formerly objected against him by the Governesse, 1.7. p.51. the Peoples affection to him, *ibid.* he is brought from *Gant* to *Bruxels*, *ibid.* sentence of Death pronounced against him by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* & 22. his letter to the King, *ibid.* He religiously prepares himself to die, *ibid.* is beheaded, *ibid.* the Extraordinary lamentation at his death, with threats and presages, confirmed by a strange portent, *ibid.* and 53. the saying of the French Ambassadors touching his execution, *ibid.* his Elogy, *ibid.* many hate and threaten *Alva* for putting him to Death, *ibid.*

Lancelot Barlamont, Count *Megan*, 1.9. p.35. Colonel of the German Regiment, 1.10. p.5. attempts *Sichem*, 1.9. p.54. the Mutiny of his men, 1.9. p.56. his Death, 1.10. p.5.

Lancelot Bastard son to *Brederoed*, one of the *Water Gheuses*, 1.7. p.31. turns Pirat, *ibid.* Dies in the siege of *Harlem*, 1.7. p.80.

Lanciers at the battel of *Mooch*, 1.8. p.3, 4. worst the Raiters, *ibid.* at *Gemblac*, 1.9. p.50. at *Rimulant*, 1.10. p.10. their Commanders in Chief, 1.8. p.3.

Languasco, the Mountainous part of *Liguria*, 1.9. p.32.

Lauoy, the town, assaulted, 1.6. p.7.

Lauoy, an Heretical Calvinist, 1.3. p.62.

Lauoy vide *Iohn* & *Philip*.

Laudygrave of *Hessen* vide *Philip*.

Laurentio Priulo, Duke of *Venice*, 1.1. p.14.

Laurentio Tuccio, 1.9. p.57. & 1.10. p.12.

Lazarus Swend, 1.2. p.41.

Lec, a River in *Holland*, 1.8. p.9.

Lefdal, Servant to Count *Egmont*, one of the first Covenanters, 1.5. p.101. troubles *Holland*, 1.6. p.19. is defeated, *ibid.*

Leiden besieged by *Valdez*, 1.8. p.6. reliev'd by a Sea-breach, 1.8. p.8.

Leocadia, Patronesse of *Toledo*, 1.7. p.75.

Leovare, a Town in *Frisland*, 1.7. p.48.

Lepido de Romanis, 1.10. p.12.

Lerodam, 1.8. p.9.

Letters of Alexander Farnese to Philip the second, joying his Majesty for the Victory at *Gemblac*, 1.9. p.53. to his Father *Ottavio*, Duke of *Parma*, 1.10. p.8, 15. to his Mother *Margaret* of *Austria*, 1.10. p.13. to *Samaniego*, how he dissuaded *Dan John* from giving battle, 1.10. p.7, 8. Of a namelesse person to the Duke of *Alva*, praying him to take off the tenth part, 1.7. p.67. Of Count *Egmont* to Count *Mansfeldt*, 1.5. p.135. to the King of *Spain* against *Granuel*, 1.3. p.72. to his Majesty after Sentence of death, 1.7. p.52. Of the Duke of *Alva*, entaged, to the Provinces, 1.7. p.67. to his son *D. Federico*, chiding him, 1.7. p.78. Of the French Embassador to Charles the ninth, touching the Death of *Egmont*, 1.7. p.53. Of *George Fringsberg* to *Dan John*, 1.9. p.48. Of Cardinal *Granuel* to the Prince of *Ebolo*, and the Duke of *Alva*, concerning the King of *Navarre*, 1.3. p.58. Of the Spanish Officers to the King, 1.8. p.21. Of Count *Hochbrat* in answer to Count *Mansfeldt*, 1.6. p.12. Of Count *Horn* to the King against *Granuel*, 1.3. p.72. Of *Dan John* to Alexander Farnese, touching the Emperour *Rodolph*, and the Arch-Duke *Matthias*, 1.9. p.39. to the King his brother, 1.10. p.14. another counterfeit-ed and sent for his, to *Fronsberg*, 1.9. p.49. Of *John Michese* the Jew, incouraging the Calvinists at *Antwerp* to Rebel, 1.5. p.139. Of *Margaret* of *Austria* to Philip the second, touching the dismissal of the Spaniards, 1.3. p.51. and Cardinal *Granuel*, 1.3. p.68. Of Concessions made against Religion, 1.5. p.130. Of her Letters betrayed at the Kings Court, 1.5. p.137. Of the storming of *Valencians*, 1.6. p.8. Of the Duke of *Alva's* Army, 1.6. p.27. Of the authority granted to the Duke of *Alva* that much troubled her, 1.9. p.48. Of her desire to be discharged from the Government, 1.6. p.34. before her departure, 1.6. p.36. to *Granuel* touching the acceptance of his Cardinals robes, 1.3. p.54. to the Provinces against the *Valencians*, 1.6. p.6. to the Governours of Provinces to take away Heretical Exercises, 1.5. p.141. in answer to the Covenanters, 1.5. p.143. to the Lady Marquess of *Bergen*, when she sent a Garrison into the Town of *Bergen*, 1.6. p.28. to the Duke of *Alva*, that he would lessen his Army, 1.6. p.29.

Levia vide *Alphonso* & *Sancho*.

Levia Rendered to Alexander Farnese, 1.9. p.35.

Levinus Torrentius, 1.9. p.36.

Lewis of *Granado*, a Dominican Fryer, 1.7. p.82.

Lewis of *Nassau*, brother to the Prince of *Orange*, infected with heretic in his travels, 1.9. p.99. sets a foot a conspiracy in Low-Countries, *ibid.* and in *Germany*, 1.5. p.100. commands the Conspirators in chief, 1.5. p.102. enters *Bruxels* with the Covenanters, 1.5. p.107. collects money for them assisted by *Brederoed*, *ibid.* at a feast with the Covenanters, 1.5. p.110. goes with his Companions to the Governesse, 1.5. p.111. asks leave of the Bishop of *Liege* for the *Gheuses* to convene at *Centron*, 1.5. p.119. offers another Petition to the Governesse, 1.5. p.120. his Letter consenting to the *Iconomachy*, 1.5. p.127. the Principal *Bouteusen*, *ibid.* & 134. his threats against *Bruxels* and the Governesse, 1.5. p.129. he is present in the Convention at *Dendermond*, 1.5. p.134. the Kings displeasure against him, *ibid.* he persuades the *Antwerpers* to conform unto the Confession of *Ausburg*, 1.5. p.138. is chosen General for the Covenanters, to raise men and money, 1.5. p.141. follows the Prince of *Orange* out of the Low-Countries, 1.6. p.15. is impeached and condemned absent, 1.7. p.41. enters *Frisland*, 1.7. p.47. takes *Damme*, *ibid.* Fights Count *Aremberg* and defeats him, *ibid.* besiegeth the *Groine*, 1.7. p.54. the

A Table of the most remarkable

- number of his Forces, *ibid.* he encamps at *Geming*, 1.7.p.55. a mutiny in his Camp, *ibid.* he fights with the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* & 56. loseth his Army, *ibid.* and Carriages, *ibid.* his Armes and his Clothes are brought to the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* he flies, *ibid.* his battel by the River *Emmes*, compared with the overthrow of *Arminius* by the River *Vifargus*, *ibid.* General of the *Hugonots* in France, he is Routed by Count *Mansfeldt*, 1.7.p.64. he moves the French King to invade the *Low-countries*, 1.7.p.73. take *Mohs* in *Hainaut*, *ibid.* is besieged, renders the Town, 1.7. p.76, 78. goes to *Bilemburg*, *ibid.* is defeated at *Mooch*, his Death, 1.8. p.3. diversly reported, *ibid.* his Elogy, *ibid.*
- Louis de Bourbon*, Prince of *Condé*, Enemy to the *Guises*, 1.3.p.56. advanceth the Conspiracy at *Ambois*, 1.3. p.57. sentenced to lose his head, 1.3. p.58. restored to liberty and the Kings favour, *ibid.* is a friend to the Heretical Cause, 1.3.p.60. his Activeness to raise men in the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* Taken at *Dort*, 1.3. p.6. Solicites the Hereticks to plunder Churches in the *Netherlands*, 1.5.p.121. is accounted one of the Covenanting *Guises*, *ibid.* Favours those of *Geneva*, 1.6. p.26. Perswades the King of France to fight the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* the *Low-country* Fugitives have recourse to him, 1.6. p.34. he makes the Duke of *Alva's* March an occasion to raise Forces, *ibid.* he is routed at *St. Denis*, 1.6.p.35. renews the war, *ibid.* revives the third Civil War of France, 1.7. p.63. vide *Lodwick & Lodovico*.
- Libels in France against the King and the *Guises*, 1.3. p.57. in the *Low-Countries* against Religion, the Bishops, and Cardinal *Granvel*, 1.4.p.77. against the Inquisition, 1.5.p.100. one fathered upon the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, 1.5.p.112. Of Hereticks at *Antwerp* for liberty of Conscience, 1.5. p.139. another writ in blood, 1.4.p.84. one offered to the Arch-Duke for liberty of Conscience, 1.9.p.41.
- Liberty naturally desired by the *Low-Country* men, 1.1.p.23. 1.8.p.21. 9. p.37.
- Liebert*, a Fort, 1.8.p.19.
- Lier*, a Monster born there, 1.7. p.40. Bishop of *Lieg*, 1.1.p.18. 1.5.p.119. the Town joynes in the Association of *Gant*, 1.9.p.30. gratulates *Alexander Farnese*, 1.9. p.52. the *Mambure* of the *Legois*, 1.9.p.36.
- Life contemned, 1.8. p.12.
- Lignius* vide *Fohn*.
- Lily taken for a happy Omen, 1.1.p.8.
- Lindburg*, a Province of the *Low-Countries*, 1.1.p.16. and 1.10. p.14. its Governour, 1.1.p.16. recovery, 1.10. p.14. Situation, 1.10.p.1. Suburbs, *ibid.* stormed, *ibid.* & p.2. the Town taken by assault, *ibid.* defended, *ibid.* the Fort burnt, 1.10.p.4.
- Lips*, the Chief City of *Flanders*, 1.6.p.6. against it they of *Tornay* and *Armenter* conspire, *ibid.* the Consistorial Merchants attempt to betray it, *ibid.* the Plot discovered, *ibid.* & p.7. the City freed, *ibid.* the Townsmen of *Lisse* demolish the Fort, 1.9. p.38. the Governour of *L'Isle*, 1.6.p.7.
- Lipsa's* advice to *Aug. Cesar*, 1.9.p.28.
- Low-Countries*, how all the Provinces were anciently confederated under one Principality, 1.1.p.15. *Charles* the fifth thought to have made them into a Kingdom, *ibid.* & p.16. They are transferred by *Charles* the fifth to his son *Philip*, 1.1. p.4. their division, 1.1. p.15. to whom the King assigned their Governments, 1.1. p.16. they Petition the King to take off the tenth part, 1.7.p.67. they waver at the news of the taking of *Brill* by the Covenanters, 1.7.p.71. they conspire against the Spanish 1.8. p.20. they adhere to the Estates, only two continuing faithful to *Don Fohn*, 1.8.p.21. 1.9.p.37, 48.
- Low-Country* Governour Chosen by the Lords without the Kings consent, 1.9. p.38. confirmed by the Estates, 1.9. p.39. Governour of all the *Low-Countries*, 1.1.p.16. 21. 25. 1.6.p.35, 36. 1.7.p.69, 81. 1.8.p.27, 18, 19. and of every particular Province, 1.1.p.16.
- Low-Country* Estates vide Estates.
- Lutonium* vide *Albericke*.
- Lodwick Boissot*, Admiral of *Holland*, loses his Eye in a Sea-fight, 1.8.p.2. Defeats the Enemy, *ibid.* Admiral for the Expedition of *Zivicee*, where he is drown'd, 1.8.p.23.
- Lodwick Blafius Trelang* taken prisoner, 1.9.p.35. vide *William* and *Iohn*.
- Lodovico Berlinguero*, son to *Requesens*, defeats the Turkish Fleet, 1.8.p.15. Recovers the Popes Colours, and returns them, *ibid.*
- Lodovico Requesens*, great Commander of the Knights of *St. Jago*, 1.8.p.1. Embassadour to the Pope, presseth him to determine the Controversie between himself and the French Embassadour, 1.4. p.85. Departs from *Rome* in great Indignation, *ibid.* Governour of *Milain*, 1.7.p.81. Difference betwixt him and *St. Charles Borromeo*, 1.8.p.15. Going from *Milain* he asks forgiveness of *S. Charles*, *ibid.* Governour of the *Low-countries*, He receives the Provinces from the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.81. Enters upon the Government, 1.8.p.1. Takes away the Duke of *Alva's* statue, *ibid.* sends a Fleet to relieve *Middelburg* besieged, *ibid.* Beholds from the shore the losse of his men, 1.8. p.2. Pawnes his furniture to pay the murderous *Spaniards*, 1.8.p.5. Sends them to the siege of *Leyden*, commanded by *Valdez*, 1.8.p.6. Proclaims a general pardon at *Bruxells*, *ibid.* Quiets another sedition of the *Spaniards*, by sending of their pay, 1.8. p.8. Leaves Court Attempts his Forces to secure *Brabant*, 1.8.p.9. Undertakes the *Zeland* Expedition, *ibid.* Designs the Officers, the way, and the Souldiers, *ibid.* stands on the shore and views his Souldiers wading over the Sea, 1.8.p.11. A flame seen in the form of a Crown, inclining towards him, *ibid.* Takes *Duveland*, 1.8. p.13. besieges *Zivicee*, *ibid.* Performs *Vittels's* Funeral obsequies, 1.8.p.14. His death, 1.8.p.15. Elogy, *ibid.* Ancestors, *ibid.* Fortunate for Victories at Sea, *ibid.* His errors in Governing the *Netherlands*, 1.8. p.16. Dying he nominates a Governour and a General, *ibid.*
- Lombere*, a City, 1.2.p.31.
- Londania* vide *Sancho*.
- Lopez Figueroa*, 1.7.p.55. The piety of his Souldiers, *ibid.* They take the Cannon, *ibid.* & 56. & open a way to victory, *ibid.*
- Lopez Figueroa*, a Spanish Colonel brings the Italian Garrisons into the *Low-countries*, 1.10.p.6.
- Lopiu Gallus*, 1.6. p.29.
- Lords of France joynt with the heretical multitude, 1.3. p.57. Lords of Spain, neglect *Charles* the fifth, 1.1. p.5. Lords of the *Netherlands* advanc'd by the King to the Governments of Provinces, 1.1.p.16. Their Indignation, 1.3.p.69. Accounted Patrons of the *Hugonots*, 1.3. p.72. They leave the Court, 1.3.p.76. Their Letters to the King against *Granvel*, 1.3.p.72, 73. The Cognizance of their Combination invented at a Feast, 1.4.p.78. Impatient at the power of strangers, 1.4.p.78, 79. In obedience to the King they return to the Court, 1.4.p.8. Some of them thought to be Covenanters, 1.5.p.101. Their design to change the Government of the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* & 125. 1.7. p.49, 50. Their private meeting at *Deendermond*, 1.5. p.134. They have Intelligence of the Kings resolutions in Council, 1.5.p.137. Their cause defended in the Kings Court, 1.6.p.22. 1.7. p.43. They come to Council with the Duke of *Alva*, 1.6.p.33. They are impeach'd, 1.7. p.41. They refuse to give their appearance, *ibid.* They are condemn'd in their absence, *ibid.* They

Passages and Sentences.

They take up arms against the Spaniards, l. 8. p. 20, 21, 23. are offended at the Prince of Orange's power, l. 9. p. 38. Consider of a new Governour of the Low-Countries, *ibid.*
 Lords, Patrons to the Commons, vindicators of the Low-Country Privileges and liberty, *vide* Nobility, Covenanters, and Knights of the Golden Fleece.
 Lovain, the Dukedome, l. 1. p. 16. l. 6. p. 31.
 Lovain, the Duke, l. 1. p. 12, 19. & l. 6. p. 26.
 Lovain, the Cardinal, l. 3. p. 56, 61, 75. l. 7. p. 76. the Captain, l. 6. p. 31. *vide* Charles Christiernand Francis.
 Lovain, a City, l. 5. p. 98. Faithful to the King, l. 7. p. 75. taken by the Prince of Orange, and fined, *ibid.* Assaulted by Gonzaga, l. 9. p. 53. rendered to Don Iohn, *ibid.* The famous University of Lovain, l. 2. p. 31. Its privileges, l. 7. p. 42. It rains blood near the Town, l. 7. p. 53.
 Lovell *vide* Philip.

Lucas Gauricus, the Mathematician, l. 1. p. 13.
 Luxemburg, a Province of the Low-Countries, l. 1. p. 16. l. 6. p. 31. l. 9. p. 26. Famous for slaughter, l. 1. p. 16. Adheres to Don Iohn, l. 9. p. 37. Its Governour, l. 1. p. 16. l. 4. p. 96.
 Lund a Marcha *vide* William.
 Lutheran Heresie, l. 9. p. 42. upon what occasion it was brought from Germany into France, l. 3. p. 55. By whom it was promoted, *ibid.* Almost extinguish'd by the King of France, *ibid.* It breaks out in the Low-Countries, l. 5. p. 116. The Lutherans, enemies to the Calvinists, l. 6. p. 4. Joyn with the Catholicks against them, *ibid.*
 Luther *vide* Martin, Sermons, & Heresie.
 Lyes, how they come to be so artificially compos'd, l. 10. p. 4. The Advantage by them, *ibid.* Many times they are sprinkled with some portion of truth, *ibid.* Made use of, like Scaffolds in building, *ibid.* p. 113.

Sentences in L.

LAWES before they passe should be debated; after they are pass'd, obeyed, l. 5. p. 105.
 A State cannot be more indangered, then by altering of their LAWES, *Ibid.*
 It is more dishonour to a Prince to keep LAWES in force, which his Subjects will not obey, then to apply them to their natures, and so keep his people in obedience. l. 5. p. 105.
 'Tis wisdom to wave those LAWES, the Contempt whereof we have not power to punish, l. 5. p. 117.
 They favour LEARNING, whose Allions are worthy of a Learned Pen, l. 3. p. 55.
 LICENTIOUSNESSE more easily increaseth, then begins, l. 6. p. 24.
 LITTLE things are by their Littleness secured, l. 8. p. 24.

M.

Machiavell's Institution studied by the Prince of Orange, l. 2. p. 46.
 Machiavell, Secretary to the Governesse, sent into Spain, l. 6. p. 34. returns, l. 6. p. 35.
 Maestricht threatens to revoke from the King, l. 6. p. 1. sues for pardon to the Governesse, l. 6. p. 15. the Embassage in behalf of that Town sent to the Governesse by the Bishop of Ling, *ibid.* it is rendered to Novarcimus, l. 6. p. 16. punished, *ibid.* to whom the City of right belongs, l. 6. p. 15. the Spanish Garrison turned out, l. 8. p. 21. they recover and plunder the town, *ibid.*
 Magdalen Ulloa, Lady of Villagarcia, l. 10. p. 17, 21, 23.
 Magistrate of Brabant not unlike to the Dictator of Rome, l. 9. p. 36.
 Magistrate of Antwerp, l. 5. p. 112. l. 6. p. 17, 33. Of Brussels, l. 5. p. 127. Of Bolduc, l. 6. p. 2. Of Ipre, l. 5. p. 122. Of Namur, l. 10. p. 22. Of Nivel, l. 9. p. 36. Of Maestricht, l. 6. p. 15. Of Valenciens, l. 6. p. 5.
 Malberg, a Commander of Horse, l. 6. p. 1.
 Malburg rendred to Don John, l. 9. p. 57.
 Malburg, one of the Prince of Orange's Captains slain by his own men, l. 7. p. 61.
 Malia, an Island besieged by the Turk, l. 4. p. 88. l. 8. p. 14.
 Matrucci *vide* Pyrbo.
 Mambure, l. 9. p. 36.
 Mandevill, a Captain, l. 6. p. 28.
 Marick de Lara, l. 6. p. 23.
 Manriquez *vide* Juan & Raphael.
 Mansfeldt *vide* Charles, and Peter Ernest.
 Marbois *vide* Philip.
 Marcha, a Town, l. 9. p. 30, 49.

Marquise of the Sacred Empire, a Province of the Low-Countries, l. 1. p. 16.
 Marc Antonio Columna, Admiral of the Popes Fleet, l. 9. p. 45, 46.
 Margaret of Austria, Dutchesse of Parma, her birth, Mother, and Mothers Parents, l. 1. p. 20. given to the Emperours Ant to breed her up, *ibid.* & 21. afterwards to the Emperours Sister, *ibid.* delighted in hunting, *ibid.* Promised in Marriage to the Prince of Ferrara, *ibid.* designed for wife to Alexander Duke of Florence, *ibid.* their Nuptials Celebrated at Naples and Florence, l. 1. p. 22. After Alex: murder, she is married to Octavio Farnese, *ibid.* disagreement between her and her husband, *ibid.* & 23. her Masculine Spirit and Garbe, *ibid.* her Wit, Prudence, and Religion, especially towards the holy Eucharist, *ibid.* & 24. sent for out of Italy, to govern the Low-Countries, *ibid.* why the Netherlands were committed to her, *ibid.* she comes into the Low-Countries, where the King meets her, *ibid.* instructed by his Majesty, *ibid.* & 25. and a Pension assigned her, *ibid.* the Commands the Governours of Provinces to see the Emperours Edicts observed, l. 2. p. 34. Labours to qualify the Lords Envy against Granvel, l. 2. p. 41. why she defers to send the Spaniards out of the Low-Countries, l. 3. p. 50. she prevails with the King to let them go, l. 3. p. 52. Orders the Foot Militia, *ibid.* Likes not the Prince of Orange his Marriage with P. Anne of Saxony, l. 3. p. 53. presents her with a Diamond Ring; *ibid.* Granvel by her means is created Cardinal by Pius the fourth, l. 3. p. 54. She doubts of sending Auxiliary horse to the King of France, l. 3. p. 60. instead of men, she sends him money, *ibid.* Quiets the Tumult raised by the Calvinists at Tournay, l. 3. p. 62. & at Valenciens, l. 3. p. 64. by her Care the Designed Bishops are brought in every one to his See, l. 3. p. 65. she anticipates the Agents of Brabant, by sending of her own before to Rome and Spain, l. 3. p. 66. she certifies

A Table of the most remarkable

tifies the King by Letter of Count Egmont and the Prince of Orange's alienation, *l.3. p.67.* She moves the King to remove Regnard from the Low-countries, defends Granvell to the King, *l.3. p. 68.* and to the Low-Country Lords, *l.3. p.69.* gives his Majesty an account why she communicates not all concerns with the Senate, *ibid.* will not give way to a General Assembly of the Estates, *ibid.* Grants a Convocation of the Knights of the Golden Fleece, *ibid.* what she writ to the King to sever the Interests of the Lords, *l.3. p.70.* the complaints of Count Egmont to the King, *l.3. p.73.* her mind changes towards Granvell, *l.3. p.74. l.4. p.79.* she is active to get him sent for out of the Low-Countries, *ibid.* why she omitted her intended Inquiry after infamous Libels, *l.4. p.77.* she advises the Lords to leave off the incitements to new factions, *l.4. p.78.* troubled at the Report of Cardinall Granvells return into the Netherlands, *l.4. p.81.* Religion taken into her Care, *l.4. p.83.* she doubts in what way to proclaim the Council of Trent, *l.4. p.86.* Sends Count Egmont into Spain, and Hallevin into Germany, *l.4. p.87.* her joy at the coming of her son Alexander, *l.4. p.91.* she sends her Fleet to Portugal for P. Mary Espoused to her Son Alexander, *l.4. p.92.* writes the Complaints of Count Egmont to the King, *l.4. p. 96. l.7. p. 51.* conceives and publisheth an Edict concerning Religion, *l.4. p.96.* informs the King of his Governours Complaints upon the proposal of the Edict, *l.5. p.98.* gives his Majesty Intelligence of the Covenanters Designs, and of the state of the Low-Countries, *l.5. p.102, 103.* She calls a Senate Extraordinary, *ibid.* her speech to the Senate, *l.5. p.104, 105.* her Answer to Brederod, *l.5. p.108.* She returns the Covenanters their Petition, with her Answer annexed, *l.5. p.109.* signifies to his Majesty the Actings of the Gheuses, *l.5. p.113.* warns the Provinces of the Gheuses Fraud, *ibid.* resolves to send the Marquess of Bergen, and the Lord Montiny into Spain, *ibid.* & 117. sends before a secret Messenger, *l.5. p.114.* takes not the money offered her by the Popes Nuncio, *l.5. p.115.* Gives the Nuncio the Bishops several Characters, *ib.* her piety and prudence admired by the Nuntio, *ibid.* she intreats the King to pardon and Secure the Covenanters, *ib.* She banisheth strangers from Antwerp by Proclamation, *l.5. p.117.* renews Edicts the against Heretical Sermons, *ibid.* sends Orange and Egmont to disturb the Convention at Centrom, *l.5. p.119, 120.* her too great favour to the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* she nominates him Governour of Antwerp, *ibid.* her words to Count Egmont when she was struck with the News of the Churches being plundered, *l.5. p. 123.* her words in Senate when she heard the certainty of the Sacrilegious Spoyl, *l.5. p.128.* the sum of her Consultation, *l.5. p.129.* she thinks to steal out of Brussels, *ibid.* is stayed by Prayers and force, *ibid.* what she grants to the Covenanters, *l.5. p.130.* she condemns her own concessions, and beseeches the King not to ratifie them, *ibid.* she provides in time for the Town, and for her self, *ibid.* reprehends Orange, Hochstrat, and Horne, for allowing Churches to Hereticks, *ibid.* she gives the King an account of the Hereticks proceedings, *l.5. p.132.* the King permits her to use Arms against them, *ibid.* and sends her money, *ibid.* & 133. she gives his Majesty Intelligence of what the Lords had decreed, *l.5. p.134.* commends to the King the fidelity of Count Mansfeldt, *l.5. p.136.* complains to the King of the betraying of her letters in his Court, *ibid.* & 137. premonisheth the King of the Covenanters Designs, *ibid.* and of Calvinistical books and Ministers that were to be dispersed thorow Spain, *ibid.* Courts the Wavering Covenanters with Letters and promises, *l.5. p.140.* begins her work against the Hereticks with prayers and humiliation, *ibid.* informs

the King of France of the Hugonots preparations, *ibid.* and the Emperour of the Low-country-mens Petition that was to be presented at the Diet, *ibid.* she enlargeth the Militia of the Low-Countries, *ibid.* & 141. puts rubs in the Way of Lewis of Nassau, *l.5. p. 142.* writes to his Majesty what the Covenanters had done, *ibid.* admits not the Covenanters with their new Petition, *ibid.* Grants them nothing, *l.5. p.143.* sends Commanders to Bolduc, or the Bui, to settle the Commotion, *l.6. p.2.* Commits the Expedition to Count Megan, *ibid.* prevents the Designs of Tholose, *ibid.* sends Beavor to fight him, who defeats Tholose, *l.6. p.4.* Commands the Valentiniens to receive a Garrison, *l.6. p.5.* upon their refusal Declares them Rebels, *l.6. p.6.* anticipates the plot of those of Turney and Arminster, *l.6. p.7.* subdues them both, *ibid.* besiegeth Valentiniens by Norcarinus, *l.6. p.8.* takes it, *l.6. p.10.* forceth the Governours of Provinces, and the Lords, to take an Oath of fidelity to the King, *l.6. p.11.* punisheth Brederod that refused it, *ibid.* & p.12. and Hochstrat, *ibid.* sends Bertius to the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* refers the Maestrichters to Norcarinus, *l.6. p.15.* why she would not condescend to the Bishop of Liege that interceded for them, *l.6. p.16.* the Em fears her Forces, *ibid.* she denies pardon to the Antwerpens, unless they render the Town, *l.7. p.17.* enters Antwerp in a kind of Tryumph, *ibid.* & p.18. restores things Sacred, *ibid.* orders the Civil State, *ibid.* is hardly won to admit the Embassadors of the Heretical Princes of Germany, *ibid.* what Answer she gave them, *ibid.* & p.19. she Commits to Prison the chief of the Covenanters taken by her Souldiers, *ibid.* puts Garrisons into the Townes rendred, *l.6. p.20.* fines them, *ibid.* Designs Forts to be built, *ibid.* re-adornes the Catholick Churches, *ibid.* destroyes the Heretical Temples, *ibid.* restores all the Low-Countries to their ancient tranquillity, *ibid.* she holds it necessary for the King to come in Person into the Netherlands, *l.6. p.21.* endeavours to perswade him from his preparation of Armes against the Low-Countries, *l.6. p.27.* takes Bergen op Zoom in the Kings name as soon as she hears of the Marquess of Bergens death, *l.6. p.28.* is troubled at the Newes of the Duke of Alva's coming, *ibid.* pleased again with the Kings Letters, *l.6. p.29.* makes ready a Fleet to meet the King in his Voyage for the Low-Countries, *ibid.* makes publick supplications for his prosperous Expedition, *ibid.* she is offended with the Duke of Alva's too large Commission, *l.6. p.32.* humbly intreats the King to discharge her of the Government, *ibid.* what she thought of Egmont and Hornes Captivity, *l.6. p.34.* she prays the King to Licence her Departure from the Low-Countries, *ibid.* in the interim she is very vigilant in the Civil administration, *ibid.* by her Edict stayes the Low-Country men that were leaving of their Native Soyl, *ibid.* Conceives another Edict in favour of the French Embassadour, *ibid.* receives power from the King to leave the Low-Countries, *l.6. p.35.* rites to the Estates of the Low-Countries, *ibid.* & 36. and to the King concerning her self and the present Condition of the Netherlands, and in commendation of the Low-country-men, *ibid.* surrenders the Government to the Duke of Alva, *l.6. p.35.* the Ceremonies used at her departure by the Neighbour Princes and Cities, *l.6. p.37.* and by the Low-country men themselves, *ibid.* she leaves the Netherlands, *ibid.* an Annual Pension given her by the King, the great love shewed towards her after she was gone, *ibid.* the Low-country-men desire her again, *ibid.* & l.7. p.69. the King Resolves to send her with her Son Alexander into the Low-countries, *l.9. p.47.*

Margaret of Austria, daughter to the Emperour Maximilian the first, and to Mary Dutcheffe of Burgundy betrothed

Passages and Sentences.

- trothed to *Charles* the *Dolphin* of *France*, l. 1. p. 15, 21. And so *Charles* the fifth mediates and makes a Peace betwixt him and *Francis*, l. 1. p. 12. Governesse of the *Low-countries*, l. 1. p. 21. she breeds up the Governesse *Margaret* of *Parma*, *ibid*.
- Margaret Farnese* Princessse of *Mantua*, l. 9. p. 44.
- Margaret* Sister to *Henry* the second of *France* marryeth *Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, l. 1. p. 13. goes into *Italy*, l. 1. p. 26.
- Margaret* of *Vallois* sister to *Francis* the first of *France* wife to *Alibret* King of *Navarre*, l. 3. p. 55, 57. how she came to hate the Pope, l. 3. p. 55. the Ostentation of her wit, *ibid*. what she did to advance Heresie in *France*, *ibid*. & p. 63. she undertakes the Patronage of the Hereticks, l. 3. p. 55. dyes a Catholick, *ibid*.
- Margaret* of *Valois* sister to *Charles* the ninth, goes to the *Spaw*, l. 9. p. 34. her marriage with *Henry* King of *Navarre*, l. 7. p. 76.
- Margaret Vangest*, mother to *Margaret* of *Austria*, l. 1. p. 20. her Birth, Education, and Beauty, *ibid*. the Emperour falls in love with her, *ibid*.
- Mary* Queen of *England* marryed to *Philip* the second Prince of *Spain*, l. 1. p. 3. l. 3. p. 71. A five years Truce by her endeavors concluded between *Charles* the fifth, and *Henry* the French King, l. 1. p. 3. she purgeth her Kingdom of Heresie, l. 2. p. 36. her Death, l. 1. p. 12, 13.
- Mary* of *Austria* sister to *Charles* the fifth, l. 1. p. 3. l. 5. p. 106. wife to *Lodwick* King of *Hungary*, l. 1. p. 14. l. 1. p. 21. Governesse of the *Low Countries*, *ibid*. l. 3. p. 52. l. 6. p. 3. for her love to hunting called the Forestresse, l. 1. p. 21. she educates *Margaret* of *Parma*, *ibid*. resigns the Government of the *Low-countries*, l. 1. p. 5, 11. the Emperour used her to move that his son *Philip* might be King of the *Romans*, l. 1. p. 5. she goes with her brother to *Charles* the fifth into *Spain*, *ibid*. her beloved *Villa*, l. 9. p. 57. her death, l. 1. p. 14.
- Mary* of *Burgundy* wife to the Emperour *Maximilian*, l. 1. p. 16. killed with a fall as she was hunting, l. 1. p. 21.
- Mary* Daughter to *Charles* the fifth, Governs *Spain*, l. 7. p. 43. her grief conceived upon the Commitment of *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, l. 7. p. 46.
- Mary* Cocquamb, mother to *Margaret Vangest*, l. 1. p. 20.
- Mary* Princessse of *Portugall*, daughter to *John* the third of *Portugal*, and wife to *Philip* the second of *Spain*, l. 4. p. 92.
- Mary* Princessse of *Portugall*, daughter to Prince *Edward*, Grandchild to King *Emmanuel*, l. 4. p. 91, 92. designed for wife to *Alexander Farnese* Prince of *Parma*, *ibid*. her Nobility, *ibid*. her Wit and Literature, *ibid*. Sanctity of Life, *ibid*. precisenesse of Chastity, *ibid*. she weiges Anchor from *Portugal*, *ibid*. & 93. is persecuted with a tempest, *ibid*. why she would not send one to salute the Queen of *England*, *ibid*. she Courts an Heretical Lady, *ibid*. arrives in the *Low-countries*, l. 4. p. 94. her Nuprials Celebrated at *Bruxells* and *Parma*, *ibid*. & l. 9. p. 44. she passeth from the *Low-Countries* into *Italy*, l. 4. p. 94. is met upon the way with Royal Pomp, *ibid*. & 95. she Reforms *Parma*, *ibid*. her pious Invention to obtain Sons from God, *ibid*. P. *Alex*. veneration towards her, *ibid*. the education of her sons, *ibid*. 'tis desired that she might govern the *Low-countries*, l. 7. p. 69. her patience on her death-bed, l. 4. p. 95. The King Condoles her death, l. 9. p. 47. the daily exercises of her life written by her self, l. 4. p. 95.
- Mary Mendoza*, l. 10. p. 23.
- Mary* Momorancy, wife to Count *Mansfeldt*, l. 6. p. 12. sayles for *Portugall* to attend Princessse *Mary* into the *Low-Countries*, l. 4. p. 92. her suit for the life of her brother Count *Horne*, l. 7. p. 49.
- Mary Stuart* Queen of *Scots*, wife to *Francis* the second of *France*, l. 3. p. 56. a report that she is to be married to the Emperours son, to the Prince of *Spain*, and to the King of *Navarre*, l. 3. p. 59. King *Philip* supplies her with money, l. 5. p. 104. the Pope and the King of *Spain* joyn in a designe to free her from imprisonment, l. 8. p. 16.
- Marius Carafa*, Bishop of *Naples*, in suit with the Vice-Roy *Granvelli*, l. 4. p. 82.
- Marius Carduin*, l. 6. p. 3.
- Mavmixius* vide *John* & *Philip*.
- Marot* vide *Clement*.
- Marquet* the Monastery plundered, l. 5. p. 122.
- Marriage of *Albret* of *Austria*, and *Clara* *Isabella* *Eugenia*, l. 5. p. 132. of *Alexander Farnese*, and Princessse *Mary* of *Portugal*, l. 4. p. 92. & l. 9. p. 44. of *Alexander Medices* and *Margaret* of *Austria*, l. 1. p. 21. of *Charles* the *Dolphin*, and *Margaret* of *Austria* daughter to the Arch-Duke *Maximilian*, l. 1. p. 15. of *Charles Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, and *Katherine* of *Austria*, l. 4. p. 82, 83. l. 6. p. 35. of *Charles* the ninth of *France*, and *Elizabeth* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, l. 4. p. 88. of *Charles* Duke of *Lorain*, and *Claude* daughter to King *Henry* of *France*, l. 1. p. 20. of *Emmanuel* Duke of *Savoy*, and *Margaret* sister to *Henry* the second, l. 1. p. 13. of *Francis* the second of *France*, and *Mary Stuart*, l. 3. p. 56. of *Henry* of *Nassau*, and *Claudia* *Chalon*, l. 2. p. 43. of *Henry* King of *Navarre*, and *Margaret* sister to *Charles* the ninth, l. 7. p. 76. of *Lodowick* King of *Hungary*, and *Mary* sister to *Charles* the fifth, l. 1. p. 14. & 21. of *Maximilian* Ark-Duke of *Austria*, & *Mary* daughter to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy*, l. 1. p. 15. of *Ottavio Farnese*, & *Margaret* of *Austria*, l. 1. p. 21, 22. of the Prince of *Orange*, and *Anne* *Egmont*, l. 3. p. 53. and *Anne* Princessse of *Saxony*, *ibid*. and *Charlotte Bourbon*, l. 3. p. 54. of *Philip* the second of *Spain*, and *Mary* daughter to *John* King of *Portugal*, l. 4. p. 92. and *Mary* Queen of *England*, l. 1. p. 3, 14. & l. 3. p. 71. and *Isabella* daughter to *Henry* the second, l. 1. p. 12, 13. and *Anne* of *Austria* daughter to the Emperour *Maximilian*, l. 7. p. 68.
- Martinengo* vide *Curtius* & *Sarra*.
- Martin Ayala* recovers *Maestricht*, l. 8. p. 21.
- Martin Luther* whence he took his beginning to stir up difference in Religion, l. 2. p. 33. Edicts against him and Hereticks, l. 2. p. 34. how he brought his Heresie into *France*, l. 3. p. 56. vide Heresie and Lutherans.
- Martin Asplueta* Doctor of *Navarre*, the Casuist, what his opinion was in the Case of *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, l. 7. p. 44.
- Martin Prutius*, one of the Covenanters, l. 7. p. 80.
- Martin Rithovius*, Bishop of *Ipre*, hated by the Hereticks, l. 5. p. 132. the Messenger of, and the assistant in the Deaths of Count of *Egmont* and Count *Horne*, l. 7 p. 52.
- Masius* vide *James*.
- Masse*, l. 7. p. 67. l. 10. p. 16.
- St. *Matthew* the Evangelist his day alike fatal to *Charles* the fifth, and to his son *Don John* of *Austria*. l. 10. p. 15.
- St. *Matthew's* Feast the birth-day to *Charles* the fifth, and *Don John*, l. 10. p. 16.
- Matthias* Arch-Duke of *Austria*, brother to the Emperour *Rodolph*, is elected Governour of the *Low-Countries*, l. 9. p. 38. brought from *Germany* into the *Netherlands*, *ibid*. Jealousies concerning his private departure, l. 9. p. 39. he enters the *Low-Countries*, *ibid*. upon how many conditions he is received, *ibid*. the form of obedience promised to him, *ibid*. his flight to *Antwerp*, after he heard the Newes of the losse of *Gemblac*, l. 9. p. 53. by the States he is confirmed Governour of the *Low-Countries* among the Conditions of Peace, l. 10. p. 14. they treat with the King to confirm him, l. 10. p. 23.

A Table of the most remarkable

- Maurice Count Nassau** is born, 1.4.p.87. baptized with Catholick Rites, but his Godfathers were Hereticks, *ibid.* by the United Provinces substituted in his Fathers place, *ibid.* the Companion of his Fathers fortunes, 1.7.p.42. dyes of grief for the siege of *Breda*, 1.4. p. 87.
- Maurice Duke of Saxony**, 1.1. p.8. marrieth his Daughter *Anne* to the Prince of *Orange*, 1.3. p.53.
- Maximilian** the first, Emperor, victorious at *Guinigate*, 1.1. p.15. marrieth *Mary* Dutchesse of *Burgundy* and *Blanca Sfortza*, 1.1. p.21. *Artois* and *Burgundy* are acknowledged to be his in the name of a Dowry, 1.1. p.15. both his wives killed as they were hunting, 1.1. p.21.
- Maximilian** the second, Emperour, promiseth *Philip* the second of *Spain* to serve him with his best endeavors, 1.4.p.87. Disswades him from Invading the *Low-Countries*, 1.5. p.133. offers himself to arbitrate the Difference between the Governesse and the Covenanters, *ibid.* writes to the *Low-Countries* to make a Peace, *ibid.* by his Edict prohibits the *Germans* from bearing Armes against the King of *Spain*, *ibid.* the *Low-Countries* desire to have him their Sovereign, 1.5. p.135. they sue for his Patronage, 1.5.p.138. the Governesse certifies him of the *Low-country-mens* Petition to be presented him at the next Diet, 1.5.p.140. his Daughter Designed for wife to *Charles* Prince of *Spain*, 1.7.p.48.
- Maximilian** brother to the Emperour *Rodolph*, 1.9. p.38.
- Maximilian** a *Bergen*, by *Grawells* means made Bishop of *Cambray*, 1.2.p.41. Celebrates the marriage-Masse at the Nuptials of the Prince of *Parma*, and *Mary* Princessse of *Portugal*, 1.4. p.94.
- Maximilian** King of *Bohemia*, Governes *Spain* for King *Philip*, 1.7. p.43.
- Maximilian Henrin** Count *Bolduc*, 1.1.p.17. Admirall of the *Belgick* Seas, 1.7. p.69. attempts *Valenciens*, 1.6.p.10. Convoys the Queen into *Spain*, 1.7.p.69. is Governour of *Holland*, he is sent by the Duke of *Alva* to the *Brill*, 1.7. p.72. repulst, and his Fleet fired, *ibid.* kept out of *Dort*, *ibid.* defeated at Sea by the Covenanters and taken Prisoner, 1.7. p.81. Forfaking the Kings Party, Commands the States Forces, 1.9. p.50. General for the Arch-Duke *Matthias* and the States at the Battel of *Rimenant*, 1.10.p.9. Challenged to a battel by *Don John*, he keeps his Trenches, *ibid.* Counterfeits to flye, 1.10. p.10. the Site of his Camp and number of his Forces, *ibid.* he renews the fight, *ibid.* founds a retreat, 1.10.p.12. a Note upon his Management of that daies Battel, *ibid.* he retreats to *Tillemont*, 1.10.p.13. Prince *Casimir* refuseth to obey him, 1.10. p.14. vide *John Henrin*.
- Maximilian Rassinghem**, Governour of *French Flanders*, 1.5.p.123. the *Armetarians* conspire against him, 1.6. p.67. he encounters and destroyes them, *ibid.* enters *Lisle* victorious, *ibid.* pursues the *Tornois*, *ibid.* is sent into *Spain* by the Royal Senate, 1.8. p.19. imployed to the King by the Deputies of the Estates and by the Senators, 1.8.p.23. and by *Don John* to the Deputies of the Estates, 1.9.p.35.
- a Maid Sacrilegiously slain in the Church, 1.10. p.3. of 3. years old, buried, digged up again and eaten, 1.7. p.80.
- Mechlin**, a fair and rich City, 1.7.p.77. its Governour, 1.5.p.131. 1.6.p.12. Churches in the Town assigned to Hereticks, 1.5.p.131. a fire there, 1.7.p.40. the King's Garrison refused, 1.7.p.75,77. 'tis rendred to the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7.p.75. recovered by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7. p.77. when it was plundered, how pious the Merchants and Souldiers were, *ibid.* how much the Duke of *Alva* was hated for suffering of the spoil, *Ibid.* 'tis Garrisoned by the States, 1.9. p.53. attempted by *Gonzaga* when it was too late, *ibid.* made an Arch-bishoprick, 1.1. p.18. its first Archbishop, *ibid.* the Archbishop of *Mechlin* delivers the Popes Present to the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.64. Medalls how they came in use, and accounted sacred, 1.5.p.111. Medalls of the *Gheuses* with the Picture and inscription of the King of *Spain*, 1.5. p.110. Medalls hallowed at *Hall*, 1.5.p.111. *Megan* vide *Charles Brime* & *Lancelot Barlamont*. *Mehemet*, son in law to the Turkish Emperour *Selimas*, 1.5.p.139. King of *Tunis*, 1.10.p.21. *Meinzer*, one of the first Covenanters, 1.5. p.101. *Melancthon* vide *Philip*. *Mendoza* vide *Antonio Bernardino Didaco* & *Maria*. *Menin*, a Town, 1.5.p.122. *Metz*, the Bishop and Elector, 1.2.p.30. 1.5.p.134. Merchants bring in Heresie to the *Low-countries*, 1.2. p.36. one of them procures 3000 of *Calvins* volumes, 1.5.p.137. and payes the Prince of *Orange's* Army; they fortifie themselves at *Antwerp*, 1.7. p.58. they conspire with the Gentlemen Covenanters, 1.5.p.137 raise money, 1.5.p.139. joyn with the *Tornay Gheuses*, 1.6. p.6. the great mens differences put them out of heart, 1.6.p.15. they transfer their Manufactures to Neighbour nations, 1.6. p.21. 1.7.p.65. they steal out of the *Low-countries* into *England*, 1.6. p.34. tribute imposed upon them by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7. p.65,69. the piety of the *Antwerp* Merchants, 1.7. p.77. their losse when the Town was plundered, 1.8. p.24. Merchandise of the *Low-Countries*, 1.1.p.14. 1.7.p.66. of the Indies, *ibid.* *Mercwinus Arboreus*, Cardinal *Gatinar* the Emperours Chancellor, 1.2.p.39. *Merodius*, Lord of *Petersheim* sent by the Governesse to the *Bus*, 1.6.p.2. Contumeliously used by the People, *ibid.* 1.6.p.16. released and returned to the Governesse, *ibid.* vide *Bernard*. Messenger of Victory, 1.7.p.56,75. 1.9. p.53. Of the last necessity, 1.7.p.52. Mettle Sacred vide Medalls. *Metz* taken by the *French*, attempted in vain by the Emperour, 1.1. p.8. *Michael Hernandez*, a Jesuite upon the shore with *Requesenes*, prays for the men that are to wade the Sea, 1.8. p.11. *Michael Hovey*, 3.p.64. *Michefe* vide *John Michefe*. *Middelburg* receives a Garrison from the Governesse, 1.6. p.20. is besieged by the *Zelanders*, 1.8.p.1. a Fleet sent to relieve it by *Requesenes*, *ibid.* & p.2. rendered to the Hereticks, *ibid.* the Townesmen redeem the plunder with a sum of money, *ibid.* *Milain*, 1.6.p.30. the *Milain-Regiment*, *ibid.* the Government of *Milain*, 1.7.p.65. Military Discipline observed, 1.6. p.31. funeral pomp, 1.1.p.22. Stratagem, 1.8.p.21. Picty, 1.7.p.57,77. Military Proverb vide Proverb. Militia of the Foot Strengthened with a new invention, 1.6.p.30,31. Militia of the Knights of the *Golden Fleece*, and *St Johns* of *Hierusalem* vide Knights. Militia of Horse disposed, 1.1.p.17. and of the Foot, 1.3. p.52. Militia of the *Low-Countries* new-modelled, 1.6.p.30. Miracles, 1.5.p.31. 1.9.p.40. 1.10.p.5. Mode of Combing up the hair before, 1.10.p.21. of the *Ammonites* and *Spaniards* in punishing Women, 1.7. p.74. *Mooch*, a Village, 1.8. p.3. the battel, *ibid.* the description of the fight, *ibid.*

Moulin,

Passages and Sentences.

- Moulin**, a Lawyer, 1.3. p.66.
Momburne, a French Colonel, 1.6. p.26.
Monorancy vide *Anne, Florence* Lord of *Montiny Heleonor, John, Mary & Philip*.
Mompencier, the Duke, 1.3. p.54.
Monastery of *St. Michael*, 1.8. p.22. of *Greenvale*, 1.7. p.46.
Mondragonio vide *Christopher*.
Monfort, a Town, 1.8. p.8.
Money the best Spy to discover Princes Counsels, 1.5. p.137. it Buys out Hostile Injury, 1.7. p.75. sent by *Gregory* the 13. to *Don John*, 1.9. p.36. lent him by *Alexander Farnex*, 1.10. p.16. sent to *Alexander Farnex* by the King, 1.9. p.48. and to the Governels, 1.1. p.25. 1.4. p.90. 1.5. p.132. to the Queen of *Scots*, 1.5. p.104. and to his Great Commanders in the *Low-countrys*, 1.10. p.7. and to the Bishops, 1.2. p.32. to the Duke of *Alva* by *Pius* the fifth, 1.7. p.57. offered by his Holiness to *Margaret of Austria*, but refused, 1.5. p.115. lent by *Don John* to the Deputies of the Estates, 1.9. p.32. by the Governesse sent into *France*, 1.3. p.60. Collected by the Covenanters, 1.5. p.139. 141. taken by the Conquerors in the sack of *Antwerp*, 1.8. p.524. got by the Prince of *Orange*, and how, 1.7. p.58. vide *Plunder, Stipend, & Tribute*.
Monster at *Liege*, 1.7. p.40.
Monteslocha vide *Francisc*.
Mons, a Town of *Haynolt*, 1.7. p.73. taken by *Lewis* of *Nassau*, *ibid.* besieged by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7. p.47. the fight before they suffered him to Encamp, *ibid.* the Fortifications of the Besiegers, *ibid.* a Monastery near the Town taken, *ibid.* Auxiliaries sent to the Town by *Coligny*, *ibid.* the Prince of *Orange* comes to relieve it, 1.7. p.75. it is rendred to the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7. p.77. a discription of the recovery of *Mons*, *ibid.*
Montiny vide *Emmanuel & Florence*.
Montio vide *Camillo & Giovanni Baptista*.
Monumental pillar erected where *Culemburg* house stood, 1.7. p.42.
Monument Votive, 1.7. p.48.
More beyond, being the Motto of *Charles* the fifth, (under the figure of *Hercules* Pillars) *More on this side*, was applied by way of Jeer, 1.1. p.8.
Morua reported to be burnt alive with a soft fire, 1.5. p.107.
Mose, a River, 1.8. p.7. foorded by an Army with strange Artifice, *ibid.*
Mult imposed upon a Regiment, 1.7. p.58. upon those that refused to take up Armes, 1.8. p.20.
Muleasses King of *Tunk*, 1.10. p.21.
Mott vide *Valentine Pardieu*.
Mustapha, Counsellor to *Selimus*, 1.5. p.139.
Mustapha, Treasurer to the Turkish Fleet, 1.9. p.46.
Musters vide *Army*.
Musketoons, used first in field service by the Duke of *Alva*, 1.6. p.31. 1.7. p.55.
Musqueteers on horseback, 1.8. p.3. 1.9. p.50. 1.10. p.10. Foot Musqueteers, 1.6. p.7. 1.8. p.11. 1.9. p.50. 1.10. p.9.
Mutino vide *Stephano*.
Mutio Pagano, Commander of Horse, goes for the *Low-countrys* with *Requesenes*, 1.7. p.81. ventures into the bogg with *Alexander Farnex*, 1.9. p.51. at the battel of *Rimenant*, 1.10. p.9. Governour of the Town of *Areschot*, 1.10. p.13. his death, *ibid.*

Sentences in M.

- IT** is MADNESSE to hope for Mercy when Subjects have received an Angry and an armed Prince, 1.5. p.135.
Their MANNERS either absolve or condemn every one, 1.5. p.136.
It is very considerable whether MISFORTUNES succeed or meet, 1.2. p.48.
MODESTY sets off one newly come to Honour, 1.10. p.18.
Nothing is so pernicious to MONARCHY, as when the people are taught publicly to contest with their Prince, 1.2. p.32.
Ready MONEY is not so refused, as when it is only promised, 1.8. p.6.
A MULTITUDE is easiest Pardoned; and where all offends, none suffers, 1.7. p.67.

N.

- N**AKED men fighting in a battel, 1.10. p.11.
Namur, a City and Province of the *Low-Countrys*, 1.1. p.15. faithful to *Don John*, 1.9. p.37. its Governour, 1.1. p.16. Bishop, 1.7. p.73. Magistrate, 1.10. p.22. Castle surprized by *Don John*, 1.9. p.35.
Nancy, the battel there, 1.1. p.15.
Narbon, the Bishop, 1.2. p.30.
Nardhem, a Town in *Holland*, 1.7. p.78. Razed, *ibid.*
Nassau, the Earldome, 1.7. p.77. the Nobility thereof, 1.2. p.43.
Nassau vide *Adolph, Engelbert, William, Henry, John, Lewis, Maurice, Otto, Philip, and Renatus, or Rene*.
Nature probably conjectured to be evil, 1.7. p.43.
Navarr the Kingdome, 1.3. p.58. made a Province to *Spain*, 1.7. p.82. its Vice-Roy, 1.7. p.68. 1.10. p.6.
Navarr vide *Anthony Bourbon, Henry & Peter*.
Navarin besieged, 1.9. p.47.
Navarr vide *Martin Doctor Navarr*.
Naples, 1.1. p.22. 1.3. p.59.
Neapolitan Regiment, 1.6. p.30. Archbishop, 1.4. p.81.
Vice-Roy, *ibid.* Monastery, 1.10. p.23.
Nervii besiege *Quintus Cicero* in his Winter-Quarters, 1.8. p.8.
Newport, a Town of *Flanders*, 1.8. p.21.
Nicolao Basta, 1.6. p.30.
Nicolao Casso, 1.10. p.2, 10, 11. his valour, 1.10. p.12.
Nicolao Ormanetto, Bishop of *Padua*, departs from the *Low-countrys*, 1.9. p.37. the Popes Agent to the King of *Spain*, 1.8. p.16. moves the King to make *Don John* Governour of the *Low-Countrys*, *ibid.*
Nicolao Vitelli, 1.8. p.14.
Nicholas Lord of *Granvel*, 1.2. p.39.
Nicholas Hames Tofand'or, or Herald to the Knights of the Golden Fleece, 1.5. p.101.
Night illuminated with Torches burning in the skye, 1.8. p.11.
nightly Conventicles of Hereticks, 1.5. p.116. famous for two Armies fighting in the *Ayr*, 1.7. p.59.
Nigauio vide *Gabriel*.
Nimengben, 1.8. p.3.
Nivell, a Town, 1.9. p.56. rejects Count *Mausfeldt*, *ibid.* makes conditions with *Don John*, *ibid.*
Nobility of the *Low-Countrys*, 1.2. p.34. 1.4. p.94. their Complaints and grievances, 1.2. p.29. 1.3. p.75. how they

A Table of the most remarkable

they were grounded; *l. 2. p. 38, 39. l. 3. p. 75.* disputed against, *l. 2. p. 30, 31.* their alienation from the Spaniards whence it proceeded, *l. 2. p. 37.* their discontents increased by reason of *Granvel's* power, *l. 2. p. 39. l. 3. p. 65, 66.* their emulation, malice and endeavours against *Granvel*, *l. 2. p. 41. l. 3. p. 67, 72. l. 4. p. 79.* the like Conspiracies of the French and Low-country Noble-men, *l. 3. p. 55, 61.* they post up scandalous Libells, *l. 4. p. 77.* their joy for *Granvel's* departure, *l. 4. p. 80.* a rumour of their Conspiracy against the Edict proposed by the Governesse, *l. 5. p. 99.* how they came to be infected with Heresie, *ibid.* how they came to procure Liberty of Conscience, *ibid.* & *p. 100.* they found the affecti-

ons of the Heretical Princes of Germany, *ibid.* they mutiny at the promulgation of the Edict, *ibid.* they publish books to seduce the people, *ibid.* in threatening manner they inveigh against the Edict, *Ibid.*
Norcarinus vide *Philip.*
Norveys vide *John.*
Novellavia, the Count, *l. 7. p. 60.*
 Nuncio sent by the Pope to the Emperour, *l. 9. p. 39.* to the French King, *l. 3. p. 58.* to the King of Spain, *l. 3. p. 114, 132. l. 8. p. 16. l. 9. p. 37.* to the Vice-Roy of Naples, *l. 4. p. 81.* into the Low-countries, *l. 1. p. 18, 24. l. 3. p. 65. l. 5. p. 114. l. 7. p. 64. l. 9. p. 36.*
Nyffus sent into Spain by the Brabanters, *l. 3. p. 66.*

Sentences in N.

Some mens NATURE is easiest Cured with Lenitives, if Violence be offered they will struggle, they are to be led; not driven, *l. 9. p. 29.*
No NAKED man is sought after to be rifled, *l. 8. p. 24.*
 It is a great support of Power to joyn in alliance with NEIGHBOUR Princes, *l. 4. p. 91.*
NO difficulty to put them upon any Resolutions, that are resolved to dye, *l. 8. p. 13.*
NO such Conquering VVeapon, as the Necessity of Conquering, *l. 8. p. 13.*
NOTHING is to be presumed upon, or despaired of, *l. 8. p. 25.*

O.

Oath of the Prince of Brabant at his Inauguration, *l. 2. p. 30.* of the Covenanters, *l. 5. p. 107.* required by the Low-Country Lords, *l. 6. p. 11, 15.* Made to the Prince of Orange by the Cities of Holland, *l. 7. p. 72.* to the King of Spain by the Low-country Lords, *l. 7. p. 83.* by Charles the eighth imposed upon the Pisanes, and Florentines, *l. 9. p. 34.* Proposed to the Jesuites by the Hereticks of Antwerp, *l. 9. p. 39.*
 Obsequies of Count Aremberg, *l. 7. p. 54.* of Count Barlamont and his Son, *l. 10. p. 51.* of Charles the fifth, *l. 1. p. 7.* of Don John, *l. 10. p. 32.* of Vitelli, *l. 8. p. 14.*
 Occasion of the Low-country War, vide Belgick War and Tumult.
Ottavio Farnese Nephew, that is, Grandchild to Pope Paul the third, Prefect of Rome, and Duke of Camerino, marries the Daughter of Charles the fifth, *l. 1. p. 22.* his Wit and Civil Arts, *l. 9. p. 42.* Bounty, *ibid.* Moderation in his Joy, *l. 9. p. 43.* Piety, *ibid.* Services in Germany and Italy, *ibid.* Preparations for the War, *l. 9. p. 42.* the Order of the Fleete bestowed upon him by Charles the fifth, *ibid.* Advanced to the Principality of Parma and Piacenza, *ibid.* & *l. 1. p. 23.* he defends Parma for a whole year besieged, *l. 9. p. 42.* Piacenza restored to him, *ibid.* he goes with the Emperour into Africa, *l. 1. p. 23.* falls desperately sick, *ibid.* returns to Rome, *ibid.* Joyns with the Spaniard against the French, *l. 9. p. 42.* Serves as a Voluntier in the Low-Countries, *l. 1. p. 24.* in respect to him his Wife is Created Governesse of the Low-countries by the King, *ibid.* he waits upon his Majesty to meet his Wife designed Governesse, *ibid.* perswades her to dismiss the Spanish Souldiers, *l. 3. p. 50.* she brings him two sons at a birth, *l. 9. p. 43.* he delivers his son to Philip the second, then in the Low-Countries, *l. 9. p. 44.* his Opinion touching the Marriage of his son Alexander, *l. 4. p. 91.* his Judgment of the Amity of Neighbour Princes, *ibid.* he Consents to match his son with Princess Mary of Portugal, *ibid.* & *p. 92.* from Italy he comes into the Low-Countries to his sons Nuptials, *l. 4. p. 94.* meets his Wife Margaret of Austria in her return from the Netherlands, *l. 6. p. 37.* likes not his sons Resolution to accept the Government of the Low-Countries, *l. 10. p. 15.*

Ottavio Gonzaga, brother to the Prince of Malphey, comes into the Low-Countries with Don John, *l. 9. p. 26.* dissuades Don John from sending the Spaniards out of the Low-Countries, *l. 9. p. 27.* General of the Horse at the Battel of Gemblac, *l. 9. p. 50.* confirmed by the King, *l. 10. p. 7.* receives Lovain, *l. 9. p. 53.* attempts Mechlin and Vilvoord, *ibid.* money sent him by the King, *l. 10. p. 7.* delivers his Opinion at a Council of War for fighting the States Army, though they were intrenched, *l. 10. p. 8.* fights at Rimenant, *l. 10. p. 12.* his Place in the funeral of Don John of Austria, *l. 10. p. 22.*
Odoardo Cardinal Farnese obtained of God by the Prayers of Princesse Mary of Portugal, *l. 4. p. 95. l. 9. p. 44.*
 Offences how they began to rise in the Low-Countries, *l. 2. p. 46, 47.*
Oleinnus the Romane Exactor of the Belgick Tribute, *l. 7. p. 70.*
Olhain, one of the first Covenanters, *l. 5. p. 101.*
Oliviera vide *Antonio.*
 Omen in a sinister sense, *l. 1. p. 22.* vide Prodigy.
 Orange vide *William.*
 Oration, or Counsel, or Speech of Alexander Farnese to Don John at a Council of War, *l. 10. p. 7.* at another time, *l. 10. p. 14.* of Albret to the King of Navarre her Husband against the Catholicks, *l. 3. p. 57.* of Duke Aveshot in Senate against the Covenanters, *l. 5. p. 103.* of the same against the Valencenians, *l. 6. p. 9.* of Barberino to the Duke of Alva, *l. 7. p. 62.* of Count Barlamont against the Covenanters, *l. 5. p. 103.* of the Marquis of Bergen to the Prince of Ebolo, *l. 6. p. 27.* of Brederod in the Name of the Covenanters to the Governesse, *l. 5. p. 108.* of the same to the Antwerpens, *l. 5. p. 112.* of the Emperour at his Resignment to the Estates of the Low-Countries, *l. 1. p. 4.* of the same to his son Philip, when he transferred his Kingdomes to him, *ibid.* of the same performing his own Funeral Rites, *l. 1. p. 17.* of the Prince of Conde and Gasper Coligny to Charles the ninth of France, perswading him to fight the Spaniard, *l. 6. p. 26.* of Count Egmont to the Valencenians, to bring them in obedience, *l. 6. p. 9.* of the Duke of Alva to his son Duke Federico, when he Commanded him to fight the Enemy, *l. 7. p. 61.* of the same to the King of Spain, perswading

Passages and Sentences.

swading him to a War with the *Low-Countries*, l. 6. p. 23. 24. of the same in answer to *Barberino*, l. 7. p. 62. of his Council dissuading the Exaction of the tenth part, l. 7. p. 69. of the Duke of *Feria* to the King, arguing against a War, l. 6. p. 24. of *Gallus* by way of unfriendly advice to *Ischius*, l. 9. p. 26. 27. of *Granvel* against the Prince of *Orange*, l. 3. p. 68. of the same to his friends, l. 4. p. 79. of the Governesse in Senate. that the Covenanters should not be admitted, l. 5. p. 104. of the same in answer to the Covenanters, l. 5. p. 108. of the same to the Senate touching the Violation of sacred things, l. 5. p. 128. of the Hereticks against *Don John*, l. 9. p. 34. of the *Spaniards* leaving the *Low-Countries*, l. 9. p. 30. of the enemy reviling and wounding the *Spaniards*, l. 8. p. 12. of a Jesuite to the Mutineers, l. 8. p. 6. of *Escovedo* moving *Don John* to send away the *Spaniards*, l. 9. p. 28. of the same to compose a mutiny among them, l. 9. p. 31. of the Embassadors from the Heretical Princes of *Germany* to the Governesse in Senate, l. 6. p. 18. of the Lords against the King, l. 2. p. 38. of *Ostasio Gonzaga*, dissuading *Don John* to part with the *Spaniards*, l. 9. p. 27. of the Prince of *Orange* against the King, l. 5. p. 104. of the same at his departure from the *Low-Countries*, to Count *Egmont*, l. 6. p. 14. of the Estates desiring they might not pay the tenth part, l. 7. p. 65. of *Oforius Ulloa* animating his men, l. 8. p. 11. of Captain *Pacecho* dying to his fellow Souldiers, l. 8. p. 12. of *Petrus* the Centurion to his Companions in *Armes*, *ibid.* of *Philibert Bruxellius* for the Emperor, at his abdication, to the Estates of the *Low-Countries*, l. 1. p. 4. of *Ruigomez a Silva*, Prince of *Ebolo*, to put off the King from a War with the *Low-Countries*, l. 6. p. 23. of *Scavemberg* in Answer to the Embassadors from the *German* Hereticks, l. 6. p. 18. of the Seditious *Valencians*, l. 3. p. 64. of the Mutinous *Spaniards* against *Aquila*, l. 8. p. 4. of the same to a Jesuite exhorting them, l. 8. p. 5. of the Senators at *Bruxells*, for

the Imperial Edicts, l. 5. p. 105. of others against them, *ibid.* & 106. their joyn't answer to the Covenanters, *ibid.* touching the dismissal of the *Spaniards*, l. 3. p. 51. of the People against the Inquisition and the Emperours Edicts, l. 2. p. 35. Ordination of the *Low-Country* Provinces, l. 1. p. 16. of the Horse-Militia, l. 1. p. 17. of the Foot Militia, l. 3. p. 52. of the Bishopricks, l. 1. p. 17. Order of the *Golden Fleece*, when and by whom Instituted, l. 1. p. 17. l. 4. p. 94. vide *Knights*. Order of St. *Stephen* Instituted by *Cosmo* Duke of *Florence*, l. 8. p. 14. Original of the *Belgick* Conspiracy, l. 5. p. 99. vide *Gentlemen Covenanters*. *Ormaneto* vide *Nicolas*. *Osnaburg* the Bishop, l. 7. p. 51. *Osonio* vide *Juan*. *Ostent* in the Heavens portending the *Low-Country* Tumults, l. 7. p. 53. l. 8. p. 11. vide *presages* and *Prodigies*. *Ostervell*, a Village, l. 6. p. 34. the *Battel*, *ibid.* description of the fight, *ibid.* *Otho* Count *Obersten*, Colonel of the *Germans*, sent for out of *Germany* with his Regiments to the Siege of *Valencians*, l. 5. p. 132. receives the Duke of *Alva* at his Entrance into the *Low-Countries*, l. 6. p. 31. Fortifies *Antwerp* against the *Spaniards*, l. 8. p. 22. the unhappy fortune of his flight, l. 8. p. 25. *Otho Nassau*, l. 2. p. 43. *Oudenaerd* the Town, taken and plundered by the Prince of *Orange*, l. 7. p. 75. the Devastation of things Sacred there, by the Sacrilegious, l. 5. p. 126. *Oversel*, a Province of the *Low-Countries*, l. 1. p. 16. its Governour, *ibid.* *Iconomachy*, l. 5. p. 126. Cities revolted from the King, l. 7. p. 73. *Oudewater*, a Town, l. 7. p. 72. l. 8. p. 8. Owning of *Don John* vide *Agnition*.

Sentences in O.

MAny OFFER their service With huge Courtship to such as they know will not accept it, l. 5. p. 141.

Some ingraft an OPINION whilest they are over sollicitous to eradicate it, l. 4. p. 97.

P.

Pacecho vide *Francisco* Cardinal *Pacecho* & *Isidor*. Pacification of *Gant*, l. 8. p. 20. the heads of it weighed, l. 9. p. 30. both parts subscribe it, *ibid.* it is approved of by the King, *ibid.* published by *Don John*, *ibid.* vide *Allocation*. *Paciotto* vide *Francisco*. *Pagano* vide *Mutio*. *Palatine* the Count, Prince Elector of the Empire, a favourer of the *Low-country* Rebels, l. 5. p. 100. l. 7. p. 58. his Death, l. 1. p. 14. vide *Electer*, *Frederick*, *Christopher* & *John*. Palace at *Bruxels*, l. 1. p. 3. at *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 23. *Pandulpho* *Cenamio* of *Lucca*, Commander of *French* Forces, l. 9. p. 57. *Papists* how they came to be so Called, l. 3. p. 57. *Pardien* vide *Valentine*. *Pardo*, a Village of the King of *Spain*, l. 10. p. 19. Pardon general published in the *Low-countries*, l. 7. p. 67. sued for by the Governesse, *ibid.* granted by the King, *ibid.* Promulgated by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* and by *Requesenes*, l. 8. p. 6. *Parish*-Priest at *Masse* exhorts the People to fight for liberty, l. 7. p. 72.

Paris, l. 1. p. 11. l. 3. p. 63. l. 6. p. 35. an University there founded, l. 3. p. 55. a fatal marriage there celebrated, l. 7. p. 76. *Parma* joyed at the Coming of *Princess* *Mary* of *Portugal*, and by her Reformed, l. 4. p. 95. *Parma* the Prince, vide *Alexander Farnese*. *Parma* the Governesse, vide *Margaret of Austria* *Dutchess* of *Parma*. *Parma* the Duke vide *Ostasio*. *Paul* the third, of the house of *Farnese*, Pope, l. 1. p. 22. goes to *Nice* to meet the Emperour and the *French* King, *ibid.* takes a Journey to *Lucca*, to the Emperour, carrying with him *Ostasio* and *Margaret*, l. 1. p. 23. dislikes the Expedition of *Algiers*, *ibid.* delivers *Ostasio*, to the Emperour bound for *Africa*, *ibid.* sends Forces to serve the Emperour beyond the *Alpes*, under the Command of *Ostasio*, l. 9. p. 42. begins the Council of *Trent*, *ibid.* his predifion of his Grand-child *Alexander Farnese*, *ibid.* & p. 43. *Paul* the fourth, P. M. how he established the Inquisition at *Rome*, l. 2. p. 33. a War between him and the *Spaniard*, l. 8. p. 33, 34. his Death, l. 1. p. 14. *Paulo* *Guinichi*, Prince of *Lucca*, l. 8. p. 2. *Paulo* *Rinaldo*, l. 10. p. 4. *Paulus* *Terminus* the *French* General invades the maritime parts

A Table of the most remarkable

parts of *Flanders*, 1.1.p.11. overcome at *Graveling*, *ibid.* & p.12.

Raulo Vuoli, 1.9. p.45.

Peace when it is to be hoped for, 1.1.p.12. concluded by the mediation of Women, *ibid.* agitated, 1.9.p.49. 1.10. p.56, 1.14. vanishing, 1.8.p.9. 1.9.p.49. restored to the *Low-Countries*, 1.6.p.21. discombled by Charles of France with the *Hugonots*, 1.7.p.73. the opinion touching breach of peace with the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* peace between Charles King of France, and Maximilian Arch-Duke of Austria, and his son Philip, 1.1.p.15. between Lewis the eleventh of France, and the same Maximilian, *ibid.* between Philip the second, and Henry the French King, 1.1.p.12. vide Cessation of Armes and Truce.

People, never constant, 1.2.p.34. over-joyed to see the fall of powerful men, 1.4.p.80. easily believing what they wish, 1.5.p.112. Ambitious to be made Judges of Religion, 1.1.p.10. desirous to shew their Countries wealth and power to strangers, 1.2. p.45. they Desiga a Governesse for the *Low-Countries*, 1.1. p.19. Solicited by the Nobility to oppose the Inquisition, 1.5.p.101. their boldness, 1.1. p.71. their acclamations to the Prince of Orange upon the high way, 1.5. p.118. their opinion touching the imprisonment of the two Lords, 1.7.p.51. their love to Count Egmont, *ibid.* their shoutes when they saw the *Gheuses*, 1.5. p.107, 108, 110. their Alacrity in pulling down Heeretical Temples, 1.6.p.29. their hatred to the Duke of Alva, 1.7.p.51, 64, 70. to the *Spaniards*, 1.8. p.19. to *Granvel*, 1.2.p.41, 42. vide Harred, their joy for his departure, 1.4.p.80. and at the breaking of the Duke of Alva's Sentence, 1.9.p.38. their fear by reason of Domestick and external rigour, 1.7.46. their popular government in the *Low-Countries*, 1.9.p.39. their Conspiracy, 1.5.p.115. they of *Antwerp* favour *Breda*, 1.5.p.112.

Peralta vide *Gabriel*.

Photto vide *Pedro Antonio Pivotto*.

Perez vide *Anton*.

Pestilence in his house that made a mock of it, 1.9. p.41.

Petition to the Arch-Duke for liberty of Conscience, 1.9.p.41. to the Governesse, presented by the Covenanters, 1.5.p.102. the Consents thereof, 1.5.p.108. another, 1.5.p.142. the Countesse of Egmonts Petition, 1.7.p.49.

Petrus, the Centurion, 1.8.p.12.

Pedro Antonio Perotto, in the battel of *Mooch*, 1.8.p.3. his gallant attempt, 1.8.p.4. styled the *Paladine of Italy*, *ibid.* in the battel of *Gemblic*, 1.9.p.51. in the fight at *Rismant*, 1.20.p.12.

Pedro Cebellio, a Spanish Captain, 1.5.p.21.

Pedro Giacomini, 1.8.p.8.

Pedro Busso, a Commander of the *Italians*, 1.7.p.81.

Pedro Camaiano, Bishop of *Asculum* the Popes Agent to the King of Spain, 1.5.p.114. exhorts the King to a War with the *Low-Countries*, 1.6.p.21.

Pedro Francisco Nicello, 1.9. p.45.

Pedro Hemi quex, 1.9.p.54.

Pedro Narva-re, a Commander in the Isle of *Gerbeu*, 1.7. p.82.

Pedro Taxio, 1.8.p.24.

Pedro de Toledo, Marquis of *Villa Franca*, comes from Spain into the *Low-Countries*, 1.10.p.6. his place at the Funeral of *Don John*, 1.18.p.22.

Peter Trigofe a Jesuite, to what he perswaded the *Antwerp* Merchants, 1.7.p.77. to what the Mutinous Souldiers, *ibid.*

Peter Ernest Count Mansfeldt, Governour of *Lucemburg*, 1.1.p.16. the first that promiseth to take the Oath of fidelity, 1.6.p.11. sent with the Fleet to transport Princess Mary from *Portugall*, 1.4.p.92. lugh in the

Kings esteem, 1.5.p.135. 1.8.p.17. his disposition, 1.5. p.136. combines with other Lords against *Granvel*, 1.3.p.75. is with the Gentlemen Covenanters in the Prince of Orange his house, 1.5.p.107. opposeth some of them, *ibid.* gives his Vote in Senate against the Covenanters, 1.5.p.103. is enraged at his son for joyning with them, *ibid.* discovers to the Governes many particulars, concerning the *Gheuses*, and their Design, 1.5.p.121. his opinion of the *Iconomachy* in the *Netherlands*, 1.5.p.127. of *Lewis of Nassau*, *ibid.* of using Armes to suppress the *Gheuses*, 1.5. p.129. is Lievtenant Governour of *Bruxells* for the Governes, 1.5.p.130. Count Egmonts Letter to him, 1.5. p.136. his answer, *ibid.* ready to serve the King in all things, *ibid.* & 1.8.p.17. the Duke of Alva sends him General into France, 1.7.p.64. there he gives a totall Rout to *Lewis of Nassau's* horse fighting for the *Hugonots*, *ibid.* his right Arme thore, *ibid.* he writes to *Margaret of Parma* what the Duke of Alva did in the *Low-Countries*, 1.7. p.68. endeavours to pacifie the seditious *Spaniards*, 1.8.p.18. is designed by *Requesenes* on his death-bed Commander in Chief of the *Low-Country* Militia, 1.8.p.16. violently taken out of the Senate and committed to Prison, 1.8. p.20. Chosen to Command the Spanish Army departing out of the *Low-countries*, 1.9.p.32. Camp-Master in the battel of *Gemblic*, 1.9.p.50. his Vote in a Council of War, 1.10.p.8. his place at *Don John's* Funeral, 1.10.p.22.

Philibert Chalons the last of the *Chalons* that was Prince of Orange, 1.2. p.43.

Philibert Bruxellius speaks to the Estates of the *Low-Countries* for the Emperour, when he resigned, 1.1.p.4. appointed by the Governes to examine the Tumults at *Valenciens*, 1.3.p.62. in Senate he reads a Letter touching the Lords Conspiracy, 1.5.p.103.

Philipland, a Desert Island, 1.8.p.10, 13.

Philipland besieged, 1.9.p.57. its site, *ibid.* Governour, 1.9.p.58. 'tis invaded, *ibid.* rendred, *ibid.*

Philip the first son to the Emperour Maximilian, and Mary Dutcheffe of Burgundy, 1.1. p.17.

Philip the second son to Charles the fifth, and *Isabella* of Portugal is born, 1.1.p.9. 1.4. p.92. why publick joy was forbidden at his birth, 1.1. p.9. he marryeth Mary Daughter to John the third of Portugal, 1.4. p.92. Mary Queen of England married to him, 1.1. p.3, 14. 1.3.p.71. the English love him not, 1.1.p.9. he moves his father and hastens his Resignment of the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* the Emperour resigning makes him Master of the Order, 1.1.p.3. 1.5.p.107. all the Emperours Kingdomes given him, 1.1.p.5. 1.2. p.30. what answer he made to one that minded him of the Anniversary day of his Fathers Abdication, 1.1. p.6. he makes the Duke of Savoy Governour of the *Low-countries*, 1.1.p.11. concludes a Truce with Henry the second of France, *ibid.* is at War with the Pope, *ibid.* sets the Queen of England at difference with the French, *ibid.* victorious at St. *Quintin*, *ibid.* receives a blow at *Calice*, *ibid.* beats the French at *Graveling*, *ibid.* & p.12. makes a peace with the French, *ibid.* marryeth *Isabella* daughter to Henry King of France, *ibid.* thinks of returning into Spain, 1.1.p.14. settles the State of the *Low countries*, *ibid.* Political, 1.1. p.16. Military, 1.1.p.17. and Sacred, *ibid.* and 1.2. p.29. Convenes the Estates and the Knights of the *Golden Fleece* at *Gant*, 1.1.p.18. Creates *Margaret of Austria* Gouvernессe of the *Low-countries*, 1.1.p.19, 24. makes some New Knights of the Order, 1.1.p.25. 1.2. p.46. treats with the Deputies of the States, *ibid.* & 26. goes for Spain, *ibid.* as he was hunting acknowledges *Don John* for his brother, 1.10. p.18. angry with him for offering to steal away to the War of *Malta*, *ibid.* & 19. offended at his fortifying *Tunis*; *ibid.* suspects him, *ibid.* the peoples discourse and Judgment

Passages and Sentences.

Judgment against the King, *ibid.* others are for him, 1.2. p.35. the diversity of his, and his Fathers Disposition, 1.2. p.38. he delays the revocation of the Spaniards from the Low-countries, 1.3. p.50. 1.9. p.27. his reason for it, 1.9. p.32. he recalls them, 1.3. p.52. Commands the Governesse to send assistance to the King of France, 1.3. p.55, 60, 61, 71, 72. offers *Sardinia* to the King of Navarre, 1.3. p.59. his Letters touching the marriage of the Queen of Scotland, 1.3. p.59. he sends from Italy Auxiliaries into France, 1.3. p.60. gives his reasons for increasing the Low-country Bishops, 1.3. p.71. defends *Granvel*, *ibid.* his answer to the Letter signed by Count *Egmont*, the Prince of Orange, and Count *Horne*, 1.3. p.73. a false rumor of his being murdered, 1.4. p.77. his Commands to the Governesse concerning infamous Libels, *ibid.* and the Cognizances given by the Lords, *Ibid.* & 78. and the punishment of Hereticks, 1.4. p.84. he sends away *Granvel* from the Low-Countries, 1.4. p.79. goes to take possession of the Kingdome of Portugal, 1.4. p.82. seriously commends to the Governesse the Care of Religion, 1.4. p.83. instructs her how to intercept the Hereticks, *ibid.* his bounty to English Exiles, *ibid.* his earnestness in receiving the Council of Trent, 1.4. p.85. his difference with the Pope, *ibid.* in great indignation he recalls his Embassadour from Rome, *ibid.* gives an account to the Low-country men, and to the Princes of Europe, of the occasion of the Conference at Bayon, 1.4. p.87. why he was not there in person, *ibid.* & 88. he consults the Divines what their opinion was touching Liberty of Conscience desired by the Low-country men, 1.4. p.89. his words before the Image of Christ, *ibid.* his Instructions delivered to Count *Egmont*, *ibid.* & p.90. and *Alexander Farnese*, to be conducted into the Low-countries, *ibid.* his Letter to the Governesse touching the Marriage of *Alexander Farnese*, 1.4. p.91. he enjoynes her to punish the Hereticks, &c. 1.4. p.96. he receives intelligence from the Governes of the Conspiracy of the Low-country Lords, and of their annual Actings, 1.5. p.102, 106, 113, 114. is not satisfied with the Requests made by the Embassadour *Mantiny*, *ibid.* unseasonably defers the grant of a Pardon to the Covenanters, 1.5. p.115. promisseth his personal presence in the Low-countries, *ibid.* how he assented to the desires of the Governesse, 1.5. p.120. he Commands her to make preparations of Armes, 1.5. p.132. gives Reasons to the German Princes why he was to use Arms in the Low-countries, 1.5. p.133. sends thanks to the King of France, 1.5. p.134. gives notice to the Governesse of his coming into the Netherlands, *ibid.* writes very graciously to the Prince of Orange and other Lords, 1.5. p.140. dislikes the siege of *Valenciens*, 1.6. p.8. prescribes rules to the besiegers, *ibid.* makes all ready for his expedition into the Low-countries, 1.6. p.11. whereof he certifies the Princes of Europe, 1.6. p.21. desires leave to passe thorow the King of France's Dominions, *ibid.* Consults the Duke of Savoy touching his March, *ibid.* hastens it upon the newes of some Low-country Townes Revolted, 1.6. p.22. useth new Arguments to shew the necessity of his going, *ibid.* it is debated in Council, he sends the Duke of Alva before to make his way, 1.6. p.25. 26. writes to the Governesse the reasons why he sent him thither with an Army, 1.6. p.27. gives her thanks, and promisseth to come, 1.6. p.29. supplications are made in the Low-countries for the Kings happy Voyage, *ibid.* he Licenceth the departure of the Governesse, 1.6. p.35. he commits his son *Charles*, 1.7. p.45. his modesty in refusing to have his Statues and Arms set up over the Gates of Cities, 1.7. p.65. he is angry with the Duke of Alva for placing his Statue in the Fort at Antwerp, *ibid.* Commands it to be taken away, *ibid.* espouseth *Anne* Daughter to the Empe-

roure *Maximilian*, 1.7. p.68. substitutes *Requesnes* Successour to the Duke of Alva in the Low-countries, 1.7. p.81. agrees with the Pope to help the Queen of Scotland, 1.8. p.16. Leaves the Government of the Low-countries to the Council of State, *ibid.* & p.17. promisseth to send into the Netherlands *Don John of Austria*, 1.8. p.19. dispatcheth him thither, *ibid.* & 1.10. p.19. would have him govern the Low-countries without Armes, *ibid.* prohibits the Convention of the Estates, 1.8. p.20. approves of the Pacification at Gant, 1.9. p.30. Commands the Estates to lay down Armes, and not to admit the Prince of Orange, 1.9. p.37. gives Orders to the Spanish to march back into the Low-countries, 1.9. p.41. resolves to Recall the Dutchesse of Parma into the Low-countries, and to joyn *Alex. Farnese* in commission with her, 1.9. p.47. refuseth the Conditions of Peace offered by the Q. of England, 1.9. p.49. treats with the Deputies of the Estates, 1.10. p.6. sends new supplies into the Low-Countries, *ibid.* is Jealous of *Don John*, 1.10. p.19. is informed that his brother is to marry the Queen of England, 1.10. p.20. entrusts the full power both of the Civil and Military Government of the Low-countries to *Alexander Farnese*, 1.10. p.23. answers to the Requests made by *Don John* upon his death-bed, *ibid.* offended with the Duke of Alva, confines him to *Arzeda*, 1.7. p.82. calls him from exile to be his General against Portugal, *ib.* his saying touching his experience of the Vicissitude of Worldly things, *ibid.* his death, 1.1. p.7.

Philip, the third son to *Philip* the second, receives from his dying Father the bloody whip wherewith *Charles* the fifth disciplined himself, *Ibid.*

Philip Charles Barlamont nominated Governour of the Low-countries by *Requesnes* upon his death-bed, 1.8. p.16. vide *Charles* Count *Barlamont*.

Philip Duke of Burgundy, surnamed the Good, how many Low-country Provinces he had, 1.1. p.15. he Institutes the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1.1. p.17. 1.4. p.94. to what number he limited the Knights, 1.1. p.25. he had it in his thoughts to increase the number of the Bishops, 1.1. p.18. his marriage with *Isabella* of Portugal, 1.4. p.94.

Philip Connix his head with an Inscription cast by the Spaniards into the Town of *Harlem*, 1.7. p.78.

Philip Count *St. Paul*, Ruart of Brabant, 1.9. p.36.

Philip Croi Duke of Aresbat, Commander of a Troop of Horse, 1.1. p.17. 1.3. p.64. affectionate to Religion and the King, 1.8. p.17. sent by the Governesse to the Imperial Diet, 1.3. p.71. exasperated by Count *Egmont* against *Granvel*, 1.3. p.72. he withdraws himself from the Combination, *ibid.* follows *Granvels* party, 1.4. p.78, 81. 1.5. p.103. votes against the admission of the Covenanters, *ibid.* joynes to oppose the Faction of the *Gheuses*, 1.5. p.111. wears in his Hat the Image of our Lady of Hall, *ibid.* his piety commended by the Governesse to Pope *Pius*, *ibid.* sent by the Governesse to the Rebels at *Valenciens*, 1.6. p.9. takes the Oath of fidelity to the King, 1.6. p.11. is accounted Prince of the Senate, 1.8. p.19. invited by the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* alienated from the Spaniard, *ibid.* sent to the Prince of Orange by *Don John* of Austria, 1.9. p.33. discovers to *Don John* many designs against him, 1.9. p.35. offended at the Prince of Orange's power, 1.9. p.38.

Philip Count *Egmont* son to *Lamoral* received at Brussels with great joy of the Estates, 1.8. p.22. enters Antwerp with his Regiment of Walloones, *ibid.* undauntedly opposeth the Spaniard, is taken Prisoner, *ibid.* exchanged, 1.9. p.31. Commander of Horse at *Gemblac*, 1.9. p.50. and at the Battel at *Rimenant*, 1.10. p.10.

Philip Eric, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, 1.5. p.132.

Philip William Count *Buron*, eldest son to the Prince of Orange,

A Table of the most remarkable

- Orange*, l.8.p.19. left by his father a Student in the University of *Louvain*, l.6.p.14. sent into *Spain* by the Duke of *Alva*, l.7.p.42. bred a Catholicick, *ibid*.
- Philip Landgrave of Hessen*, l.1.p.9. l.5.p.53. his plot to break the match between the Prince of *Orange*, and Princess *Anne of Saxony*, *ibid*. he Christens the Prince of *Orange* his son, l.4.p.87. adviseth the Governes to the confession of *Ausburg*, l.5.p.134. what he perswaded the Duke of *Brunswick*, *ibid*. he sends an Embassage to the Governes, l.6.p.18.
- Philip Holach General* for the Estates, l.9.p.49. besiegeth *Breda*, *ibid*. takes it by stratagem, *ibid*. & 49. assaults *Ruremond* and is beat off, *ibid*.
- Philip Latin Commander* of foot for the Estates, l.9.p.49.
- Philip Lanoy Lord of Beavor*, follows *Theobose* to *Ostervell*, l.6.p.3. fights him, *ibid*. is victorious, l.6.p.4. incourers the Covenanters at *Tornay*, l.7.p.50. his death, l.8.p.2.
- Philip King of Macedon*, l.4.p.82.
- Philip Maillard* a Calvinist committed to prison, l.3.p.62. rescued by the multitude, *ibid*. condemned, *ibid*.
- Philip Marbese Lord of Louvarvall* a Colonell, holds play with the Royallists at the river *Geta*, l.7.p.61. wounded and taken, l.7.p.62. beheaded, *ibid*.
- Philip Marnixius Lord of Saint Aldegund* one of *Calvins* Disciples, l.9.p.34. formes the Covenant, l.5.p.100. Treasurer to the *Gheses*, l.5.p.141. taken by the Spaniards at the *Hague*, l.7.p.81. intimate with the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid*. he with three other exchanged, l.8.p.2. employed by the Prince of *Orange* to surprise *Don John*, l.9.p.34,35.
- Philip Melancthon* his prediction of the Prince of *Orange*, l.2.p.44.
- Philip Momorancy Count Horne Admirall* of the *Belgick* Seas, l.1.p.17. l.7.p.53. and Captain of the lifeguard *ibid*. Knight of the Golden fleece, *ibid*. first trayles a pike under *Charles* the fifth, *ibid*. his service at *Saint Quintin*, *ibid*. appears against *Granvell*, l.1.p.16. his malice and letter against *Granvell*, l.2.p.41. l.3.p.72, 73. l.7.p.51. Invited into *Spain* by the King, but refuseth to goe, l.3.p.74. combines with others against *Granvell*, *ibid*. & l.7.p.49. is numbered among the Covenanters, *ibid*. & l.5.p.101. his complaints in Senate against the King, l.5.p.104. moves his fellow-Knights to return their order to the King in *Spain*, l.5.p.107. joynes with the Covenanters in *Culemburg* house, l.5.p.110. and at a feast with the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid*. votes in Senate against a warr, l.5.p.129. the Covenanters sue to have him for their Protector, l.5.p.120. he asks for the Hereticks, l.6.p.1. being Governour of *Tornay*, he assigns Churches to the Hereticks, l.5.p.131. l.7.p.50. is present at the private meeting in *Dendermund*, *ibid*. & l.5.p.134. the Kings indignation against him, *ibid*. he refuseth to take the oath of fidelity, l.6.p.12. sends a copy thereof to the Governes, l.6.p.15. hath an aversion from the sight of *Alva*, l.6.p.32. is drawn in by Count *Egmont*, to meet the Duke at the Counsell board, *ibid*. arrested and disarmed, l.6.p.33. imprisoned in the Cattle of *Gant*, l.7.p.49. many supplicate for him, *ibid*. what was charged against him by the Kings Advocate, *ibid*. & p.50. his answer to the particulars, *ibid*. from *Gant* he is removed to *Bruxells*, l.7.p.51. prepares himself for death, l.7.p.52. is beheaded, *ibid*. his Elogy, l.7.p.53. many hate the Duke of *Alva* for putting him to death, *ibid*. & p.58.
- Philip Norcaymus* a *Saint Aldegund* Lieutenant Governour of *Haynolt*, for the Marquis of *Bergen*, l.6.p.5. puts a garrison into *Valenciens*, *ibid*. offended at their inconstancy, *ibid*. takes their commissioners along with him, l.6.p.6. besiegeth the town, *ibid*. & p.7. defeats the forces at *Tornay*, *ibid*. enters the town victorious and punisheth them, l.6.p.8. returns to the siege of
- Valenciens*, *ibid*. prepares for an assault, *ibid*. takes the Suburbs, l.6.p.10. comes into *Valenciens* as a Conquerour, *ibid*. & p.11. disarmeth and punisheth the town, *ibid*. his Encomion, *ibid*. he goes into *Brabant* to reduce *Maelricht*, l.6.p.15. takes the town, l.6.p.16. punisheth their Rebellion, *ibid*. goes for *Holland*, *ibid*. & p.19. wounded at the siege of *Harlem*, l.7.p.80.
- Philip Sega* the Popes Nuncio to *Don John* of *Austria*, l.9.p.36. treats with the Deputies of the Estates, and the Senators, *ibid*. goes from the Low-Countries into *Spain*, l.9.p.37.
- Philip Starveloy Lord of Glayon*, Master of the Ordinance, l.1.p.17.
- Philip Valois* vide *Philip Duke of Burgundy*.
- Phisitians, their custome, l.9.p.28. their predictions, l.10.p.15.
- Picenian Prefecture, or the Government of *Ancona*, l.9.p.36.
- Pictures made in contempt of God and the King, l.5.p.141. in scorn of the Duke of *Alva*, l.7.p.72.
- Pleury our Lady of *Hall*, l.5.p.111. of the Spaniards in battel, l.7.p.55,57. of the Murineers and Merchants at *Antwerp*, l.7.p.77.
- Pigeons carry Letters to and from the besieged in *Harlem*, l.7.p.79. and at the siege of *Leyden*, l.8.p.7.
- Pilot, l.4.p.93. l.6.p.19.
- Piracy exercised in *Holland* and *Friesland*, l.7.p.71. much confluence to the Pirats out of *France* and *Great-Britain*, l.7.p.73. vide plunder.
- Pisans illuded by *Charles* the eighth, l.9.p.34.
- Piscario vide *Charles Davalo*.
- Pius the fourth, P. M. how he endowed the new Bishops in the Low-countries, l.2.p.29. he Creates *Granvell* Cardinal, with 17. others, l.3.p.54. endeavours to draw the King of *Navarre* from favouring the Hereticks, l.3.p.58. his servants in the Conclave offended at the Spanish Embassadour, l.3.p.65. how active he was to get the Council of *Trent* promulgated, l.4.p.85. he offends the King of *Spain*, *ibid*. intends to trouble *Osavio Duke of Parma*, l.4.p.91. his Death, l.4.p.81.
- Pius the fifth P. Max. makes a League against the *Turks*, l.4.p.81. sends the Christian Colours and Admiralls Staffe to *Don John* of *Austria*, *ibid*. he first consecrated Medals to increase the Devotion of the Low-country men, l.5.p.111. grants Indulgences to those that wear those Medalls, *ibid*. perswades the King of *Spain* to visite the Low-Countries, with an Army, l.5.p.114. l.6.p.21. sends an Agent to the Governesse, l.5.p.114. Commends and offers her assistance, *ibid*. desires her to send his Letters to the Prince of *Orange* and Count *Culemburg*, *ibid*. informes the King of *Calvinistical* books found at *Thebous* and *Lyons*, l.7.p.45. animates the Duke of *Alva* against the *Gheses* with Letters and money, l.7.p.57. the Duke of *Alva*'s Victory ascribed to his prayers, *ibid*. for which he gives Solemn thanks to God, *ibid*. sends a hallowed Helmet and Sword to the Duke of *Alva*, l.7.p.64. his Letters absolving the Low-Country men of Heresie, l.7.p.68. praiseth *Alexander Farnese*, l.9.p.46. dyes, l.4.p.82.
- Platerius vide *Imbertus*.
- Plots against *Don John*, l.10.p.20. of the *Hugonots* against their King, l.6.p.35. of the enemy, l.7.p.60. discovered, l.10.p.10. against the Duke of *Alva* at the Monastery of *Greenwale*, l.7.p.46.
- Poysoned, or suspected to be poysoned, l.6.p.28. l.10.p.20.
- Plunder of *Oudenaerd* by the Prince of *Orange*, l.7.p.75. and of *Amersfort* by the *Gheses*, *ibid*. of *Antwerp* by the Spaniards, l.8.p.23. of *Meeblin* by the same, l.7.p.77. of *Nardhem* by the same, of *Rome* by *Divers*,

Passages and Sentences.

- vers, *l. 7. p. 78.* of Churches, *l. 1. p. 9.* of *Dendermond* by the Prince of *Orange*, *l. 7. p. 75.* of *Maesicht* by the *Spaniards*, *l. 8. p. 21.* of *Zuiphen* by the same, *l. 7. p. 77.* of other Cities and Townes, *ibid.* & *p. 75.* of *Scander Eshaw* and *Musapha's* ships, *l. 9. p. 46.* at the Sack of *Antwerp*, *l. 8. p. 23.* *Picatory* ships redeemed, *l. 7. p. 77.* vide piracy.
- Poeëie sacred and prophane, *l. 3. p. 63.*
- Polvilierius*, Colonel of a *German* Regiment, beats the Confederates from *Ruermund*, *l. 9. p. 49.* raiseth men in *Germany*, *l. 10. p. 7.*
- Pomp vide Funeral and Triumphal.
- Portugal* taken by *Philip* King of *Spain*, *l. 7. p. 82.*
- Portugal* Ships with *Indian* Lading taken by the English, *l. 7. p. 66.*
- Pope, Prisoner in the Castle of *St. Angelo*, *l. 1. p. 9.*
- Ports of *England* interdicted to the Ships of *Holland*, *l. 7. p. 71. 72.*
- Port of *Brill* and *Enchuyson* in *Holland*, *ibid.* of *Calice* in *France*, *l. 1. p. 11.* of *Flushing* in *Zeland*, *l. 7. p. 72.* of *Graveling* in *Flanders*, *l. 1. p. 11.* vide Fleet and Ships.
- Prefages and predictions, of *Charles* the fifth, concerning the *Low-Countries*, *l. 2. p. 37. 38.* of *Lucas Gauricus* upon *Henry* the second of *France*, *l. 1. p. 13.* of *Melancthon* upon the Prince of *Orange*, *l. 2. p. 43. 44.* of *Paul* the third upon *Alexander* *Farnese*, *l. 9. p. 43.* of *Pius* the fifth touching the danger of Religion in the *Low-Countries*, *l. 6. p. 21.* of future Calamities, *l. 7. p. 40. 53.* *l. 9. p. 49.* of prosperous Successes, *l. 8. p. 11.* vide Prodigies.
- President of the Privy Council, *l. 1. p. 25.* of *Castile*, *l. 4. p. 82.* *l. 6. p. 23.*
- Pretor of *Antwerp*, *l. 5. p. 124.*
- Priests turn'd out of *Antwerp*, *l. 9. p. 40.* and *Amsterdam*, *l. 10. p. 5.* Banished from *Great Britain*, fed and supplied by the King of *Spain*, *l. 4. p. 83.* put to death with barbarous torments, *l. 7. p. 75.* their Figures tyed to Posts and whipped, *l. 7. p. 78.* whether Priests and Religious may write of War and things Prophane, *l. 1. p. 2.* one praying for the Souldiers wading the Sea, *l. 8. p. 11.* vide Religions.
- Princes must imitate *Jupiter*, *l. 4. p. 85.* what the Philosophy of Princes is, *l. 5. p. 147.*
- Priviledges of *Brabant*, vide *Brabant* and *Bruxells*.
- Priviledge of the Joyful Entry, *l. 2. p. 30.*
- Prodigies, at the Death of *Charles* the fifth, *l. 1. p. 8.* before the *Low-Country* War, *l. 7. p. 40.* seen in Heaven, *l. 7. p. 59.* observed at *Florence*, *l. 1. p. 22.* at *Lovain*, *l. 7. p. 53.* vide Comets Eclipse and Prefages.
- Proscription published against the Prince of *Orange*, *l. 2. p. 45.* his defence, *l. 1. p. 4.* vide Apology.
- Proscription of *Martin Luther*, *l. 2. p. 34.* of the Covenanters, *l. 9. p. 32.*
- Prosper *Sanctacruz*, *Paul* the fourth's Nuncio in *France*, *l. 3. p. 58.*
- Protestation of the Spanish Embassadour to *Pope* *Clement* the fourth at *Rome*, *l. 4. p. 85.*
- Proverb Military among the *Walloon* Souldiers against timorous Scouts, *l. 7. p. 54.*
- Proverb of the *Valencians*, a proud one, *l. 6. p. 5.*
- Provinces of the *Low-Countries* their Division, vide *Low Countries*.
- Psalter turned into Meeter, *l. 3. p. 63.* sung in *France* by the Hereticks, *l. 3. p. 61.* *l. 5. p. 127. 124.* condemned by Edict, *l. 3. p. 64.*
- Punishment, falls by lot upon the Author of the Crime, *l. 6. p. 31.* of the English that sought the life of *Don John*, *l. 10. p. 20.* of *Anthony* *Swall*, *l. 7. p. 49.* of an Apostate, *l. 4. p. 83. 84.* prepared for the Citizens of *Bruxells*, *l. 7. p. 70.* of *Casembat*, *l. 7. p. 49.* of the Covenanters, *l. 7. p. 40.* of *Dui*, *l. 7. p. 49.* of Hereticks, *l. 3. p. 62. 65.* *l. 4. p. 96.* *l. 5. p. 130.* *l. 6. p. 11. 20.* *l. 7. p. 75.* of the *Harlemers*, *l. 7. p. 78. 79.* of the *Spaniards*, *ibid.* & *p. 72.* of *Langi*, *l. 3. p. 62.* of *Maro*, *l. 5. p. 107.* of the Gentlemen Covenanters, *l. 7. p. 48. 73. 74.* of the Lords, *l. 7. p. 52.* of Rebels, *l. 6. p. 4. 19. 20.* of an Hereticall Minister, *l. 4. p. 83. 84.* of the Seditious, *l. 9. p. 56.* of the men taken at *Siebm*, *l. 9. p. 55.* of Spell, *l. 7. p. 49.* vide Condemnation and Murder.
- Pyramo* *Conrado*, brother to *Don John* by the Mother, *l. 10. p. 24.*
- Pierro* *Matuerzi* designed Colonel of the *Italians*, *l. 10. p. 7.*

Sentences in P.

- IT concerns PARTICULARS, that the Generality should be governed, *l. 2. p. 37.*
- No ye can oblige the PERFIDIOUS, *l. 6. p. 11.*
- 'Tis Lawful for the poorest Peasants to PETITION, *l. 5. p. 103.*
- PRINCES never can offend alone, *l. 5. p. 135.*
- It is of great Concernment to get a hate of PIETY whilest thou hast thy Understanding, that when thou art not s'y self, thou canst not but be Pious, *l. 10. p. 26.*
- They do ill that make the Favourers and Pizgers of their Cause, Spectators of the PUNISHMENT, *l. 7. p. 53.*
- The Philosophy of PRINCES is to dive into the secrets of Men, leaving the Secrets of Nature to such as have spare time, *l. 5. p. 137.*
- The people take it as a favour from their PRINCE to be punished by his hand, lest they be enforced to endure torments enflited by a Servant, *l. 6. p. 21.*
- Easily will Nature shrink into her own Stature and Condition, if PRIDE that puffs up and distraits her do but once evaporate, *l. 1. p. 6.*
- PRINCES dislike not their Ministers Austerity, rendering them inaccessible to the subtle Flatterer, *l. 7. p. 83.*
- Treasons are not believed to be plotted against any PRINCE, that is not slain, *l. 9. p. 37.*
- Without a Scene and admiring Spectators, PROUD men do but coldly act their parts, *l. 1. p. 25.*
- Some men PROUD Natures are enraged, if forbidden; but if left to themselves, will in time recover, *l. 4. p. 79.*
- 'Tis a fault in humane Nature to conceive things greater, because PROHIBITED, *l. 5. p. 117.*

A Table of the most remarkable

No PROUD man ever carried himself like a *Servant* to any, *over whom he did not hope to be a Master,* l.8.p.33.

Q

Question of Tributes, l.7.p.71. in the Councell of Trent, of place between the Spanish and French Embassadour, l.4.p.85. Composed, *ibid.* revived at Rome, *ibid.* determined by the Pope, *ibid.*
 Questions of Faith agitated, l.2. p.39.
Questuoy.
Q. Cicero, l.8.p.8.
Q. Sertorius, l.1. p.6.
Quirin Hill, l.9.p.40.
Quiscia vide Aloysio.

R

Rage of Women against stragling Fugitives, l.1. p.12.
 Raifers routed by the Lanciers, l.8.p.4.
 Ranuccio Farnese, Duke of Parma & Piacenza is born, l.4.p.95. l.9.p.44. how he was begged of God, l.4. p.95.
 Raphael Barberino, Uncle to Pope Urban the third, l.7. p.60. sets down the particulars of those battles whereat he was present, *ibid.* advertiseth the Duke of Alva of the Prince of Orange's Designs, l.7. p.61. is sent by Alva to the Queen of England, l.7.p.66. returns the Duke the Queene's answer, and the state of the Cause, *ibid.* prepares Shipping for the Zeland Expedition, l.8.p.9. raiseth Fortifications at their Entrance into Zeland, *ibid.* Doth many Services in Vittell's place, *ibid.* & p.10. wades over the Sea, *ibid.*
 Raphael Marrique, l.9.p.47.
 Rapine vide Plunder.
 Rassinghem vide Maximilian.
 Ramund de Tassis, Principal Secretary to the King of Spain, l.7.p.44.
 Rebellion of the Belgick Provinces against the Romans, l.7.p.70. of the Moores against the King of Spain, l.6. p.22. of the Hugonots against the King of France, l.6. p.16. by the Prince of Orange in the Low countries attempted and matured, l.7.p.70. the Rebel Cities receive from him Governour, Lawes, and Impositions, l.7.p.72. from whence the Low-Countrymen and the Prince of Orange had their occasion of Rebelling, l.2.p.48. l.7.p.70. first from the Cause of Religion, l.5.p.133; 134. l.6. p.17, 11. then from Taxes layd upon them, l.7.p.71, 73. afterwards from the Murtherous Spaniards, vide Gentlemen Covenanters, l.8.p.20.
 Recovery of Cities Revolted from the King, l.7.p.77. of Mons, *ibid.* its description, *ibid.* of the Province of Limburg, l.10.p.2. its delineation, l.10.p.1.
 Reformed vide Religion Reformed.
 Regiment of Naples, l.6.p.30. of Sardinia cashiered and punished, l.7.p.58. a magnanimous one of the Royalists, l.8.p.11. a Squadron of Walloones, l.9.p.50 vide Army.
 Register of the Empire, l.1.p.2.
 Regnard vide Simon.
 Religion holds forth Worship to God, and Peace to men, l.2.p.33. Preserver of peace and tranquillity, *ibid.* holds the People in due obedience, l.2. p.46. the manner of advancing it in the Low-countries, l.1.p.18.
 Penal Edicts against irreligion, l.2.p.49. l.4.p.96. the Cognizance of the Cause of Religion to whom it appertains, l.2.p.33. l.4.p.84, 85. l.5. p.105. against the Violaters thereof what provision was made, l.2.

p.33. 'Tis injured by Luther, *ibid.* the League for Religion approved of by the Hereticks, l.5.p.138.
 Religion commended by the Emperour to the Estates of the Low-Countries, l.1.p.4. by the King to the Governesse and Estates, l.1.p.27. l.4.p.83, 90, 96. a Conspiracy against it, l.5.p.141. wrong offered to it, l.1.p.9. l.5.p.113, 116, 121. Scandalous Libels against it, l.4.p.77. l.5.p.112. harred to it, l.3.p.56. l.8.p.8. the Cause of the Low-Country War, l.1.p.3. l.9.p.29, 30. its Restitution by the Governesse, l.4.p.83. l.5.p.130. l.6.p.18, 20. by the Duke of Alva, l.7.p.64. a new oath formed against it, l.5.p.107. l.9.p.39. liberty of Religion sought for in the Low-countries, l.5.p.99, 102, 119, 129. extorted, l.9.p.41. Consultations concerning it, l.1.p.18. l.6.p.15.
 Religion, Reformed, secured in the Low-Countries, l.5.p.127. Councils held in France and the Low-countries to destroy it, l.2. p.46. the Prince of Orange makes use thereof, to keep Townes against the Spaniards, l.10.p.5. vide Ghesuses, the Disturbers of the Catholick Religion, l.5.p.134. Revolters from it, l.9.p.37. Men of doubtful Religion, l.3.p.75. the Religious turned out of the Low-Country Cities, l.5.p.132. l.9.p.40, 41. their Monasteries, l.2.p.30. plundered, l.3.p.64. l.5.p.122, 127, 137.
 Reliques of Saints preserved from fire and ruine, l.10.p.5. more valued then Jewels, l.4.p.94.
 Remedies seasonably applied, l.8.p.19. sometimes bettered by Contempt, l.4.p.79. and rash in precipitated misfortunes, l.10.p.21. the best when one Man Governes, l.8.p.17. the Remedy of imminent Mischiefe, l.5.p.112; 113.
 René, daughter to Lewis King of France, married to Hercules Duke of Ferrara, l.1.p.21. her daughter designed for Wife to Alexander Farnese, l.4.p.91.
 Renatus, son to Henry of Nassau & Claude Chalon, l.2.p.43.
 Rendition of Low-countray Cities and Provinces to the Spaniards, l.6.p.11. l.9.p.52. of many places to the Prince of Orange, l.7.p.73. of Oudenard, l.7.p.75. of Brill, l.7.p.70, 72. of Mons, l.7.p.73. of Dendermond, l.7.p.75. of Centron, *ibid.* of many Townes to the Royallists, l.7.p.77, 78. l.8.p.8. of Bommen, l.8.p.13. of Botvins, l.9.p.53. of Gimact, l.9.p.57. of the Abbey d'Espine, l.7.p.74. of Dalhem, l.10.p.3. of Harlem, l.7.p.78. of Limburg, l.10.p.1. of Nardem, l.7.p.78. of Siehem, l.9.p.54. of Maestricht, l.8.p.21. of Valenciens, l.6.p.10. of St. Valerey, l.7.p.46. of Zevicze, l.8.p.13. of Zuitbeverland, l.7.p.78. of Zutphen, l.7.p.77. of Aloof, l.8.p.18.
 Remy, a Castle of Artois, l.8.p.4.
 Reputation, l.5.p.110.
 Republick of the Hollanders, how great and from how small beginning, l.1.p.1. l.7.p.73. Of the Hereticks Instituted by the Covenanters, l.5.p.138, 142. advanced by Piracy, l.7.p.73. their Fleet most commonly victorious, *ibid.*
 Requesenes vide Berlinguerio & Lodovico his son Galcerano and Lodovico Commendador of the Knights of St. Fago.
 Restorer of lost liberty, an attribute given to the General of the Covenanters, l.5.p.109.
 Revolt of Cities and Provinces from the Spaniard, l.7.p.72, 73. l.9.p.37. Solicitors of the Low-Country mens Revolt, l.7.p.71, 73.
 Reux rendred to Don John, l.9.p.57.
 Ryne, a River of Holland, l.8.p.7.
 Roan taken by the French, l.3.p.85.
 Rich mens unhappy fortune, l.8.p.24.
 Rimense,

Passages and Sentences.

Rimenant, a Village, l. 10. p. 9. the Battle, *ibid.*
Risfortus Nobor layes a plot against the Duke of *Alva*, l. 7. p. 46. from *Juliers* passes the *Moes*, *ibid.*
Robert Brederod, enemy to Cardinal *Granvell*, l. 2. p. 41. stands for the Archbishoprick of *Cambray*, *ibid.*
Robert Melodune Viscount *Gant*, l. 9. p. 50.
Robert Stuart, Commander of the *Scots* at the Battle of *Rimenant*, l. 10. p. 10.
Roderick Gomez a Silva, Prince of *Ebolo*, one of the Lords of the Privy Council to the King of *Spain*, l. 2. p. 38. of great power with his Majesty, l. 3. p. 8. l. 6. p. 22. his Contest with the Duke of *Alva* at the Councel Table and in Court, *ibid.* his opinion touching the Kings Expedition into the *Low-Countries*, l. 6. p. 23. He advertiseth the Governesse of the Marquis of *Beugen's* death, l. 6. p. 27. and that she must bring his Cause to a Tryal, *ibid.* writes to her in the Kings name of the Army that was to march into the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* and acquaints her with the Cause of the Duke of *Alva's* coming, l. 6. p. 29. attends the King at the Commitment of Prince *Charles*, l. 7. p. 44. jeeres his Rival the Duke of *Alva*, for erecting to himself a Statue, l. 7. p. 65.
Roderick de Toledo, a Colonel, carried out of the field wounded into the Camp, l. 7. p. 80.
Rodolph the second, Emperour, by his Erbbassadour obligeth himself to the association of *Gant*, l. 9. p. 30. dislikes the Design of his brother *Matthias* going to take upon him the Government of the *Low-countries*, l. 9. p. 38. is angry with *Maximilian* privy to the Plot, *ibid.* many suspect that the Emperour was not angry in Earnest, *ibid.* & p. 39.
Rome, a very Gossip for newes, l. 4. p. 86. the Conclave, l. 3. p. 65. l. 4. p. 81. the Sack, l. 1. p. 9. Nobility, l. 9. p. 43. Pope, l. 1. p. 79. 22. l. 5. p. 134. Victory known by the Armes of the *Sabines*, l. 7. p. 56. the Dictator, l. 9. p. 36. Theaters, l. 8. p. 7. their Verieration to

the Crucifix, l. 9. p. 43. the Kingdome of the *Romans* transferred to another, l. 1. p. 5. a Vow made against the *Romans*, l. 3. p. 51. the *Belgick* Conspiracy to eject them, l. 1. p. 2. l. 8. p. 21. hatred to the *Roman* Religion, l. 8. p. 8.
Rome vide *Juliano*.
Ronell, a River, l. 6. p. 10.
Rotterdam, l. 8. p. 7.
Rumour that *Charles* the fifth was drowned, l. 1. p. 23. and *Octavio Farnex*, *ibid.* that *Don John* was fled the *Low-countries*, l. 10. p. 4. that he was to be married to Queen *Elizabeth* of *England*, l. 10. p. 20. that he was poysoned, *ibid.* that *Alexander Farnex* was killed, l. 10. p. 4. that Count *Megan* was dead, l. 7. p. 48. that *Hierg* was dead, l. 10. p. 4. that *Charles* Prince of *Spain* was made away, l. 7. p. 45. that *Alondragonio* was dead, l. 10. p. 4. that *Philip* the second was killed, l. 4. p. 77. that he was to come into the *Low-countries*, l. 5. p. 140. that the Prince of *Orange* was slain, l. 10. p. 9. that the *Low country* Lords had conspired against the King, l. 5. p. 99. that the Covenanters would come to *Bruxells*, l. 5. p. 103. that *Granvell* was to return into the *Low-countries*, l. 4. p. 81. l. 7. p. 68. 69. that the Castle of *Limburg* was fired, &c. l. 10. p. 4. that *Charles* the ninth of *France* had concluded a Peace with the *Mugonots*, l. 7. p. 73. that the King of *Navarre* was to be married to the Queen of *Scots*, l. 3. p. 59.
Rupelmund, the attempt of an Heretical Priest there Prisoner, l. 4. p. 83.
Ruremund stormed by the Prince of *Orange*, l. 7. p. 75. besieged by the Estates, l. 9. p. 49. relieved, *ibid.*
Ruart of *Brabant*, a title conferred by the Estates upon the Prince of *Orange*, l. 9. p. 36. what kind of Magistracy it was, *ibid.* what persons have been formerly elected, *ibid.*
Rythovius, Bishop of *Ipre*, vide *Martin*.

Sentences in R.

RELIGION among Hereticks is not their own, but accidental and translatiouns, l. 5. p. 138.
RELIGION and Law are to be Patronized and upheld as the Pillars of a Kingdome, l. 1. p. 4.
Cities seldome change RELIGION onely, l. 3. p. 36.
As often as the Sacred Anchor of RELIGION is weighed, so often the Ship of the Common-
Wealth is tossed, l. 2. p. 36.
RELIGION once lost, can never be repaired with addition either of Wealth or Empire, l. 5. p. 123.
In acute diseases, sometimes desperate REMEDIES are not unskilfully applied, l. 10. p. 11.
Never did any Army RETREAT without some losse, l. 10. p. 8.

S.

Sabina Palatina Bavier married to Count *Egmont*, l. 7. p. 53. her humble Petition for her husbands life sent into *Spain*, l. 7. p. 49.
Sabines fighting with the *Romans* by the Bank of *Anio*, l. 7. p. 56.
Sacromora Burago, l. 9. p. 57.
Salvator, Bishop of *Clusino*, l. 1. p. 18.
Samaniego, l. 10. p. 7.
Samblement, a Colonel, l. 9. p. 54.
Sancerre in *Aquitain*, its siege compared with the Siege of *Harlem*, l. 7. p. 79. 80.
Sancho Avila, Captain of the Duke of *Alva's* Life-Guard, l. 6. p. 30. sets a Guard upon *Culemburg* house, l. 6. p. 33. beats *Hochstrat* beyond the *Moes*, l. 7. p. 46.

is wounded, l. 7. p. 63. commands a Fleet for the relief of *Midleburg*, l. 8. p. 2. defeats *Lewis* of *Nassau* at *Mooch*, l. 8. p. 3. the Mutiny of the *Spaniards* against him, l. 8. p. 4. General of the Foot in the *Zeland* Expedition, l. 8. p. 9. Sailes into *Philisland*, *ibid.* from thence to *Duveland*, l. 8. p. 13. his Complaints against the Royal Senate, and Thiers against him, l. 8. p. 18. he supplies the *Spaniards* at *Alcoff*, *ibid.* & p. 22. being Governour of the Fort at *Antwerp*, he receives the *Spaniards* marching thither, *ibid.* with-holds the Souldiers at the Sack of *Antwerp*, l. 8. p. 24. departs out of the *Low-Countries* with the *Spaniards*, l. 9. p. 32.
Sancho Leva, son to *Sancho* Vice-Roy of *Navarre*, l. 10. p. 6.
Sancho Londognio, a Colonel, l. 6. p. 30. takes the Con-

A Table of the most remarkable

- ful of *Amsterdam* by Orders from the Duke of *Alva*, 1.6.p.33.
- Sancti Spiritus* vide *Propheta*.
- Saint *Paulus*, the Church, 1.9.p.44. the Battle, 1.1.p.11. 1.7.p.53. General of the Horse, 1.1.p.11.
- Sardinia* offered in lieu of the Kingdom of *Navarre*, 1.3.p.59.
- Sardinian* Regiment, 1.6.p.39. 1.7.p.47. burnes many Villages, 1.7.p.57. punished by the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* & 58. how much was lost by that fire, *ibid.*
- Sarra Martinengo* serves in France, 1.9.p.57.
- Savoy*, the Dukedome, 1.5.p.137. & 1.6.p.11.
- Savoy*, the Duke, 1.2.p.44. 1.6.p.30. marrieth *Katherine* daughter to the King of Spain, 1.4.p.82, 83. 1.6.p.35. vide *Emanuel Philibert*.
- Saulio* vide *Antonio*.
- Saxony*, the Electorate, 1.5.p.116. Sax. the Duke, 1.1.p.8. vide *Augustus* & *Maurice*.
- Saying of the Duke of *Alva* touching the Punishment due to the *Gentiles*, 1.7.p.39. touching the Princes confederate against his King, 1.7.p.59. touching the King recalling him from Exile, 1.7.p.82. Of the Courage of *Vuelli*, 1.7.p.62. Of the Mutineers of *Alost*, 1.8.p.22. Of the Low-countrie men concerning *Alva*, 1.7.p.92. of *Charles* the fifth after the Abdication of his Empire, 1.1.p.5. touching the Nature of the Low-countrie men, 1.6.p.23. of the Magnitude of *Gant*, 1.7.p.39. of a Captain to *Charles* the fifth, 1.1.p.10. of Cardinal *Granvelle* when he heard the Prince of *Orange* was not taught, 1.6.p.33, 34. of the besieged *Leideners*, 1.8.p.6. of *Offavio Farnese* touching the unity of Neighbour Princes, 1.4.p.91. of *Philip* the second relating to the Duke of *Alva's* Death, 1.7.p.82. of *Vuelli* to the Duke of *Alva*, 1.7.p.60. of the Common people on the General of an Army, 1.7.p.83. vide Words.
- Scamaneler*, a River, 1.1.p.2.
- Scander Bashaw* wounded, taken by *Alexander Farnese*, 1.9.p.46.
- Seavernburg* sent to meet the German Embassadors, 1.8.p.18. answers them in Senate in the Governesse's name, *ibid.*
- Seauwenburg*, a Colonel sent for from Germany to the siege of *Valencien*, 1.6.p.8. comes with his Regiment, *ibid.* appointed with part thereof to secure *Bolduc*, 1.6.p.17. Orders the City and the State, *ibid.* receives the Duke of *Alva* at his entrance into the Low-countrie, 1.6.p.31. vide *Fustine*.
- Seeldt*, the head City of the Isle of *Zeland* taken, 1.7.p.78.
- the War carried thither by *Requesenes*, 1.8.p.9. relief sent by the Prince of *Orange*, 1.8.p.13. taken by assault, *ibid.* relinquished by the Spaniards, 1.8.p.18.
- Seeldt*, the River, 1.1.p.2. & 1.7.p.76.
- Scheiff*, Chancellor of *Brabant*, sent to quiet the *Bus*, 1.6.p.2. contumeliously used and imprisoned, *ibid.* & 1.6.p.16. released and sent back to the Governesse, *ibid.*
- Schoonhoven*, a City faithful to the Spaniard, 1.7.p.72. taken by *Henry* Governour of *Gelderland*, 1.8.p.8.
- Schijf Campio*, an Engineer, 1.10.p.14.
- Scotland's* Queen vide *Mary Stuart*.
- Scott's* fight naked in the bartel of *Mechlin*, 1.10.p.11.
- Seyth's* Forces, 1.9.p.50, 53. & 1.10.p.11.
- Sea firs into the Woods and Meadows, 1.8.p.7. waded over, 1.7.p.18.p.10. overflowing, 1.7.p.69. Its Admiral, 1.1.p.17. 1.7.p.69.
- Sebastian Morales*, a Jesuite, Bishop of *Japan*, Confessor to Princess *Mary of Portugal*, 1.4.p.92, 93.
- Sekins's* fight and rout the Image-breakers, 1.5.p.122.
- Sedition how begun by the Prince of *Orange* in the Low-countrie, 1.2.p.46, 47.
- Sedition of the *Valentinians*, 1.3.p.62. revived, 1.3.p.64.
- compulsed, 1.3.p.65. at *Amstwerp* occasioned by the Punishment of an Apostate, 1.4.p.84. upon the prohibition of Sermons, 1.5.p.117, 118. by the Calvinists, 1.6.p.4. vide Tumult.
- Sedition Military in the Camp of *Lewis* of *Nassau* by the German Soldiers demanding their Pay, 1.7.p.59. repressed, *ibid.* iterated, *ibid.* sedition of the Spaniards against *Avila* for not paying them, 1.8.p.4. the Seditious Create a new Electo, 1.8.p.5. enter *Amstwerp*, *ibid.* their threats and solemn oath, *ibid.* they are payed and pacified, *ibid.* their pious liberality, *ibid.* how they demeaned themselves towards the Jesuites, *ibid.* their amendment upon an exhortation made by one of the Society, 1.8.p.6. their plunder suspected to be a plot, *ibid.* Sedition of the Spaniards at the siege of *Leiden*, 1.8.p.8. the Seditious imprison their General *Valdez*, *ibid.* upon the Rebeck of their money they are pacified, *ibid.*
- Sedition of the Spanish Horse at *Ziricze* for the deserting of their pay, 1.8.p.16.
- Sedition of the Spaniards against *Mondragonio*, 1.8.p.17. the Seditious take *Alost*, 1.8.p.18. are declared Enemies by the Royal Senate, *ibid.* assisted by *Avila*, *ibid.* they take the Fort at *Lichard*, 1.8.p.19. the Decree of Senate for expelling them the Low-countrie, 1.8.p.20. Confirmed by the Association of *Gant*, 1.8.p.21. from *Alost* they march to *Amstwerp*, 1.8.p.22. their Fury, *ibid.* they beat the Townesmen out of their Trenches, and take the Town, *ibid.* & 23. plunder it, *ibid.* & p.24. the Sedition of the Spaniards upon the Command sent them to depart the Low-countrie, 1.9.p.30. they are pacified, 1.9.p.31.
- Sedition of the Germans defending *Breda* against *Frans* *ibey*, 1.9.p.48.
- Sedition in the Catholick Camp raised by the Germans, 1.9.p.56. the Seditious are separated, *ibid.* the Authors of the Sedition are demanded, *ibid.* their punishment, *ibid.*
- Sega* vide *Philip*, 1.5.p.139.
- Seghet*, 1.5.p.139.
- Seige of *Alemar*, 1.7.p.81. of *Amsterdam*, 1.10.p.5. of *Breda*, 1.9.p.48. of the Castle at *Gant*, 1.9.p.31. of *Gemblic*, 1.9.p.52. of *Goes*, 1.7.p.77. of *Groninghen*, 1.7.p.54. of *Harlem*, 1.7.p.78. of *Leiden*, 1.8.p.6. of *Mous*, 1.7.p.74. the description of its redgement, *ibid.* of *Paris*, 1.6.p.35. of *Orbatello*, 1.8.p.14. of *Parma*, 1.9.p.42. of *Ruremund*, 1.9.p.49. of *Saeneerre*, 1.7.p.79. of *Valencien*, 1.6.p.5. its description, 1.6.p.10. of *Ziricze*, 1.8.p.13.
- Selimus*, the Turkish Emperour, favours the Jewes, 1.5.p.138. assists the *Mooves* against the Spaniard, 1.5.p.139. 1.8.p.15. converts his Fury against *Cyprus*, 1.5.p.139.
- Sellius* vide *Fohn*.
- Semer*, the Lord, appointed by the Governesse to be Governour of *Mechlin*, 1.6.p.12.
- Senators, their Cabinet Councell, called the Consult, 1.1.p.25. how the Senate was to be convened, *ibid.* what precepts were therein to be observed, *ibid.* the Senates opinion touching the sedition at *Valencien*, 1.3.p.64. the Senate of *Briges* contumacious against the Inquisitor of Faith, 1.4.p.84. the Kings instruction for Ordering the Senate, 1.4.p.90. the Senators Suffrages for the Covenanters against the Inquisition and the Emperours Edicts, 1.5.p.103, 104. Their grievances, *ibid.* confuted by the Governesse, *ibid.* & p.105. the Senate summoned upon the News of the Violation of Sacred things, 1.5.p.127. the Decree of Senate for the Security offered to the Covenanters, 1.5.p.129. the divers Sences of the Senators, 1.5.p.128. the Senate of the three States attend the Governesse to *Amstwerp*, 1.6.p.18.
- Senate Royal Governes the Low-countrie after the death

death of *Requesenes*, 1.8. p.16. confirmed by the King, *ibid.* the Spanish Senators and Patriots who they were, 1.8. p.17. the discord between them, *ibid.* the fall of their Authority, *ibid.* they are bought by the Prince of *Orange*, *ibid.* they pay the German Regiment, and delay the *Spaniards* *ibid.* they declare the *Spaniard* Enemies, 1.8. p.18. they permit divers Cities of *Flanders* and *Brabant* to take up Arms, *ibid.* their Complaints against *Avila*, *ibid.* their Edict against the Mutineers at *Alost*, *ibid.* they write to the King, 1.8. p.19. they Affiliate under-hand with the Prince of *Orange*, 1.8. p.20, 23. they betray the Kings Cause, 1.7. p.46. their votes against the Seditious at *Alost*, 1.8. p.19. the Senators that voted for the *Spaniards* forcibly taken out of the Senate, and committed prisoners, 1.8. p.20, 23. others chosen in their places, 1.8. p.20. the Authority of the Royal Senate Nulled, *ibid.* a New form of Government introduced, *ibid.* the Senators suspected by the Estates, removed from Senate, 1.9. p.39. new ones elected, *ibid.* they declare *Don John* and his Party Enemies to the State, *ibid.* their flight to *Antwerp* upon the News of their loss at *Gemblic*, 1.9. p.53. the Senates Letter to the King, 1.8. p.19. the Decree of Senate for expelling the *Spaniards*, 1.8. p.20. the Senate house at *Antwerp* fired, 1.8. p.23. Prince of the Senate who he was, 1.8. p.19. vide Estates.

Sepulcher temporary for *Don John*, 1.10. p.22.

Sepulchers defaced, 1.7. p.75.

Seradilla, 1.1. p.6.

Serbellano vide *Gabriel*.

Sernapulus discovers many designs of the Covenanters, 1.5. p.110.

Sermons of the Hereticks much frequented, 1.5. p.116.

1.7. p.50. not possibly to be silenced, 1.5. p.127. the Covenanters desire it may be free for their Audience to come to them, 1.5. p.129. which is permitted, 1.5. p.130, 141, 143.

Servants to the Lords what kind of Liveries they wore, 1.4. p.78.

Siena taken, 1.1. p.10. the Maritime parts harassed, 1.8. p.14.

Sheaf of Arrows an Emblem assumed by the *Low-country* Lords, 1.4. p.78.

Show of blood, 1.7. p.53.

Ship, the Admiral that Carried *Charles* the fifth, sunk, 1.1. p.5. Prince *Marie's* Ship endangered, 1.4. p.93. of the Covenanters taken, 1.6. p.19. of Count *Bolduc*, fights gallantly, yields, 1.7. p.81. the Turkish Treasurer's Galley taken by *Alexander Farnese*, 1.9. p.46. Ships to meet the King of Spain, 1.6. p.29. of the *Spaniards* and *Low-country* men stayed by arrest in *England*, and of the English in the *Low-countries* and *Spain*, 1.7. p.66. *Portugal* Ships taken, *ibid.* Freebooters infect *Holland* and *Friesland*, 1.7. p.71. the Prince of *Orange's* ships shooting the Royallists at their pleasure, 1.8. p.12. 150 Sail, 1.7. p.73. 1.8. p.8. a Multitude of ships sailing over Meadows and Woods, 1.8. p.7. Naval fights, 1.8. p.1, 2, &c. vide Fleet.

Siehem possessed by the Prince of *Orange*, 1.7. p.75. summoned by *Alexander Farnese*, 1.9. p.54. refuseth to submit, is stormed, *ibid.* taken and plundered, *ibid.* the Fugitives slain, *ibid.* the Fort holds out, *ibid.* is taken by assault, 1.9. p.55. the Garrison punished, *ibid.*

Sicilian Regiment, 1.6. p.30.

Simon Favean, a Calvinist, imprisoned, 1.3. p.62. forcibly taken out of the Gaole, *ibid.* condemned, *ibid.*

Simon Regnard, a Senator, 1.3. p.67. Delegate from the King of *Spain* to confirm the Truce made with the French King, 1.2. p.41. loseth the Kings Favour,

ibid. encourageth private meetings against the King, 1.3. p.67. his hatred to *Granvel*, 1.2. p.41. an Emulation begun when they were Children, 1.3. p.76. sent for out of the *Low-countries* into *Spain*, *ibid.*

Saigniac rendred to *Don John*, 1.9. p.57.

Soliman, the Turkish Emperour, sends an Embassadour into *France*, 1.4. p.88. Assigns a City and Territory to the Jews, 1.5. p.138, 139.

Soliman Arais, 1.8. p.13.

Solitude beloved, 1.1. p.6, 10. 1.10. p.21.

Sono, a Water-Ghuse, Revolts from the King of *Spain*, 1.7. p.71. turns Pirat, *ibid.*

Sorbon D. Complaints, 1.3. p.63.

Sorian vide *John*.

Spinosa vide *Didaco*.

Spaniards Victorious at *St. Quintin*, 1.1. p.11. at *Graveling*, *ibid.* & 12. in Garrison in the *Low Countries*, 1.1. p.17, 24. 1.2. p.47. 1.6. p.31. 1.7. p.39. 1.10. p.5. rebellions against the Emperour, 1.2. p.27. Retained in the *Low-Countries*, 1.2. p.28. dismissed, 1.3. p.52. Auxiliaries at *Limoges*, 1.3. p.58. Sail into *Spain*, 1.3. p.52. return into the *Low-Countries*, 1.6. p.30. 1.7. p.58. swim the river *Albia* with their Swords between their teeth, 1.9. p.30. Defeat Count *Hochstrat*, 1.7. p.46. recover *Dam*, 1.7. p.48. receives a blow, 1.7. p.47. rout *Lewis of Nassau*, 1.7. p.54. Conquer at *Geming*, 1.7. p.55, 56. and at the River *Geta*, 1.7. p.62. are beaten, 1.7. p.72. take the Abbey d'*Elphine*, 1.7. p.74. overthrow the French at *St. Gilsen*, *ibid.* besiege *Mons*, *ibid.* assault the Prince of *Orange's* Camp in their Shirts, 1.7. p.76. recover *Mons*, 1.7. p.77. plunder *Mechlin*, *ibid.* *Zutphen*, *ibid.* raise the siege at *Goes*, *ibid.* take *Zuitbeverland*, 1.7. p.78. wade over the Ocean, *ibid.* burne *Nardem*, *ibid.* besiege *Harlem*, *ibid.* take it, 1.7. p.79. are beaten in the Sea, 1.7. p.80. 1.8. p.2. lose *Middelburg*, *ibid.* win the battel of *Mooch*, 1.8. p.3. besiege *Leyden*, 1.8. p.6. are besieged by the Prince of *Orange*, 1.8. p.8. retreat with loss, *ibid.* storm Towns, *ibid.* attempt the *Zeland* Expedition, 1.8. p.9. descend into *Philisland*, *ibid.* & p.10. passe thorow the Sea on foot, 1.8. p.12. the last division forced to return, *ibid.* the middle Regiment slain, *ibid.* the Van arrives in *Duveland*, *ibid.* is Victorious, 1.8. p.13. goes over to *Sceldt*, *ibid.* takes part of the Island, *ibid.* besiegeth *Ziriczee*, *ibid.* takes it, *ibid.* assists the *Alostanians*, 1.8. p.18. loseth the Castle of *Gant*, 1.8. p.20, 21. routs the *Glimmeans*, *ibid.* recovers and plunders *Maesbricht*, *ibid.* marcheth to *Antwerp*, *ibid.* & 22. takes their Trenches, *ibid.* & 23. fires the Palace of Justice, *ibid.* plunders the Town, *ibid.* sends an Agent to the King, *ibid.* goes from the *Low-Countries* into *Italy*, 1.9. p.32, 33. from *Italy* by *Alexander Farnese* are brought back to the *Low-Countries*, 1.9. p.41. overthrow the Enemy at *Gemblic*, 1.9. p.49. storm *Gemblic*, 1.9. p.52. take *Siehem*, 1.9. p.54. and *Limburg*, 1.10. p.2. their new Army in the *Low-Countries*, 1.10. p.6. the confidence of the Spanish Souldiers, 1.6. p.30. 1.7. p.76. the *Low-Country* mens hatred against them, 1.2. p.47. 1.7. p.71, 72. 1.8. p.19, 22. their Edict and meeting to destroy them, 1.8. p.20. and Consultation, 1.3. p.51. their Complaints, 1.9. p.30. piety, 1.7. p.55, 57. their ships arrested in the Ports of *England*, 1.7. p.66. their Constancy in a siege, 1.8. p.8. the League of *Gant* made against them, 1.8. p.21. their Execution done upon the Enemy, 1.9. p.31. Conquerours for almost 10. years together, *ibid.* The attempt of a Spanish Lieutenant, 1.8. p.8. the Valour of another Captain, 1.8. p.12. Discord among the Spanish Governours, 1.8. p.19. the Spanish Fleet fraught with gold from the Indies, 1.1. p.6. Spanish Regiments, 1.6. p.29, 30. 1.8. p.18, &c. Spanish Senators clapped up Prisoners, 1.8. p.20. vide Expedition, Sedition and Victory.

A Table of the most remarkable

Souldiers burnt in a house, l.7. p.62. carried into *Zeland*, l.6. p.2. put in Garrison, l.3. p.42. l.6. p.6. wading the Sea, l.8. p.10. vide *Army Expedition, Spaniards, Italians, &c.*
 Sparrowes of Wood flying about a Room, l.1. p.7.
 Spies under a Jealous Prince, l.5. p.134. their mutuall error, l.6. p.7. their ridiculous mistake, l.7. p.54. women Spies, l.7. p.74.
 Statue in the Fort at *Antwerp*, l.7. p.64. broken, l.9. p.38. melted again, *ibid.*
 State vide Council.
 States depured vide Estates & Senate.
 Staveland vide Philip.
 Stephano Mutino, an Italian Colonel, l.10. p.7.
 Stephano Serra, the Spanish Admiral, l.7. p.66.
 Stephanus Requesnes,
 Stipend, vide Money & Sedition.
 Storming vide siege.
 Stuart vide Mary.

Swartzenburg vide Count Gunter.
 Sultanes, l.9. p.46.
 Sun in Eclipse, how prodigious it was to *Florence*, l.1. p.22.
 Supplications by publick Order, l.6. p.29. l.7. p.64.
Sorrentine Archbishop, l.5. p.114.
 Suspicion, upon the Conference at *Naion*, l.4. p.87, 88. that the Emperours mind was changed in the Abdication of his Kingdomes, l.1. p.5. touching the plunder of the Mutineers, l.8. p.6. that the *Low-Countries* were betrayed, l.5. p.127.
 Symbols or Badges of a Conspiracy decreed at a Feast, l.4. p.78. worn by the Lords Servants, *ibid.* interpreted by the Common People, *ibid.* Prohibited by the Governesse, *ibid.* layed aside by the Lords, and supplied with another device, *ibid.* forbidden by the King, *ibid.*
Switz, l.6. p.126.

Sentences in S.

A Prince can never be SAFE among those Subjects that cannot think themselves secure among his Souldiers, l.9. p.29.
 SECURITY is established by a mutuall Safeguard, *Ibid.*
 Nothing SECURE unlesse suspected, l.10. p.19.
 In a Violent SICKNESSE, there is not a more certain signe of Death, then if Remedies be applied sparingly, and out of time, l.8. p.19.
 'Tis hard to stand long in a SLIPPERY place, if a man be justled by many, l.3. p.74.
 'Tis the SPADE and Pickaxe which build and destroy Forts, l.9. p.58.
 SPIES, the Ears and Eyes of Princes, l.5. p.102.
 The life of SPIES is, to know and not be known, l.5. p.134.
 SUBJECTED people think themselves partly free, if governed by a Native, l.1. p.24.
 Confidence increaseth by SUCCESSE, l.9. p.45.
 SUDDAIN and doubtfull Accidents ever strike a Terror, l.5. p.125.
 Those that have not ill Eares, will be SUFFICIENTLY answered by not being answered, l.6. p.16.
 Some that they may have SUPPLIANTS, seek to make Delinquents, l.2. p.35.
 Some kind of SUSPITIONS, no innocence can absolutely cleer, l.10. p.20.

T.

TAgus, the River, drawn up to the top of the Mountain of Toledo, l.1. p.7.
 Tarquin the proud, l.3. p.57.
 Tarquin Aruns his Example revived, l.7. p.47.
 Taxia vide Petor & Raymond.
 Tavan, a French Colonel, l.1. p.6.
 Taxes imposed upon Men that for their health drink water at the Wells, l.7. p.69.
 Taxes of the tenth, twentieth, and hundredth part imposed by the Duke of *Alva*, l.7. p.65. the *Low-Country* men refuse to pay them, *ibid.* & p.67, 69. some dissuade the Duke of *Alva*, *ibid.* others perswade him, *ibid.* his moderation, *ibid.* he forbears to Exact them, *ibid.* upon occasion of these Taxes the *Low-country* men Revolt from the King, *ibid.* & p.73.
 Telidan, a Divine of *Louvain*, l.3. p.75.
 Temple, a Village, l.9. p.49.
 Tent of the Prince of *Orange* invaded by the Spaniards, l.7. p.76.
 Teronius Vasco, sent by the Prince of *Orange* to sow Enmity between *Don John* and the *Low-country* Lords, l.9. p.33, 35.
 Teron stormed by Charles the fifth, l.1. p.10.
 Thames waded over, l.2. p.11.
 Theodrick Batemburg forced to flye *Holland*, l.6. p.19.

taken, *ibid.* Executed, *Ibid.*
 Theodor Bez, author of the Tumult at *Ambois*, l.3. p.57. his Council for a new Model of Religion like the Profession of *Aufburg*, l.5. p.138. he finisheth *Dauids* Psalmes in French Meeter, begun by *Marot*, l.3. p.63.
 Theonvill, l.6. p.31.
 Theoph. Friso, Camerarius, or of the Bed-Chamber to the Pope, brings a red hat to *Granvell*, l.3. p.54.
 Tholosens defeated at *Ostervell*, l.6. p.8.
 Thole, an Island, l.8. p.2, 10.
 Tholose vide James Marnixius & John.
 Thomas Armenterius, sent into Spain by the Governesse, l.3. p.75. heard at large by the King, *ibid.* & 76. alters the Kings mind from retaining *Granvell* in the *Low-countries*, *ibid.* returning from Spain into the *Netherlands*, he brings *Granvells* discharge, l.4. p.79.
 Thomas Perenn, the Spanish Embassadour in France, acts chiefly by advice from his brother *Granvell*, l.3. p.55, 58.
 Thomas Raggius sent into England, l.7. p.66.
 Tiber, l.7. p.56.
 Tiberius Cesar, l.1. p.2. l.2. p.40. l.5. p.126, 127. l.6. p.29. manageth his Wars by his Sons, l.6. p.23. his boast in Senate of the Twins his Wife brought him, l.9. p.41.
 Tilmont, a Town of *Brabant*, possessed by the Prince of *Orange*, l.7. p.75. rendered to *Don John*, l.9. p.53. the Battel there, l.8. p.21.
 Toledo

Passages and Sentences.

Toledo, the Archbishop, l. 1. p. 8. the Aqueduct of Toledo, l. 1. p. 7.
Toledo vide *Ferdinando Federico, Pedro & Rodrigo*.
Tholom the Dioces divided, l. 2. p. 30. Cities full of Calvinistical books found at Tholom, l. 7. p. 45.
Torelli Lords of the Isle of S. Enare, l. 8. p. 15.
Tongren, l. 7. p. 60.
Tornay, a Province of the Low countries, l. 1. p. 16. Governour, *ibid*.
Tornay, the City, *ibid*. its Governour, l. 6. p. 8. Tumults raised at Tornay, — and quieted, l. 3. p. 61. how frequently the Hereticks preached there, *ibid*. l. 5. p. 116. Churches allowed to the Hereticks, l. 5. p. 131. they threaten to revolt from the King, l. 6. p. 1. Tornay Gheuses take up Arms and invade Lisse, l. 6. p. 6. divert Lanoy, *ibid*. routed and slain, l. 6. p. 7. a Garrison imposed upon them, l. 6. p. 8. the Rebels punished, *ibid*.
Tosond vide *Herald*.
Tournament, l. 1. p. 13.
Trent, a City, l. 2. p. 39. Council of Trent vide Council.
Triumphal pomp, of the King of Navarre entering Roan, l. 3. p. 61. of Granvell with the King of Spain, l. 4. p. 83. of the Governesse at Antwerp, l. 6. p. 18. of the Duke of Alva at Brussels, l. 7. p. 64. of Don John of Austria, l. 9. p. 32. of the Generals for the Estates, l. 9. p. 31, 32.
Troops of Horse famous thorow out Europe, l. 1. p. 17.
Trophie erected by Germanicus Cesar, l. 7. p. 57. by the Duke of Alva, *ibid*. the interpretation thereof, l. 7. p. 64. vide *Statue & Alva*.
Truce for 5. years between the French and Spaniards, l. 1. p. 3. l. 1. p. 41. broken, l. 1. p. 11. between Don John, and the Low-Country Estates not allowed of, l. 10. p. 6.
Truden vide *Centron*.
Tserclasse sent into Spain by the Brabanters, l. 5. p. 66.
Tullia Tarquins Wife compared with Albrecht, l. 3. p. 57.
Tumults presaged to the Low-countries, l. 7. p. 53. their

Causes, l. 1. p. 87. l. 7. p. 53. the primary and true Causes, l. 2. p. 36. the sum of the Causes and occasions, l. 3. p. 17. why they are various, Argued by Historians, *ibid*. being layed and almost extinguished by whom they were revived, l. 3. p. 53, 54. The retaining of the Spanish Souldiers in the Netherlands, whether or no it was a Cause of the Tumults, l. 2. p. 28. or the increase of the Bishops, l. 1. p. 19. or the Inquisition introduced by the Emperours Edicts, l. 2. p. 32. vide *Inquisition*. Of the punishment of Delinquents, l. 2. p. 34, 35. vide *Heresie and punishment*. On the alienation of the Nobility, l. 2. p. 37. Occasioned by Granvell, l. 3. p. 75. by the Kings Letter, l. 4. p. 96. by the Edicts proposed by the Governesse, l. 5. p. 98. by the Duke of Alva, l. 7. p. 39. by taxes, l. 7. p. 75. by Mutineers, vide *Sedition* and the Beginning of the Low-Country Tumults, how it came, l. 1. p. 46. l. 3. p. 61. a general Pardon for the Tumults, l. 7. p. 69. vide *Pardon*.
Tumults in France, l. 3. p. 55, 57, 58. vide *Guises & Conspiracy*. the French and Low-Country Tumults compared together, l. 3. p. 55, 61.
Tumults of the Moores in Spain, l. 7. p. 44, 66. against the Spaniards, l. 8. p. 18. at Antwerp, l. 9. p. 17. l. 6. p. 3. l. 8. p. 22. at Boldue and Maestricht, l. 6. p. 1. at Ghent, l. 5. p. 132. l. 6. p. 24. at Valenciens, l. 3. p. 63.
Tunis, the Royal Seat of Libia, taken by assault, l. 10. p. 19. the Expedition of Tunis, l. 7. p. 69. l. 10. p. 31.
Turks fire the Arsenal at Venice, l. 5. p. 139.
Turkish Fleet at Lepanto, l. 9. p. 46. the Treasurer of their Army, *ibid*.
Turkish Garrison at Navarin, *ibid*.
Twining the Secretary sent by the Governesse to the Bishop of Liege, l. 6. p. 18. to Brederod, l. 6. p. 19. by him retained, *ibid*. sent away by night from Amsterdam, *ibid*. employed by the Duke of Alva to the Queen of England, l. 7. p. 66.
Tuscany, l. 8. p. 14.
Twentieth part, vide *Taxes*.

Sentences in T.

Slander is a Shipwrack by a dry TEMPEST,
STHREATS proportioned to the greatest Spirits will at last humble them,
In a TROUBLED State the most present Remedy is for one Man to Rule,

V.

Vabrince, a Bishoprick in France, l. 2. p. 31.
Vadamont, the Count, l. 7. p. 53.
Vahal, a River, l. 8. p. 9.
Valdesong appointed a Captain of Foot by the King, l. 5. p. 132.
Valdes vide *Francisco*.
Valenciens, a City, l. 6. p. 5. impatient of their Rulers, *ibid*. the Tumults therein, l. 3. p. 61, 63. composed, l. 3. p. 64. the state of the Town, l. 6. p. 5. the *Valerians* Commanded by the Governesse to receive a Garrison, *ibid*. after some tergiversation, they refuse, *ibid*. are pronounced Rebels, l. 6. p. 6. besieged, l. 6. p. 8. the King unwilling to have them stormed, *ibid*. besieged yet more straitlie, *ibid*. the Assault limited by the Kings Order, l. 6. p. 9. they are invited to render by Count Egmont and Duke Arschot, *ibid*. they sally out by night, l. 6. p. 10. the Site of the Town, *ibid*. the battery, *ibid*. the Valenciens Treat, *ibid*. they yield to mercy, *ibid*. and so escape storming, *ibid*. & p. 11. the City is disarmed, *ibid*. the Authors of the Rebellion Executed, *ibid*. the Street Sacred and Civil restored, *ibid*. the Fort demolished, l. 9. p. 38.

l. 3. p. 67.
l. 4. p. 82.
l. 8. p. 17.
Valentine Pardieu Lord de la Motte, Commands the Forces of Flanders, l. 6. p. 32. Master of that Ordinance, l. 9. p. 56. carried out of the field wounded, l. 7. p. 80.
St. Valery stormed, l. 7. p. 46.
Valladolid, l. 1. p. 6. l. 10. p. 18, 19.
Valois vide *Philip* Duke of Burgundy.
Valois vide *Margaret*.
Vangh vide *John & Margaret*.
Vargas vide *Alphonso Francisco & Juan*.
Vansination vide *Presage*.
Venice fired, l. 5. p. 139. who was the plotter of it, *ibid*.
Perdugo vide *Francisco*.
Vernerus Ginnich, Embassadour from the Duke of Flanders, l. 9. p. 36.
Verse, about half Moones worn in hats to expresse their hatred to the Roman Religion, l. 8. p. 8. of *Ovid*. Sued upon the Death of Charles Prince of Spain, l. 7. p. 45.
Vesembach employed from Antwerp to Spain, l. 8. p. 44.
Vespaflus, the Emperours, l. 1. p. 1. l. 1. p. 2.
Vesprah raised House in Saxony, l. 5. p. 138.
Vienna, a Town of Bohemia, l. 6. p. 120.
Vibaldus

A Table of the most remarkable

Vibaldus Riparda, General and Governour of *Harlem*,
dyes, 1.7.p.80.
Victory, of *Altium*, 1.9.p.46. at the River *Ems*, 1.7.p.56.
at *Calice*, 1.1.p.11. at the River *Geta*, 1.7.p.61. at
Graveling, 1.1.p.11. at *St. Giffen*, 1.7.p.74. at *Gem-
blac*, 1.9.p.52. at *Limburg*, 1.10.p.1. at *Mons in Hay-
nolt*, 1.7.p.76. at *Ostervell*, 1.6.p.3. at *St. Quintin*,
1.1.p.11. in the Isle of *Duveland*, 1.8.p.13. at *Moosb*,
1.8.p.3. over the *Armenterians* and *Tornois*, 1.6.p.7.
over the *Hugonots*, 1.3.p.61. 1.6.p.34. 1.7.p.64,74.
over *Musapha's* Galley, 1.9.p.46. in the War of *Por-
tugall*, 1.7.p.81. by every 10. *Spaniards* over as many
thousands of the Enemy, 1.9.p.31. the Sea-Victo-
ries of the Prince of *Orange*, 1.8.p.2. and of the *Hol-
landers* frequent for ten years together, 1.7.p.73.
thought to be a miracle, 1.7.p.57. moderation in
Victory, 1.10.p.13. the newes of *Victory* strangely
brought to the *Groine*, 1.7.p.56. the *Victory* of the
Spaniards parallel'd with one of the *Romans*, *ibid.* vide
Expedition.
Vid. *Caboco* slain in a duel in the French Kings presence,
1.1.p.13.
Viennius vide *Henry*.
Vigilius vide *Utricus*.
Villa, of *Henry King of France*, 1.9.p.57.
Villapardo, 1.10.p.19.
Villageria, 1.10.p.17.
Villages fired, 1.7.p.57.
Viller Commands the *Covenanters* Horse, 1.6.p.1. moves
the *Bishop* of *Lieg* to suffer their meeting at *Centron*,
1.5.p.119.
Villers, a French *Marquis* joynes with Count *Aremberg*
at *Amiens*, 1.6.p.35.
Villers Commands the *Carabines* for the *Estates*, 1.9.
p.50. defends *Nivell*, 1.9.p.56. vide *Justus Villers*.
Viltes General for the *Covenanters*, 1.7.p.49. is or-
dered by the Prince of *Orange* from *Fuliers* to passe
the *Moss*, 1.7.p.46. routed and taken Prisoner, *ibid.*

& 49. executed, *ibid.*
Viller, *Granvells* Countrey-man, undertakes his Mur-
ther, 1.4.p.80.
Vitvard, too late attempted by *Gonzaga*, 1.9.p.53.
Vitvard-Prison, 1.5.p.102.
Vinglius, one of the *Covenanters*, infects *Holland*, 1.6.
p.19. defeated, *ibid.* executed, *ibid.*
Vincentio Carafa, Prior of *Hungary*, appointed Colonel
of *Italians*, 1.10.p.7.
Violaters of holy Images punished, 1.6.p.17, 20. vide *Ico-
nomachy*.
Vervich, 1.5.p.120.
Visurgis, a River, 1.7.p.56.
Vitelis vide *Chiapino*, *Camilla*, *Nicolao*, & *Paulo*.
Viterlotio Vitelli, 1.8.p.14.
Ulloa vide *Alphonso Juan Oforio* & *Magdalen*.
Utricus Viglius Zuitchem, President of the Privy Coun-
cel, 1.1.p.25. 1.3.p.68. faithful to *Granvells*, *ibid.* 1.4.
p.78. numbered among the *Cardinalists*, *ibid.* & 81.
the *Gheuses* threaten him, 1.5.p.129. affectionate to
his Religion and his King, 1.8.p.17. arrested in *Se-
nate*, and committed Prisoner, 1.8.p.20.
Ulutial, the Turkish Admiral, 1.9.p.46.
Ulysses, 1.3.p.70.
Voluntary inheritance, 1.1.p.4.
Vorne, an Isle of *Holland*, 1.7.p.72.
Votive Monument, 1.7.p.48.
Urban VII. P. M. 1.5.p.132.
Urban VIII. P. M. 1.7.p.60.
Ursel employed from *Antwerp* into *Spain*, 1.3.p.66.
Utrichte honoured with the prerogative of an Arch-
bishoprick, 1.1.p.18. the Townesmen out the *Catho-
lics* from their Churches, 1.5.p.131. threaten to
revolt from the King, 1.6.p.1.
Vulgar Apostles, who, 1.3.p.61.
Vulgar interpretation of the *Hoods*, 1.4.p.78. vide
people.
uzede, 1.7.p.82.

Sentences in V.

VICES that passe from hand to hand are soiled with being touched, and grow still fouler, 1.5.
p.115.
It is not easie to hold mens hands when **VICTORY** shewes them at once, revenge and booty,
1.8.p.24.
What is **VISIBLE**, is slighted, 1.1.p.8.
UNSOUND minds like unsound bodies, the more you feed, the more you poison them, lib.9.
p.34.
The **VOTE** which nature extorts, We think is given to the Cause, when indeed we give it to our
humour, 1.6.p.23.

W.

WAcken, sent Admiral into *Spain*, 1.6.p.32.
Walcheren, an Island, 1.6.p.2. 1.8.p.1.
waterland, an Isle, 1.6.p.19.
West, a River, 1.10.p.1.
Westphalia, 1.2.p.36.
Wight, an Isle of *England*, and its Governour, 1.8.
p.33.
Willebroc, a Village, 1.6.p.14.
Wurhome, 1.8.p.9.
Waller, an Emblem of the *Gheuses*, 1.5.p.10.
Walleis stuck upon Spear-points, 1.8.p.10.
Water-Gheuses, 1.7.p.71.
William Count Bergen, one of the four first *Covenanters*,
1.5.p.101. at *Brussels*, 1.5.p.107, 109. feasted with
them, *ibid.* goes with them to the Governesse, 1.5.
p.111. retires into *Gelderland*, *ibid.* & 1.6.p.15. is

impeached, 1.7.p.41. condemned in absence, *ibid.*
victorious in *Zuiphen*, 1.7.p.73. defeated, 1.7.p.77.
William Blofius Treslong, one of the first *Water-Gheuses*,
1.7.p.71. turns Pirat, *ibid.* beats the *Spaniards*, and
fires their Ships, 1.7.p.72. is the Cause of hanging
Alvares Paescho, *ibid.*
William Bronchorst dyes, 1.7.p.80.
William Duke of Cleve, 1.9.p.101. 1.9.p.30.
William Horn, Lord of *Hesse*, Governour of *Brussels*,
1.8.p.20. by order from him the Royal Senators are
Imprisoned, *ibid.* the Prince of *Orange's* Emiffary,
1.9.p.34. Commands a Regiment at the Battle of
Gembler, 1.9.p.50. Ingrateful to *Don John*, 1.9.p.35.
Adviseeth the *Jesuites* to take the Oath, 1.9.p.40. his
Enmity with the Prince of *Orange*, 1.10.p.9. what his
End was, 1.9.p.34.
William Lumd, descended from the Counts of *Marcha*,
Commander of Horse among the *Covenanters*, 1.6.
p.1. irreconcilable to the name of *Catholic*, 1.7.
p.58.

p. 58. his Vow to revenge the Death of Count Egmont and Count Horn, *ibid.* General of the Water-Gheueles, 1.7.p.71. his hatred to the Duke of Alva, *ibid.* signified in his Colours, *ibid.* he robs at Sea, *ibid.* takes and fortifies Brill, 1.7.p.72. destroys things Sacred, *ibid.* is pictured putting a pair of Spectacles upon the Duke of Alva's Nose, *ibid.* by his means the Rebel-Cities submit to the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* his own Men offended with him, 1.7.p.80. Called by the Prince of Orange, *ibid.* imprisoned and banished, *ibid.* overthrown at the battel of Gemblac, he flies to Lieg, *ibid.* dyes miserably, *ibid.*

William of Nassau Prince of Orange, 1.1.p.5. his family, birth, prelages, Ancestors, 1.2.p.43,44. His Education with Mary sister to Charles the fifth, *ibid.* Gentleman of the Bed-chamber to the Emperour, *ibid.* his Services of War, Civil employments and favour with the Emperour, *ibid.* Carries the Imperial Crown to Ferdinand King of the Romans, 1.1.p.5. 1.2.p.44. is by Caesar commended to his son Philip, *ibid.* Chosen Knight of the Golden Fleece, *ibid.* the Instrument of making peace with, and Hostage to Henry King of France, *ibid.* & p.46. the Causes of his discontent and designs, 1.2.p.44. his Wit and Manners, 1.2.p.45. the splendor of his house-keeping, *ibid.* what his Religion was, *ibid.* he Studies Machiavil, 1.2.p.46. his marriages, 1.3.p.53. his daughter born, 1.3.p.71. and his son Maurice, 1.4.p.87. General of the Spanish Horse in the Low-countries, 1.2.p.28. Governour of Holland, Zeland, and Utrecht, 1.1.p.16. and Burgundy, 1.1.p.17. designed by the people's wishes for Governour of all the 17. Provinces, 1.1.p.19. which he saith he ought to be of right, 1.2.p.45. what hindered him, 1.1.p.19. out of hope of the Government, 1.2.p.45. from whence sprung his indignation and complaints against the King, 1.2.p.38. and his alienation, 1.3.p.67. his Envy and Emulation against Granvell, 1.2.p.39,41,42. who did him mischief, 1.3.p.54,57,68. when he took the first occasion to raise troubles, *ibid.* whence the beginning, 1.2.p.46. 1.5.p.100. he favours the Seditious Citizens and Hereticks, 1.2.p.46. 1.3.p.66. draws in Count Egmont, 1.3.p.68. with whom he is compared, 1.3.p.70. exasperates the Brabanters, 1.3.p.68. combines against Granvell, 1.3.p.69,71. writes against him to the King, 1.3.p.72. his Complaints at the Convention of the Golden Fleece, 1.3.p.69. and in Senate before the Governesse, 1.3.p.75. his dissection with Count Armbog, 1.3.p.73. and with Duke Areschot, 1.5.p.103. resolves to come no more to Senate, 1.3.p.75. adverteth the Governesse of the Lords Conspiracy, 1.5.p.99. whether he was one of the Conspirators, *ibid.* at his City of Breda the Covenant was signed, 1.5.p.100,101. he complains in Senate that he is reported to be a Covenanter, *ibid.* gives his vote for the Covenanters admission into Bruzells, 1.5.p.103. his Complaints against the King, 1.5.p.104. the Covenanters light at his house, 1.5.p.107. what was acted there, *ibid.* he meets them at Culemburg-house, 1.5.p.110. Feasts the Covenanters, Hath a monitory letter sent him from Pius the fifth, 1.5.p.114. having been formerly admonished by Pius the fourth, touching the same point, *ibid.* the Governesse at the desire of the Citizens of Antwerp sends him to compose the tumult there, 1.5.p.118. the applauses, shouts, and acclamations of the Hereticks as he came in, *ibid.* what he acted at Antwerp, *ibid.* & 120. sent by the Governesse to trouble the meeting at Centron, *ibid.* he moves to be made Governour of Antwerp for settling of the Town, *ibid.* he is Commissioned and suffered to have a Life-guard, *ibid.* his design to invade the Principality of the Low-coun-

tries, *ibid.* 129,130. 1.7.p.40. and Holland in the first place, 1.6.p.12. he argues in Senate against the Laying of a War, 1.5.p.135. dissuades the Governesse from leaving Bruzells, *ibid.* by his endeavours Religion at Antwerp is restored, 1.5.p.136. he assigns Churches to the Hereticks in Antwerp, *ibid.* inveighs against the Emperours Edicts, 1.5.p.133. meets the other Lord at Dendermonde, 1.5.p.134. 1.7.p.50. what was there concluded, 1.5.p.134. 1.7.p.50. boasts and glories that he hath penetrated into the Kings design, 1.5.p.137. Effayes to draw Count Egmont into a new Confederation, 1.5.p.142. how he carried himself in the tumult at Antwerp, 1.6.p.30. he refuseth to take the Oath of fidelity, 1.6.p.12. of his own accord resigns his Government, *ibid.* is troubled at the Duke of Alva's coming into the Low-Countries, 1.6.p.13. his Conference with the Lords at Wilkebroe, 1.6.p.14. his words, at his departure, to Count Egmont, *ibid.* and his Letter to the Governesse, *ibid.* he departs from the Low-Countries, *ibid.* is impeached by the Duke of Alva, 1.7.p.41. condemned absent, *ibid.* & 42. what he answered, *ibid.* his complaints for the sending of his son into Spain, *ibid.* his first Expedition from Germany into the Low-Countries, 1.7.p.48. he publisheth an Apology against the King, 1.2.p.45. and a book against the Duke of Alva, 1.7.p.58. musters at Aquisgrane, *ibid.* passeth his Army over the Moes, contrary to the Duke of Alva's opinion, 1.7.p.59. fights onely with light skirmishes, 1.7.p.60. routs Vielli, *ibid.* Challenges the Duke of Alva to a battel, *ibid.* attempts Livens Townes in vain, 1.7.p.61,63. his danger upon a mutiny in his Camp, 1.7.p.61. he moves to receive the French Forces, *ibid.* Takes Centron, *ibid.* fights at the River Get, *ibid.* & 62. with great loss, *ibid.* is recruited by the French Auxiliaries, *ibid.* intends to joyn with the Prince of Conde in France, 1.7.p.63. plunders the territory of Lieg and the Villages of Haguel, *ibid.* fights more fortunately with the Duke of Alva at Querey, *ibid.* is prohibited from entering France, *ibid.* a mutiny in his Camp, *ibid.* defeated of his hopes, he goes for Germany, *ibid.* derides the Duke of Alva's pride, in erecting his own Statue, 1.7.p.64. Solicites the Low-Country men to revolt upon occasion of the Taxes, 1.7.p.71. compasseth his desire, *ibid.* useth the Water-Gheueles against the Duke of Alva, *ibid.* the Rebellious Cities willingly yield to him, 1.7.p.72. his second Expedition out of Germany into the Low-countries to relieve his brother Lewis, 1.7.p.75. he takes some Townes in Brabant, *ibid.* the Cruelty of his Men, *ibid.* he quickens his march to Mons, *ibid.* admires the Duke of Alva's Camp as he lay at the siege, 1.7.p.67. attempts in vain to break thorow, *ibid.* retreats, *ibid.* is invaded in the night, *ibid.* he confirms the Harleimers to hold out, by letters sent them by Carrier-Pigeons, 1.7.p.79. His Sense of the Duke of Alva's departure, 1.7.p.81. his victory and the rendition of Aidelburg, 1.8.p.2. he prepares Men and Shipping to defend Duveland, which he loseth, 1.8.p.10. he sends relief to Seelitz, 1.8.p.13. having taken Crimpen, he marcheth to Zurich, *ibid.* is bearded, *ibid.* persuades the Governours of Provinces, and the Senators to stand for liberty, 1.8.p.19. associates with some of them, *ibid.* Count Duke Areschot, *ibid.* is invited to the Confederation of Gant, 1.8.p.27. assists the Estates against the Spaniards, *ibid.* instructs the Senators and Deputies of the Estates against Don John, 1.8.p.26. moves them to command the Spaniards out of the Low-Countries, *ibid.* is vexed at Don John's admission, 1.8.p.33. denyes, together with his Provinces, to subscribe the Edict, *ibid.* professeth himself a Calvinist, *ibid.* labours to poison the Low-Country

A Table of the most remarkable

Country mens hearts against *Don John*, *ibid.* Sows
 dissension between *Don John* and the Low-country
 Lords, L. 9. p. 34. in Created Ruat of *Brabant*, L. 9. p. 36.
 Indicates new Magistrats by the Copy of *Holland*,
 L. 9. p. 38. by his Designe the Fort at *Antwerp* is de-
 molished, *ibid.* at his too great power the Lords are
 offended, *ibid.* he is joyned with Archduke *Matthias*,
 as his Lieutenant-Governour of the Low-Countries,
 L. 9. p. 39. he flies to *Antwerp*, upon the newes of the
 Catholicks Victory at *Gemblic*, L. 9. p. 43. he gives out
 that all the Royallists are slain in the Fort at *Limburg*,
 L. 10. p. 4. blamed by the Archduke and the Estates,
 L. 10. p. 5. befriends his Empire by the Sea of *Holland*,
ibid. attempts *Amsterdam*, *ibid.* deceived by his

Stampt rendered to him, *ibid.* he raises men in
Germany, *ibid.* persuades the Estates to a cessation
 of Armes, *ibid.* & p. 6. dislikes a Truce, *ibid.* his
 Enmity with *Campin*, *Glimt* & *Hest*, L. 10. p. 9. he
 continually spreads a rumour of his own murder, *ibid.*
 his report of a marriage robe between *Don John* and
 the Queen of *England*, L. 10. p. 20. *Granvell* called
 him Silence, L. 6. p. 33.
 Writers of History, L. 1. p. 2. why they differ about the
 beginning of the *Belgick* Tumults, L. 2. p. 27, 28.
Walloon Militia and Proverb, L. 7. p. 54. Regiment, L. 9.
 p. 50, 55.
Winfchet, L. 7. p. 47.
Wood-Gheses, L. 7. p. 59.

Sentences in W.

Never shines a greater hope of Peace, then when a WARR is seriously prosecuted, L. 1. p. 12.
 The fire of Civil WARR is carefully to be watched, Where they are near that feed the flame,
 they far off that should extinguish it, L. 6. p. 33.
 In WARR a General fears nothing more then to be thought to fear, L. 7. p. 59.
 WICKEDNESSE prospers by suddain attempts, L. 2. p. 34.
 Quarrels of WIT use to be irreconcilable among Children, L. 3. p. 67.

Zacharias, the Pope, increaseth Bishopricks in *Ger-
 many*, L. 2. p. 30.
Zeland, a Province of the Low-countries, L. 1. p. 15, 16. its
 Governour, *ibid.* L. 3. p. 51. L. 8. p. 10, 13. infested
 by the Image-Sibbers, L. 1. p. 126. the head of *Zeland*
 attempted by *Tholose*, L. 6. p. 2. the Cities receive Gar-
 risons from the Governesse, L. 6. p. 20. some Islands
 belonging to it covered with a deluge, L. 7. p. 69. a
 great part of it revolts from the *Spaniards*, L. 7. p. 72.
 the Chief City of *Zeland* assaulted, L. 8. p. 1. yields to
 the Prince of *Orange*, L. 8. p. 12. the *Zeland*-Expedition
 undertaken by *Rapscallons*, L. 9. p. 9. the Site of *Zeland*,
ibid. the Courage of the Royallists in wading over
 the Sea to *Zeland*, L. 7. p. 76, 77. L. 8. p. 13. the Princi-

pal Isle of *Zeland* taken, *ibid.* it adheres to the other
 Rebel-Provinces, L. 8. p. 21.
Zeroghem, a Lord, sent by the Governesse on a Ceremo-
 nious Embassage into *Germany*, L. 4. p. 57.
Zirixee, the Island, fortified by the Prince of *Orange*,
 L. 8. p. 10.
Zlriege, the City, besieged by the Royallists, L. 8. p. 13,
 16. forced by Famine to render, L. 8. p. 13, 17. relin-
 quished by the *Spaniards*, L. 8. p. 19.
Zwischen, vide *Wrisen*.
Zwinbeverland, an Island possessed by *Mendragonia*, L. 7.
 p. 78.
Zuniga vide *Gabriel Nignio* & *Juan*.
Zurphen, a Province of the Low-Countries, sold to *Charles*
 the Fighter, L. 1. p. 15. Conquered by *Charles* the
 fifth, *ibid.* its Cities revolt from the King, L. 7. p. 73.
 are recovered, L. 7. p. 77. its Governour, L. 1. p. 16.

FINIS

ERRATA.

L. B. 1. Page 1. To great full, add, and maintained by many hands.
 L. 1. p. 9. Gotat Aunt, dele Great.
 L. 1. p. 10. For Ship, read Gallica.
 L. 1. p. 11. Earl of *Holland*, read, descended from the Earls of *Holland*.
 L. 1. p. 17. For Archbishop of *Liege*, read, Bishop.
 L. 1. p. 21. For Duke of *Brabant*, read, of *Brabant*.
 L. 1. p. 25. For *Natur*, read, *Natur*.
 L. 3. p. 53. For Mother's grandfather, read, grandfather by the Mother.
 L. 3. p. 71. Chief Cities of the Netherlands, dele, of the Netherlands.
 L. 6. p. 22. For Prince of *Spain*, read, *Spain*.
 L. 8. p. 14. For *Spain*, read, *Spain*.
 L. 9. p. 26. For *Fift*, read, *Lancaster*.
 L. 9. p. 42. Great Grandfather, dele, Great.

These, many esteem his Mistakes to whom the English of this History was dictated, the noble Reader is de-
 sired to excuse and correct: and to examine the meer literal Errours, with the Table.

Courteous

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